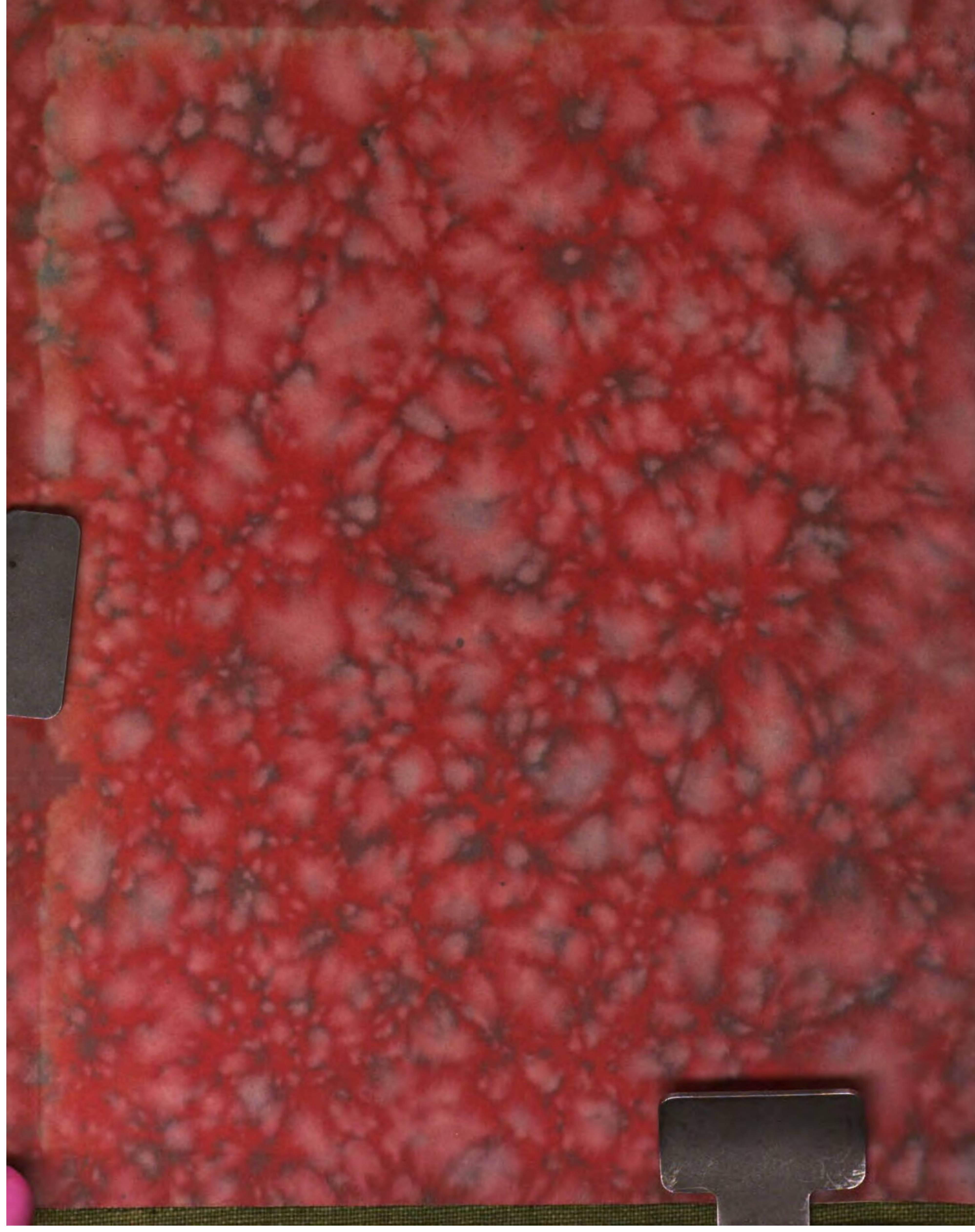
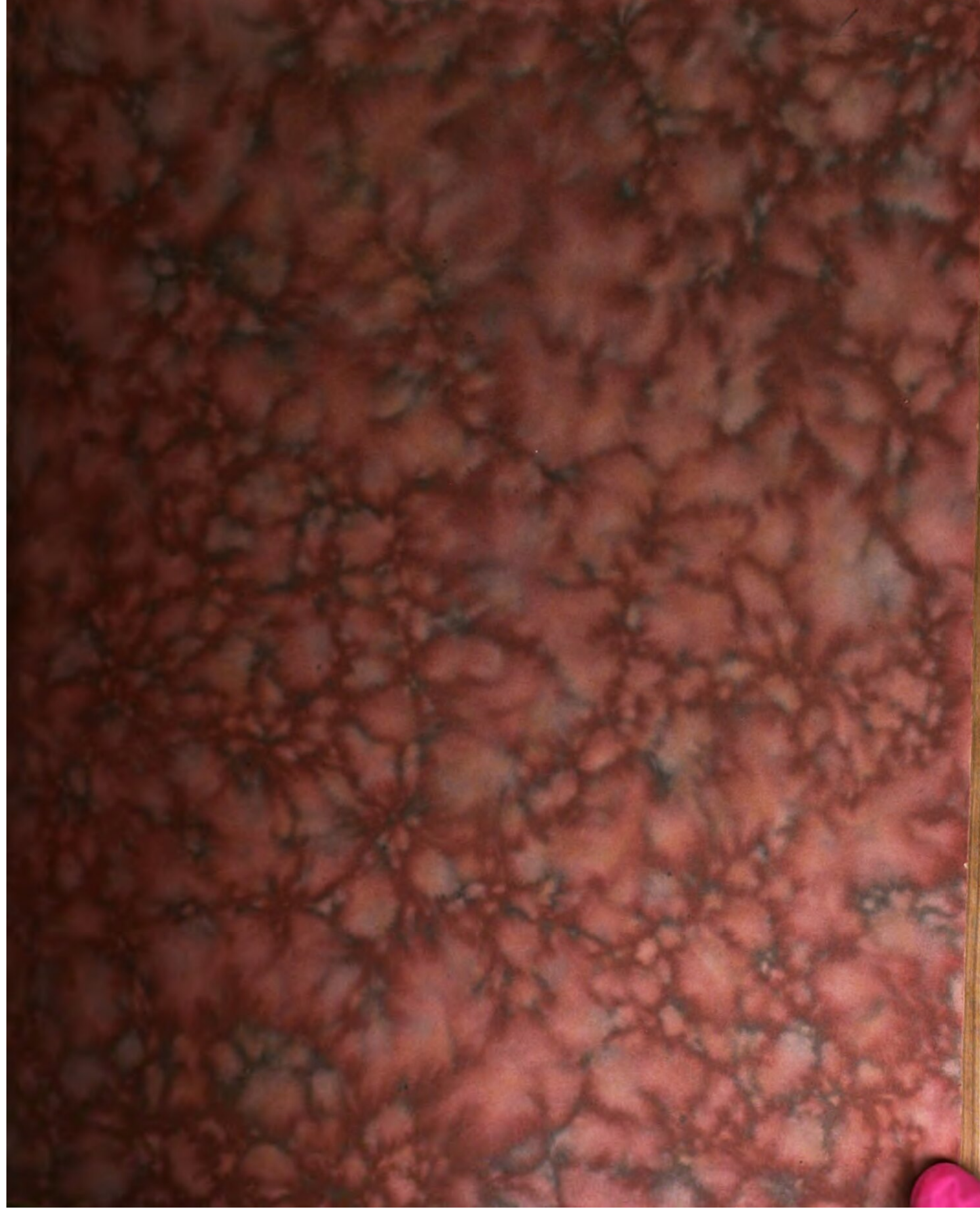






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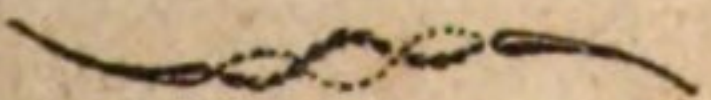
AN
IMPARTIAL
HISTORY OF THE WAR,
FROM THE
COMMENCEMENT
OF THE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

CONTAINING AN
Accurate Description
OF THE
SEA ENGAGEMENTS,
SIEGES, BATTLES, EXPEDITIONS AND CONQUESTS,
OF
THE VARIOUS CONTENDING POWERS.

Including an Account of the
GENERAL MUTINY AMONG THE SEAMEN,
AT SPITHEAD AND THE NORE.

Together with a particular Narrative of the Rise, Progress, and various Events accompanying the

REBELLION IN IRELAND.



Manchester :

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1811.

REVISION OF THE WAR
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

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Introduction.

Containing the first meeting of the Three Estates—The seizure of the King, at his palace of Versailles—The demolition of the Bastile—The attack and massacre of the Swiss Guards, at the palace of the Thuilleries—The imprisonment of the Royal Family, and massacre of prisoners on the 2d of September, among whom was the accomplished and beautiful Princess Lamballe.

THE attention of all Europe was fixed on the meeting of the states-general, in the year 1789, while the minds of the French themselves continued to be agitated by a variety of different and contending passions and opinions. Those who were in possession of power, were desirous of retaining it; and those who had no dependence but upon their abilities, hoped that a new constitution of things would elevate them to that rank, to which, from their merits, they conceived themselves entitled. The two great parties, which were afterwards to divide the nation, were already formed. The claims of the nobility and clergy were examined with acuteness, with precision, with research.—The balance of ability was greatly on the side of the people, and the usages of antiquity faded before the new light of modern philosophy. Previous to this period, that extraordinary society or club of the Jacobins, was formed, which has since had so considerable and so pernicious an influence over the public affairs. Its members instituted an active correspondence throughout the kingdom, and, by cultivating an

uniformity of opinion on political subjects, produced in time that uniformity of will, which afterwards appeared to govern the popular councils.

It is evident that the voting by orders, and not by poll, that is, the assembling of the different orders in their separate chambers, and investing each with the prerogative of putting a negative on the proceedings of the other two, was the only thing which could have established any substantial reform. This was the great question which was presently to involve the national representatives in faction and contest.

While those important concerns were in agitation, a circumstance occurred, which is supposed on all parts to have originated in some malevolent motive, whether of a public or a private nature, is not so easy to decide.—In the populous suburb of St. Antoine, a very considerable paper-manufactory was carried on, and a number of workmen consequently maintained, by a respectable citizen of the name of Reveillon. This gentleman had accused a certain abbe Roy, a dependant of the count d'Artois, of forgery, and
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the matter was before the courts.—Whether, therefore, it arose from private revenge in the abbe, or whether the court party might imagine that a riot at Paris would afford a fair apology for the approach of such a number of troops as might effectually awe the representatives of the nation, is uncertain. A groundless report was maliciously spread, that M. Reveillon intended considerably to lower the wages of his workmen, that he had asserted the bread was too good for them, and that they might subsist as well upon potatoe flour—with many insinuations to the same effect. On the 27th of April, both the suburbs of St. Marc and St. Antoine were in motion, and M. Reveillon was burnt in effigy.—The most extraordinary circumstance was, that it had been announced to the police, that the preceding days a number of strangers had entered the city, and these men were now the leaders of the insurrection, and, by profusely scattering money among the mob, increased both its numbers and its ferocity. A small detachment of the French guards was sent to effect their dispersion, but it was too weak to resist the rabble. At the dawn of the following day, the outrages were renewed; and M. Reveillon's house was pillaged and destroyed. At length a formidable part of the military was ordered out, and, after a considerable carnage, the tumult was quelled.

Paris was scarcely recovered from the terror and apprehension which this insurrection occasioned, when the day appointed for the meeting of the states general arrived. The 5th of May, 1789, will be long memorable in the annals of France, and it was indeed a day of festivity to the whole nation.—It commenced, agreeably to ancient

custom, with a religious act. The representatives of the nation, preceded by the clergy, and followed by the king, repaired to the Temple of God, accompanied with an immense crowd, offering vows and prayers for success to their labours.

The whole ceremony indicated the distinction of orders, and evinced that it was the determination of the court strictly to maintain it. Faithful to the customs of 1614, the nobility were arrayed in a sumptuous robe, and the deputies of the commons in the habit of the law. Thus, while the nobility and the higher clergy glittered in gold and jewels, the representatives of the people appeared in mourning; but the spectators were not dazzled by splendid appearances; that body which represented the nation engrossed all its applause, and *Vive le tiers etate!* was echoed from every quarter.

The assembly was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the monarch declared his satisfaction at seeing himself surrounded, after so long an interval, by the representatives of his people—he mentioned the heavy debt of the public, a part of which had accumulated during his own reign, but in an honourable cause—he hinted at the general disquiet, and the love of innovation which had taken possession of the minds of the people; but depended on their wisdom and moderation in the adoption of alterations; and concluded by warm professions of his own attachment to the public welfare.

The speech of M. Barretin, the keeper of the seals, was but little attended to. It, as well as that of the king, recommended temper in adopting alterations in the government; intimated, that the king had acceded to the wishes

wishes of his people in granting to the tiers etat a double representation, but left the great question of voting by orders or by poll, entirely undecided.

The attention which was refused to the keeper of the seals, was most liberally accorded to M. Neckar, though his address continued for three hours. It did not, however, pass exempt from criticism—some alledged that it was an ill arranged and ill digested mass; the republicans complained that he did not enlarge sufficiently on their favourite topic; they expected it to be filled with projects and with systems; the privileged orders wished him to be more explicit in tracing out a plan of proceedings for the states-general; but all agreed that nothing could be more luminous and satisfactory than the details which he recited concerning the finances of the nation; nothing more simple and correct than the plans which he proposed.

The situation of M. Neckar, indeed, at this critical period, was peculiarly delicate. He was placed between the court and the people, at a time when it was impossible for an honest man to attend equally to the claims of each party. From him every thing was expected by the people, while it was impossible to comply with the plenitude of their demands. On the contrary, the love and admiration of the people were sufficient to render him suspected by the courtiers. He was despised by the high nobility for his inferiority of birth and family; and he was odious to the bigotted clergy, because he was a Protestant. Fortunately for M. Neckar, his integrity was above all suspicion; every person in the kingdom, from the monarch to the peasant, was satisfied of the rectitude of his heart. His temper and moderation

were of the utmost importance in turbulent times. His influence frequently interposed against the excesses of popular infatuation; and the dignity and virtue of his character gave him consequence even with the enemies of rational liberty.

The first object of the state was the *verification of their powers*; that is, the production of their writs of return, and the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their seats. On this occasion the fatal contest between the three orders commenced. The deputies of the commons saw plainly that the people had in vain achieved their wish with respect to the number of representatives—in vain the deputies of the tiers etat in number constituted a half of the states-general, if by the mode of voting they were to be reduced to a third. They saw further, that should the verification of their powers be effected in separate chambers, each order would then be constituted a legal assembly, and the union be rendered for ever impossible.

Thus the dispute which was of so much importance, concerning the voting by orders or by poll, commenced even upon the verification of their returns. At the appointed hour the deputies of the tiers etat assembled in the common hall. After half an hour spent in that confusion to which so numerous an assembly was naturally liable, a voice more articulate than the rest, proclaimed the necessity of order, and advised the appointment of a temporary president, a secretary and clerks. When the chair was to be taken, the public voice demanded the oldest citizen—he presented himself, and asked of the assembly the assistance of some younger man to act as his herald. Some

Some debates and motions succeeded this appointment; the general object of which was, that the orders should proceed to verify their powers in common, and not in separate chambers.

The debates of the clergy and nobility were not less tumultuous. In the first order, the members deliberated under the temporary presidency of the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault, whether the powers should be verified and legitimated in the chamber appropriated to the order?—One hundred and thirty-three members were for the affirmative; one hundred and fourteen were of opinion that this ceremony could only take place in the general assembly, and before commissioners chosen from all the three orders.

In the second, M. de Montboisier, as the oldest nobleman present, was called to the chair. Two motions were made, one for the verification of the powers, by commissioners exclusively chosen from the order of nobility; and the other, from the same verification, before commissioners selected from the three orders. The principal argument in favour of the first of these opinions was, that the orders themselves were the only judges competent to decide the legality of pretensions to nobility: and in answer it was urged, that the elections had been sanctioned by the three orders of each bailiwick; and the oaths administered in their presence. It was, however, determined in favour of the verification in their own chamber, by one hundred and eighty-eight voices against forty-seven.

The commons, satisfied that a state of inaction would in a short time effect their wishes, determined to persevere. They carried their respect to this principle so far as not to open the addresses which were directed to the

deputies of the tiers etat, and which lay upon their table. The clergy also suspended the verification of their powers; but the nobility, who conceived that every thing was to give way to their rank and privileges, declared themselves a legal assembly, and on the 13th of May sent a deputation to the commons to acquaint them with these proceedings.

In the mean time, the clergy, who were divided in their opinions, and among whom the cures (or parochial clergy) were in general attached to the cause of the people, proposed to the other orders the nomination of commissioners to conciliate the present disputes. To this proposal the nobility assented; and in the assembly of the commons, it was moved by M. Rabaut de St. Etienne, a protestant clergyman, "that commissioners should be named to treat with the clergy and nobility concerning the union of the orders in one common assembly."—M. Chapelier, an advocate of Rennes, in Brittany, followed it by a motion declaring, "that no mode of conciliation could be admitted, which had not for its basis the deliberation of all the orders in common; and censuring in strong terms the conduct of the nobility." The Count de Mirabeau observed, "that the nobility commanded, while the clergy negotiated." He was therefore of opinion, that the commissioners should not treat with the nobles, but with the clergy only; but at length the simple proposition of M. Rabaut was adopted, with a trifling amendment.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the negotiation proved fruitless. The nobility, having heard the report of the commissioners, voted, "that in the present assembly of the states-general, the

the powers should for this time be verified separately; and that the examination of the advantages or inconveniencies resulting from this method should be referred to a future period, when the orders should take into consideration the future organization of the states general." Thus every hope being defeated of a union with the nobles, the commons determined, on the 27th of May, to send a solemn deputation to the clergy, to invite them, "in the name of the God of peace, and of the true interest of the nation, to unite themselves with them in one general assembly, to consult together on the means of restoring unity and concord."

While this matter was in agitation, a letter was received from the king, desiring "that the conciliatory commissioners would meet in the presence of the keeper of the seals, and some other commissioners to be appointed by the monarch, in order to renew their conferences, &c." In the mean time, the chamber of the nobles (this sovereign legislative chamber, as it was called by one of its members) passed a decree, asserting, "that they regarded as a part of the constitution, the division of orders, and their respective veto, and that in these principles they were determined to persevere." The second conferences therefore were equally unsuccessful with the first.

In the course of these conferences, however, the ministers proposed on the part of the king, a plan of conciliation, or rather of arbitration; the principal articles of which were,

1st. That the three orders should verify their powers separately, and should reciprocally communicate the same to each other.

2d. That in case any contentions should arise, commissioners should be

appointed from the three orders to take the same into consideration, and report their opinions to their different orders.

3d. That should the three orders not agree upon any topic in dispute, the final determination should be referred to the king.

The two superior orders applauded this plan of conciliation; but while the nobles pretended to accept it, they qualified their acquiescence with a decided resolution to adhere to their former decree, and to the plan of voting only by orders. At the same time they proceeded to the verification of the powers, to determine the controverted returns, &c.

While these affairs were transacting among the nobles, the clergy sent a deputation to the tiers etat, lamenting the high price of bread, and proposing a committee of the three orders to concert on the means of alleviating this evil. This proceeding of the clergy was represented by some members as deeply insidious, as a means of ingratiating themselves with the people, and of rendering the deputies of the commons unpopular, should they refuse to co-operate. It was therefore immediately resolved to return for answer the following address:

"Penetrated with the same zeal as yourselves, and viewing with tears of compassion the public distress, we beseech and conjure you to unite with us immediately in the common hall, to consult on the means of remedying these calamities."

It was now near five weeks since the states-general had assembled, and the three orders found themselves in the same inactive state as at first. The commons therefore conceived it was full time to emerge from this inactivity, and to afford an opportunity to those

of the nobility and clergy who professed a sincere love for their country, to become active in its favour. They divided themselves into twenty committees, to facilitate the public business; and on the 10th of June, the abbe Sieyes proposed that they should take a last effort for an union of the orders; and should this fail, that they should then form themselves into an *active assembly*, for the dispatch of business.

In consequence of this proposal, notice was sent on the 12th, that they would immediately order a general call of the deputies of all the bailiwicks, including those of the privileged classes; and in default of their appearance, that they would proceed to the verification of the powers, and to every other public object, as well in the absence as in the presence of the nobility and clergy.

On the 13th, they proceeded to the call of the deputies, and to the verification of the returns. Not one of the nobility appeared; but on the call of the bailiwick of Poitou, three cures, Messrs. Cesve, Ballard, and Jalot, presented themselves with the writs of their return, which they laid respectfully upon the table. These pastors were received with the warmest transports of joy and acclamation. They had declared their intentions the preceding evening in the chamber of the clergy; and they were followed the next day by five more of their brethren, among whom were Messrs. Dillon, Gregoire, and Bodineau.

In the mean time, the unpopularity of the nobility increased almost to detestation, and to their obstinacy the inactivity of the states was wholly attributed. At length the deputies of the people felt themselves supported by

the public opinion, and on the 17th of June proceeded to the daring step of assuming to themselves the legislative government. On that memorable day, in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators, the deputies of the people, with such of the clergy as had already joined them, announced themselves to the public by the since celebrated denomination of *national assembly*. The hall re-echoed with exclamations of joy—"Long live the king and the national assembly!" But when the representatives of the people rose in solemn silence to take the oath to fulfil with fidelity their duty, the enthusiasm of licentiousness took possession of every heart. This solemn ceremony was succeeded by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of president, for four days only, and that of Messrs. Camus and Pison de Garland, as secretaries, for the same space of time.

On Saturday the 20th of June, the day on which the clergy were to unite themselves to the national assembly, the heralds proclaimed a royal session; and a detachment of the guards surrounded the hall of the states, in order, as it was elledged, that it might be properly prepared for the king. The president and members were repulsed from the door, and acquainted by the commanding officer, that his orders were "to admit no person into the hall of the states-general—" And I protest against these orders," replied the president, "and the assembly shall take cognizance of them."

Supported as they perceived themselves to be by the voice of the people, the assembly were not to be discouraged by this expedient. On the motion of M. Bailly, they immediately adjourned to a tennis-court, situated in the

the street of old Versailles, where, in the presence of applauding thousands, they took a solemn oath, "never to separate till the constitution should be completed."

On the 22d another proclamation was issued, intimating, that the royal session was deferred till the succeeding day; and the hall of the states-general still remained closed, on account of the preparations. The assembly wandered from place to place, before they could find a roof capacious enough to shelter so considerable a body. They at length assembled in the church of St. Louis; and the majority of the clergy, amounting to 149, assembled in the choir. After a deputation to arrange the ceremonies, the doors of the choir were thrown open; the clergy advanced with their president the archbishop of Vienne at their head, and the deputies cordially embraced each other. The sanctity of the place contributed to render the meeting more solemn and affecting, and the plaudits of the spectators testified at once their triumph and their joy. Two nobles of Dauphine, the marquis de Blacon, and count d'Agoult, attended at the same time to present their powers; the rest of the minority of the first order, waited the result of the royal session.

The events which had taken place at Versailles, and the change which they announced in the dispositions of the government, with respect to the national assembly, excited at Paris the utmost consternation. Nor could a letter from M. Neckar to the magistrates, assuring them that no such measure was intended as the dissolution of the states-general, entirely allay the ferment. The royal session took place on the 23d. It was attended at once with all that is awful, and all that

is magnificent in arbitrary authority. The hall was surrounded with soldiers. The two privileged orders were seated; while the representatives of the people were left without, exposed for more than an hour to the rain. M. de Mirabeau urged the president to conduct the nation immediately to the presence of the king, or to demand at least that the gates should be opened. They were opened at length to the deputies, but not to the people. The throne was raised upon a kind of stage or platform at the bottom of the hall; on the right the clergy were seated, and on the left the nobility. The four heralds, with their king at arms, were stationed in the middle; and at the bottom of the platform was a table, round which the ministers were seated; one chair however was vacant, which should have been occupied by M. Neckar; nor did any part of this ill-conducted business excite more general disgust than the absence of that favourite minister.

The speech and declarations of the king were to this effect:—He spoke of the *favours which he conferred* upon his people; and caused to be read a declaration of his sovereign will, as if the legislature were only called to consent to such laws as should be proposed by the executive power, without being competent to propose any themselves. He suggested a plan of government, in which the distinction of orders was to be preserved, allowing them however occasionally to debate in common, with the king's approbation. Not a word was advanced on the subject of the responsibility of ministers, nor on the participation of the states-general in the legislative power. The odious tyranny of *lettres de cachet* was formally announced to be continued,

with only a few modifications. A guarded silence was observed concerning the liberty of the press, and the tax of lotteries. In fine, the king declared *null* the deliberations and resolves of the 17th, and *ordered* the deputies immediately to separate, and to appear before him on the following day.

When the king retired, he was followed by all the nobility, and by part of the clergy. The deputies of the commons remained motionless on the benches, and preserved a gloomy silence. The marquis de Breze, grand-master of the ceremonies, entered the hall, and addressing himself to the president, "You know, sir," said he, "the intentions of the king."—The president answered respectfully, that the assembly was not constituted to receive orders from any person; but the fervid Mirabeau, rising from his seat, and addressing himself to M. de Breze, replied, "The commons of France have determined to debate. We have heard the intentions which have been suggested by the king; and you, who cannot be his agent at the states-general, you, who have here neither seat, nor voice, nor a right to speak, are not the person to remind us of his speech. Go tell your master, that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing shall expel us but the bayonet." The enthusiasm of the assembly seconded that of the orator, and with one unanimous voice they declared that such was their determination.

The grand-master retired, and a profound silence pervaded the hall. It was at length broken by M. Camus, who declaimed against the royal session, which he stigmatized by the contemptuous appellation of a *bed of justice*, and proposed a resolution declaratory

of the assembly's adherence to their former decrees, which he asserted no power could annul. He was warmly supported by Mess. Barnave, Glaizen, Petion, the abbe Gregoire, and many others. The Abbe Sieyes only observed, "Gentlemen, you are the same to-day that you were before." The motion of M. Camus was unanimously decreed; and was followed by another, which pronounced "the persons of the deputies inviolable."

In the midst of contending factions, which occasionally sported with his credulity or his fears, the king still appeared to preserve a genuine love for his people, and an inviolate regard to the claims of humanity. He felt himself unhappy at the divisions which existed, and determined to end them if possible at any expence. In a private conversation with the duke de Luxembourg, president of the chamber of nobles, he is said to have urged his wishes for an union of the orders. He was answered by that nobleman, That the order to which he belonged were not contending for themselves but for the crown.—He represented that the nobility was the only body on which his Majesty could depend to defeat the exorbitant claims of the people—that while the states-general continued divided, the royal authority was safe; but whenever the day should arrive that the states should vote by numbers only, from that moment the monarch was at their mercy. "I conjure your Majesty," continued the duke, "to condescend to reflect on what I have the honour to state."—"M. de Luxembourg," replied the king, with firmness, "I have reflected, I am determined upon any sacrifice; nor will I that a single man lose his life in my cause." In consequence of this determination,

the king on the 27th sent a pressing letter to the president of the nobility, and to the minority of the clergy, entreating the union of the orders. The clergy obeyed without hesitation; but it was not till after a very warm debate that the nobility submitted to the mandate of their sovereign. At the first news of this event, Versailles was transported with joy; the people ran in crowds to the palace, and demanded the king and queen. Their Majesties appeared at the balcony, and the atmosphere re-echoed with the shouts of *Vive le roi! Vive la reine!* A general illumination concluded the triumph of the day.

An apprehension of what might happen, had certainly induced the democrats to insert in the *cahiers* or instructions of the tiers etat, a clause insisting that the pay of the soldiers should be increased; and on the same ground there is reason to credit the reports of the aristocratic writers, that the democrats had taken every means to ingratiate themselves with the soldiery, and to persuade them that in that capacity they did not cease to be citizens; but that, on the contrary, it was degrading and dishonourable to them to be considered as mere automations, or passive instruments in the hands of power. Among the active *Apostles of liberty*, as they were termed, who preached with such success to the military, the marquis de Valadi, formerly an officer in the French guards, is particularly noted. It was indeed absurd to suppose, that amidst the general spreading of information, the soldiery would either want means of acquiring it, or be callous to its influence. So early, therefore, as the 23d of June, two companies of the grenadier guards had refused to fire upon

the populace in some trifling riot. For this and other symptoms of disobedience the troops were confined to their barracks; but on the 25th and 26th they were seen by hundreds entering into the Palais Royal, the theatre of popular politics, and joining with the crowd in shouting *Vive le tiers etat!* In the same manner all the military that entered Paris were conducted to the Palais Royal; they were loaded with favours and caresses by the populace, and heard with attentive ear the declamations against the baseness of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow citizens, and against the slavery of their present condition. The soldiers, melted into tenderness, exclaimed with ardour, *Vive la Nation!* and returned to their camp to extend the conquests of democracy. An incident happened on the 30th of June, which, while it evinced the dispositions of the nation and the soldiery, was probably not without its effects in attaching still more strongly the army to the people. About seven o'clock in the evening, a letter was brought to a coffee-house adjacent to the Palais Royal, intimating that eleven of the French guards were at that moment confined in the prisons of the abbey St. Germain, for having refused to fire on their fellow citizens; and that the same night they were to be transferred to the dungeons of the Bicetre, a place destined for the vilest miscreants.— Their cause was presently considered as the cause of the public; a mob was almost instantly collected, the prison was forced, and the dragoons and hussars which were called out to quell the riot, grounded their arms. A soldier who had been committed for some other crime, was reconducted to prison by the populace, who declared that they

they would only take under their protection those who were the victims of despotism.

The eleven prisoners, who had been thus taken from the abbey, were conducted by the people to the hotel de Geneve, where they were kept, as they expressed it, under the guard of the nation, while a deputation of twenty citizens of Paris was dispatched to the national assembly to solicit their pardon. After some deliberation, in which it was doubted whether the assembly ought to receive a deputation from persons on appearing in a public character, a decree was passed, recommending in strong terms to the citizens, a strict attention to peace and order, and promising to apply to the king, to whose province the matter in question entirely belonged, in favour of the soldiers. A deputation from the assembly accordingly waited on his majesty, who declared himself much satisfied with the decree of the assembly, and granted a free pardon to the prisoners.

In the mean time, Paris was not only threatened with the sword, but was actually visited with one of the severest calamities that can afflict a country. A most alarming scarcity pervaded the whole kingdom; but it may well be conceived that its effects were most severely felt in the capital, which had no resources of its own, and in which the accumulation of human beings must necessarily increase the misery. The gates of the assembly were surrounded by famishing multitudes, beseeching their compassion and assistance. A committee of subsistence was formed, and various reports received—prohibitions were issued against the exportation of corn, and a subscription

was opened in Paris for the relief of the poor.

Under the pressure of such a calamity, it may well be supposed, that the people were not in the most tranquil state. The general exclamation was for bread; and unfortunately the unsettled state of the metropolis afforded a daily excuse for the augmentation of the military in its neighbourhood, at a time when their presence did but increase the general distress. The jealousy of the assembly was awakened farther, by observing, that for this service foreigners were preferred to the native troops; and that more soldiers were assembled round the hall of the states-general itself, than would have sufficed to repel a foreign invasion.

M. Neckar was dismissed, and it is impossible to describe the consternation of the people on this event. The army now came forward in force, with the prince de Lambesq, grand ecuyer of France, at their head, who was ordered to take post at the Thuilleries. Irritated, perhaps, at the spirit of resistance which he observed in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his sabre a poor old man who was walking peaceably in the gardens. The French have a remarkable respect for age, and this wanton outrage proved the signal of revolt; an instantaneous alarm was spread through the city, and the cry of *To Arms* resounded in every quarter. The Germans were vigorously attacked by the populace, who were joined by the French guards, and, overwhelmed by numbers, were obliged to retreat. From that moment the guards took leave of their officers, they set fire to their several barracks, and formed themselves into companies with the citizens, to patrol the streets, and

and preserve, if possible, the public tranquillity.

The citizens of Paris at this moment beheld themselves in a most alarming and critical situation. Whether true or not, the reports of the intended attack upon the city were universally credited; and the mysterious and impolitic proceedings of the court gave countenance, it must be confessed, to every suspicion. On the other hand, troops of banditti, the pests of a populous city, such as are ever ready to take advantage of public commotion, were beginning to collect; and, either from these on the one hand, or the foreign soldiery on the other, a general pillage was the only event that could be expected. Covered by the darkness of the night, several bands of ruffians paraded the streets, and even set fire to the city in different places: the horrid silence was interrupted only by confused shouts, and occasional discharges of musketry. In this disastrous night sleep only sealed the eyes of infants; they only reposed in peace, while their anxious parents watched over their cradles.

The morning of the 13th displayed at Paris a most shocking spectacle of confusion and dismay; a band of villains had already pillaged the charitable house of St. Lazare, at six o'clock the alarm bells sounded throughout the city, and the terror became universal. The citizens assembled at the Hotel de Ville, and no alternative appeared for the protection of their lives and property, but that of embodying themselves, and forming a regular militia for the defence of the capital. Sixty thousand citizens were soon enrolled, and marshalled under different commanders: the French guards spontaneously offered their services, and were

distributed among the different companies. The standards of the city were displayed; trenches were thrown up, and barricadoes formed in different parts of the suburbs. Regulations were next established by the preservation of order, and a permanent council or committee, to sit night and day, was appointed. At about half past five in the afternoon this committee dispatched a deputation to acquaint the national assembly with the occurrences which had taken place at Paris.

The assembly had been engaged, from the day when they presented their address to the king, in framing a declaration of rights, and the plan of a constitution; and even in the midst of these alarms, they continued without intermission their labours. In the disgrace of M. Necker they saw their own ruin determined; yet proceeded with a firmness tempered with moderation. In their debates they carefully drew the line, and distinguished between the prerogatives and functions of the legislative and those of the executive powers; and on receiving the intelligence that Paris was in a state of uproar and confusion, a deputation was dispatched to the king, informing him once more of the danger which threatened the state from the presence of the troops that invested the metropolis; entreating in the most pressing terms their removal; and offering to expose their own persons in the impending storm, and to proceed immediately to Paris to assist, by their persuasions and authority, in the re-establishment of order and peace. The king remained immovable in his determination—he replied, “that he was the only judge of the necessity of removing the troops; that the presence of the deputies could be of no service in Paris; on the contrary,

trary, they were necessary at Versailles, to prosecute there those important labours which he should continue to recommend."

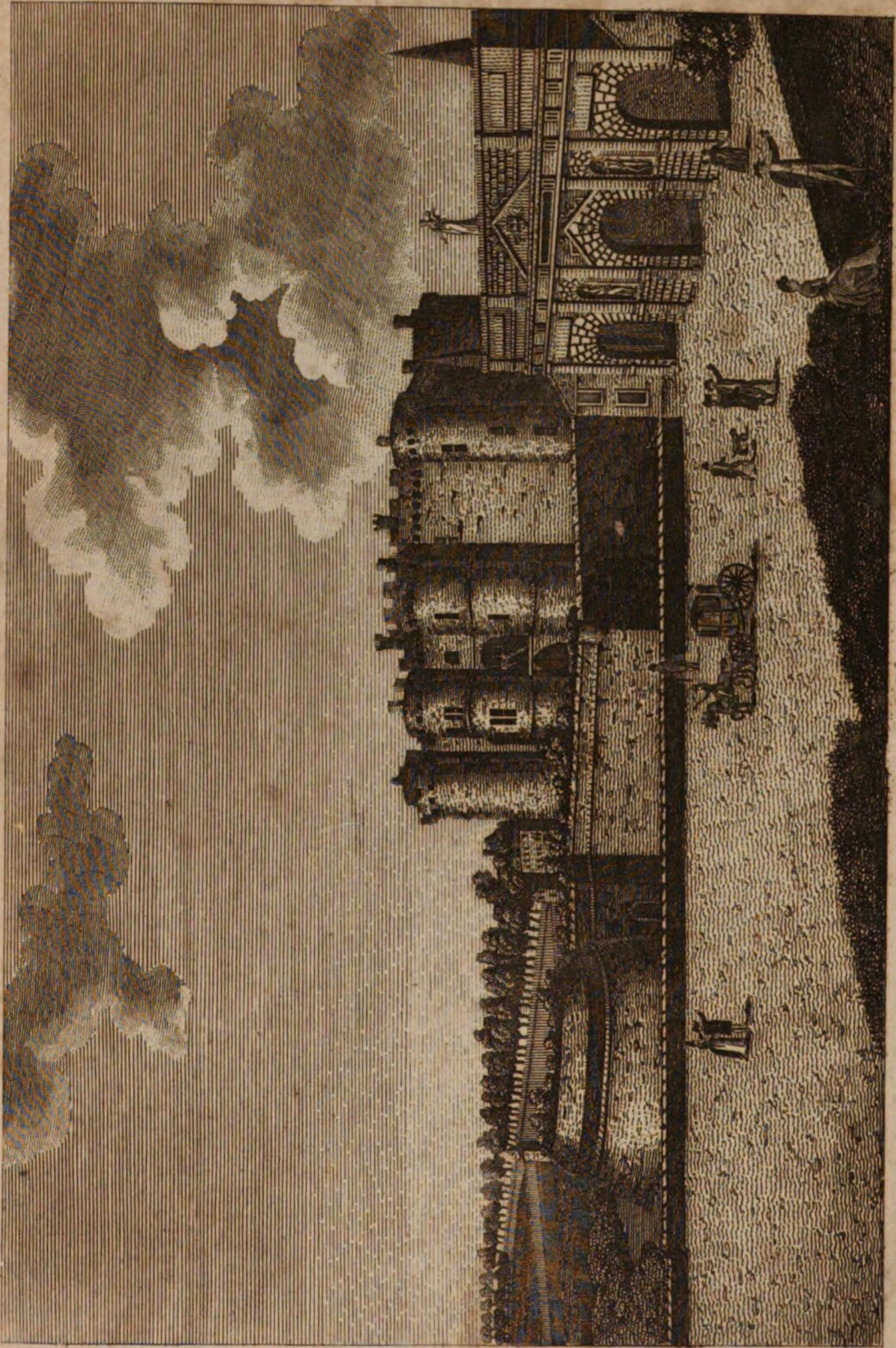
It is evident that the answer of the king could not by any means be agreeable to the assembly. It was therefore no sooner communicated than the marquis de la Fayette demanded an immediate declaration of the responsibility of ministers, and the assembly unanimously resolved—

"That M. Neckar, and the rest of the late ministry carried with them the confidence and the regret of the assembly; that they would not cease to insist on the removal of the troops; that no intermediate power can interfere between the king and the representatives of the nation; that the ministers and agents of authority civil and military are responsible to the people for their conduct; that the present ministers and counsellors of his majesty were personally responsible for the impending calamities, and all those which might be consequences of their advice; and the assembly having placed the public debts under the safeguard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation, no power has a right even to pronounce the infamous word *bankruptcy*; that they persisted in all their former decrees; and that these minutes should be presented to the king and the late ministry, and committed to the press."

The courage of the Parisians was answerable to the firmness of the national assembly. By the accession of the French guards, they had obtained a supply of arms and ammunition, and a considerable train of artillery; the shops of the armourers were ransacked for weapons, and the soldier-citizens were even trained to some appearance

of discipline. The night of the 13th passed without any event of consequence: the morning discovered that, taking advantage of the darkness, the troops encamped in the Champs Elysées had moved off. The people, however, were ignorant of the causes of this removal, and an immediate attack was expected. The national guard, for that was the name which the mixed band of soldiers and citizens now assumed, amounted to the number of 150,000 men; but the majority were still without arms. The marquis de la Salle was named commander in chief; the green cockade, which they had at first adopted, was changed for the since national colours red, blue and white; the new army was now more regularly officered; and various deputations were dispatched in quest of arms and implements of war. M. de Flessells, the prevot des merchants (or mayor) made many promises on this subject; but they all proved delusive.

In the course of their enquiries after arms, a party of more than 30,000, conducted by M. Ethis de Corny, repaired to the Hotel des Invalids. M. Sombreuil, the governor, had received orders so early as on Sunday the 12th, to hold himself in readiness for an attack, and his men had remained during the whole of Monday under arms, and on the morning of Tuesday he permitted them to take a few hours rest. At this moment M. de Corny arrived; and, on making known to the governor the object of his mission, he was answered, that the invalids had not any arms. M. Corny was re-conducted by M. Sombreuil to the gate; but it was no sooner opened than the multitude rushed in, in an irresistible torrent, and in a few minutes ransacked every part of the hotel. More than 30,000 muskets,



By J. P.

VIEW of the BASTILLE

kets, and twenty pieces of cannon, were the fruit of this expedition. On the opposite side of the Seine a similar event occurred; there another party attacked the *garde meuble de la couronne*, and from this ancient store an immense number of weapons of different kinds were produced.

It has been generally believed that the taking of the Bastile was the preconcerted effort of democracy; but this was really not the case. Some of the most important actions which have been achieved by courage or activity, have in their origin been directed by that imperceptible chain of events which human blindness terms accident or chance.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning of the 14th, M. de la Rosière, a deputy of the district of St. Louis de la Culture, waited on the governor, and the people remained in the outer court. "I come, Sir," said the deputy, "in the name of the nation, to represent to you, that the cannon which are levelled against the city from the towers of the Bastile have excited the most alarming apprehensions, and I must entreat that you will remove them." The governor replied, "that it was not in his power to remove the guns, as they had always been there, without an order from the king; that he would however, dismount them, and turn them out of their embrasures." The deputy having with difficulty obtained leave from M. de Losme, major of the fortress, to enter into the interior court, summoned the officers and soldiers in the name of honour and their country to alter the direction of the guns, &c. and the whole of them, at the desire even of the governor, engaged themselves by oath to make no use of their arms, unless attacked. M. de la Ro-

sière, after having ascended one of the towers with M. de Launay, went out of the castle, promising to engage the citizens to send a part of the national guard to do the duty of the Bastile in conjunction with the troops.

The deputy had scarcely retired before a number of citizens approached the gate, and demanded arms and ammunition. As the majority of them were unarmed, and announced no hostile intention, M. de Launay made no difficulty of receiving them, and lowered the first drawbridge to admit them. The more determined of the party advanced to acquaint him with the object of their mission; but they had scarcely entered the first court, when the bridge was drawn up, and a general discharge of musketry destroyed the greater part of these unfortunate people.

The motives of the governor for this apparent act of perfidy have never been explained, and it cannot be sufficiently regretted that the intemperate vengeance of the populace did not allow him to enter on his defence before some impartial court. All, therefore, that can be said at present is, that its immediate effect was to raise the resentment of the people almost to phrenzy. The instantaneous determination was to storm the fortress, and the execution was as vigorous as the resolution was daring. An immense multitude, armed with muskets, sabres, &c. rushed at once into the outer court. After searching in vain for the keys of the drawbridges in the corps-de-garde, they called out for a hatchet: they soon broke the locks and the bolts; and being seconded by the efforts of the people on the other side, the two drawbridges were immediately lowered. The people lost no time in making good their station, where for
more

more than an hour they sustained a most severe fire from the garrison, and answered it with equal vigour.

During the contest, several deputations from the Hotel de Ville appeared before the walls with flags of truce, intending to persuade the besieged into a peaceful surrender; but either they were not discovered amidst the general confusion, or, what is more probable, M. de Launay despaired of finding mercy at the hands of the populace, and still flattered himself with some delusive hope of deliverance. The guards, who now acted openly with the people, assisted them; and, by the advice of some of the veterans of this corps, three waggons loaded with straw were set on fire under the walls, the smoke of which interrupted the view, and consequently intercepted the aim of the besieged; while the assailants, being at a greater distance, were able to direct their fire to the battlements with unerring aim. In the mean time the arsenal was stormed, and a most dreadful havock was prevented there by the prudence and courage of M. Humbert, who first mounted the towers of the Bastile. A hair-dresser was in the very act of setting fire to the magazine of powder, when M. Humbert, whose notice was attracted by the cries of a woman, knocked the desperado down with the butt end of his musket; next, instantly seizing a barrel of salt-petre which had already caught fire, and turning it upside down, he was happy enough to extinguish it.

Nothing could equal the ardour and spirit of the besiegers; an immense crowd, as if unconscious of danger, filled the courts of the fortress in spite of the unremitted fire of the garrison, and even approached so near the towers, that M. de Launay himself fre-

quently rolled large masses of stone from the platform upon their heads.—Within, all was confusion and terror; the officers themselves served at the guns, and discharged their firelocks in the ranks. But when the governor saw the assailants take possession of the first bridge, and draw up their cannon against the second, his courage then was changed into despair, and even his understanding appeared to be deranged. He rashly sought to bury himself under the enormous mass which he had in vain attempted to defend.—While a turnkey was engaged in distributing wine to the soldiers, he caught the match from one of the pieces of cannon, and ran to the magazine with an intention to set it on fire; but a subaltern, of the name of Ferrand, repulsed him with his bayonet. He then went down to the tower de la liberte, where he had deposited a quantity of powder; but here also he was opposed by the sieur Beguard, another subaltern officer, who thus prevented an act of insanity which must have destroyed thousands of citizens, and, with the Bastile, would have infallibly blown up all the adjacent buildings, and a considerable part of the suburb of St. Antoine. De Launay at length proposed seriously to the garrison to blow up the fortress, as it was impossible that they could hope for mercy from the mob. But he was answered by the soldiers, that they would rather perish than destroy in this insidious manner such a number of their fellow-citizens. He then hung out a white flag, intimating his desire to capitulate; and a Swiss officer would have addressed the assailants through one of the loop-holes of the drawbridge; but the hour was past, and the exasperated populace would attend to no offers

offers of capitulation. Through the same opening he next displayed a paper, which the distance prevented the besiegers from reading. A person brought a plank, which was rested on a parapet, and poised by a number of others. The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but, just as he was ready to seize upon the paper, he received a musket shot, and fell into the ditch. He was followed by a young man of the name of Maillard, son to an officer of the chatelet, who was fortunate enough to reach the paper, the contents of which were—"We have twenty thousand pounds weight of gunpowder, and will blow up the garrison and all its environs, if you do not accept the capitulation."—M. Elie, an officer of the queen's regiment, who was invested with a kind of spontaneous authority, was for agreeing to terms, but the people indignantly rejected the very word capitulation, and immediately drew up to the spot three pieces of artillery.

The garrison now perceiving that the great bridge was going to be attacked, let down the small draw-bridge, which was to the left of the entrance, into the fortress. Messrs. Elie, Hulin, Maillard, Reole, Humbert, Tourney, and some others, leaped instantly on the bridge, and securing the bolts, proceeded to the door. In the mean time, the French guards, preserving their habitual coolness and discipline, formed a column on the other side of the bridge, to prevent the citizens from rushing upon it in too great numbers. An invalid came to open the gate behind the draw-bridge, and asked the invaders what they wanted? "The surrender of the Bastile," they cried, and he permitted them to enter. The conquerors im-

mediately lowered the great bridge, and the multitude entered without resistance—the invalids were ranged to the right, and the Swiss on the left hand, with their arms piled against the wall. They took off their hats, clapped their hands, and cried out, *Bravo!* as the besiegers entered. The first moments of this meeting passed in peace and reconciliation; but some soldiers on the platforms, ignorant of the surrender, unhappily fired upon the people; who, suspecting a second act of perfidy, fell upon the invalids, two of whom, the unfortunate Beguard, who had prevented the governor from blowing up the Bastile, and another, equally innocent, were dragged to the *Place de Greve*, and hanged.

This was the first instance of that rash and sanguinary spirit which has since disgraced the French nation in the eyes of all Europe. It is a singular fact, that the French have as yet no clear ideas of the administration of justice. Some time previous to the Revolution, an American gentleman who resided in Paris in a public capacity, observing the rising spirit of liberty among the people, remarked, "that they would obtain every blessing of a free government but the *trial by jury*; for that," added he, "they are not prepared."

The sieurs Maillard, Cholot, Arne, and some others, first seized M. de Launay. He was not in an uniform, but in a plain grey frock; he had a cane in his hand, and would have killed himself with the sword that it contained, but the grenadier Arne wrested it out of his hand. He was escorted by Messrs. Hulin, Arne, Legries, Elie, and some others, and every effort was exerted by them to save his life, but

in vain;—they had scarcely arrived at the Hotel de Ville, before his defenders were overpowered, and even wounded by the enraged populace, and he fell under a thousand wounds. M. de Losme Selbrai, his major, a gentleman distinguished for his virtues and his humanity, was also the victim of the popular fury. The marquis de Pelleport, who had been five years in the Bastile, and during that time had been treated by him with particular kindness, interposed to save him at the risk of his life, but was struck down by a hatchet, and M. de Losme was instantly put to death. The heads of the governor and the major were struck off, and carried on pikes through the streets of the city. The rage of the populace would not have ended here—the invalids who defended the fortress would all have been sacrificed, had not the humanity of the French guards interposed, and insisted upon their pardon.

The keys of the Bastile were carried to M. Brissot de Warville, who had been a few years before an inhabitant of the Bastile; and a guard of three thousand men was appointed over the fortress, till the council at the Hotel de Ville should decree its demolition. In the intoxication of success the prisoners were forgotten; and as the keys had been carried to Paris, the dungeons were forced open—seven prisoners only were found, three of whom had lost their reason, having been detained there as state prisoners, from the reign of Louis XV.

Thus, by the irresistible enthusiasm of licentiousness, in a few hours was reduced that fortress which mercenary armies had considered as impregnable, and which had been in vain besieged by the force of the great Conde for upwards of three weeks.

The fate of M. de Launay involved that of M. de Flesselles, the prevot des merchands. He had long been suspected of a design to betray the people; and all his actions indeed apparently tended to that point. In the pocket of M. de Launay a letter from him was said to be discovered, which contained these remarkable words—"I will amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises. Keep your station till the evening—you shall then have a reinforcement." At the sight of this letter the unfortunate de Flesselles was struck dumb. A voice was heard in the hall—"Begone, M. de Flesselles, you are a traitor." "I see," said he, "gentlemen, that I am not agreeable to you—I shall retire." He hastened down stairs: but as he crossed the Greve, accompanied by a number of persons to defend him, a young man who had waited an opportunity, shot him with a pistol. His head was cut off, placed on a pike, and carried through the streets along with that of M. de Launay.

A tumultuous night succeeded this wonderful day; and the songs of joy and triumph which had celebrated the victory of the people, were converted into confused murmurs, expressive only of anxiety and alarm. A report was spread, that the troops were about to enter the city at the Barrier d'Enfer: thither the citizens crowded under the conduct of the French guards, and preceded by a train of artillery; the body of troops, however, that appeared in that quarter, were dispersed by a single volley. The alarm bells were then sounded; barricadoes were formed at the barriers; deep holes were dug in different parts, to prevent the approach of the cavalry; the tops of the houses were manned; a general illumination

illumination was ordered; and the silence of the night was interrupted by discharges of artillery, and by the warning voice of the patrole—"Citizens, do not go to bed; take care of your lights; we must see clearly this night."

On the 7th of August the new ministers, the keeper of the seals, the marshal Bauvau, the count de Montmorin, the count de la Luzerne, M. Neckar, the count de St. Priest, the archbishop of Vienne, and the count de la Tour du Pin, were introduced at their request to the assembly; and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the seals, drew a most lamentable picture of the disorders which prevailed throughout the kingdom. He was followed by M. Neckar, who represented in strong terms, the miserable state of the public treasury, which on his entrance into office was found to contain only four hundred thousand livres, chiefly in notes of the *caisse d'escompte*. He added, that the deficit between the income and the expences was enormous; and that such had been the sums which the king had been obliged to issue for the purchase of grain, and for the support of the poor, and such the deficiency created by the non-payment of taxes, that no resource remained but to raise a loan of thirty millions to satisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the state for two months, by which time he presumed that considerable progress would be made in the establishing of a constitution. This loan he proposed at five per cent. But the proposal was remitted to the consideration of the committee of finance; which presuming too far upon the patriotism of the people, retrenched the terms of the loan of all those little advantages which the

minister had annexed to it, in order to induce the monied people to subscribe, and reduced the interest to four and a half.

This was one of the first errors of the assembly. It will be curious to attend to the gradations by which France has been ruined; they all originated in that fatal distrust of the executive power, which first led them to counteract, next to disgrace, ministers, and at last to dethrone the monarch himself.

In the debates which took place upon the proposals of the minister, there appears reason to suspect that the count de Mirabeau was instigated by a personal opposition to M. Neckar; and it was certainly owing to his influence in the assembly that the plan of the minister was not adopted. The consequence was, that in three weeks not more than two million six hundred thousand livres were subscribed to the loan, and the project utterly failed.—In order therefore to procure a supply of forty millions, another scheme was offered by M. Neckar, and adopted by the assembly, which was to solicit a loan of eighty millions at five per cent. one half of which might be paid in stock; but the assembly had lost the favourable opportunity, and, by the impediments which they threw in the way of M. Neckar's first project, had unsettled the faith of the monied interest in the new government.

In the mean time, the tumultuous state of the nation obliged the legislature to pass a decree, recommending to the municipalities to be vigilant for the public safety, and rigorously to prosecute all who should be found exciting public alarms or disturbances.

The decrees of the 4th of August also had been sent to a committee, which

was appointed for the purpose of reducing them into the form of a law; and from the 5th to the 11th the different articles were debated. Most of those which respected the feudal claims were confirmed, with little variation; but the committee considering tithes as a species of feudal tax levied on the land, had inserted them in the decree as redeemable like the other feudal assessments. To this construction the clergy strongly objected, and alledged that it confounded two things essentially different, the feudal tithes and those which were purely ecclesiastical, which last constituted a species of private property, and at the disposal of the nation. The necessities of the state, on the other hand, had for some time induced the popular party to look upon the wealth of the church as the last resource for the replenishment of an exhausted treasury; and with this view also the proposal of the committee was strenuously supported by Messrs. Chassel, Mirabeau, &c. The abbe Sieyes was the ablest defender of the rights of the clergy. With great logical precision and accurate information, he evinced that the tithes were not a tax imposed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid upon their estates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchased their estates subject to this rent-charge; and that the legislature had no authority to transfer this, which was real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it.—“If you wish to be free,” added he, “begin by being just.” The necessities of the nation, however, constituted a plea on the other side, which was not to be resisted.

This was the second great error of the assembly. To alienate the affections of so important a body as the clergy, in this early stage of the revolution, was no less impolitic than the cause was unjust.

On the morning after this debate, fifteen cures sent to the assembly an act, by which they voluntarily resigned into the hands of the nation the whole of their ecclesiastical rights, and declared that they were content to rely on the justice of that body for an equitable provision. This act of patriotism was received with the loudest burst of applause; and, as if by a sudden emotion, all the parochial clergy in the assembly stepped forward to the table to make the same sacrifice. The archbishop of Paris next declared, “that in the name of his brethren, he begged leave to place the whole of their tithes under the discretion of the representatives of the nation—claiming only for themselves enough to support the decency and dignity of public worship, and to enable them to administer to the relief of the poor.”—“Such is the wish of all the clergy,” exclaimed the cardinal de la Rochefoucault; “we place our confidence in the nation.”

The decree which abolished the feudal system, and the exclusive privileges of hunting, fishing, &c. and which laid all offices and dignities open to every citizen without distinction of birth; which declared that the tithes should be commuted for a certain stipend; which prohibited the sale of offices, the payment of fees to the clergy on casualties, and all payments to the see of Rome; which annihilated the feudal jurisdictions, pluralities, pensions, and the particular privileges of those provinces which were called Pays d’Etats, was finally passed on

on the 18th of August, and accepted by the king.

Tacitus has somewhere lamented, that the scenes which his duty compelled him to record, wanted that interest and variety which decorated the more flourishing periods of the republic, and complains that his annals contain little more than details of bloodshed and assassinations. In this respect the historian of anarchy will find himself in a similar predicament with the annalist of despotism; and the necessity of recurring so frequently to the odious topic of popular commotion and phrenzy, may perhaps be supposed to stand in need of no apology. The truth is, the kingdom of France, at the period we are describing, was destitute of regular government. The executive power, which is only supported by public opinion, was seized with a kind of political paralysis; it was neither capable of restraining the public impetuosity, nor of directing its motions. The whole kingdom was in agitation, and the slightest rumour was sufficient to produce a paroxysm of popular delusion and madness. The metropolis, was, however, agitated beyond every other part; it was the centre of political discussion, and the theatre where those who were disaffected to the new order of things could put in action their artifices with most effect. The calamities which the people had so lately escaped, and the malevolence and well-known perfidy of their enemies, had generated in them habits of suspicion; and the acts of bloodshed into which they had been betrayed, had familiarized them with cruelty.

In this state of things, we are not to wonder if we see the populace on the point of sacrificing one of their best friends, and in the course of a few

weeks demanding clamorously the life of him whom they had chosen for their general. Thus, while the assembly were engaged in performing the most important services to the people, the inhabitants of Paris were endeavouring to dip their hands in the blood of a man (the marquis de la Salle) who, though one of the first of the nobles, had deserted the cause of his order from an affection for the people. On the 5th of August, about nine in the evening, a boat was discovered on the river, rowed by three men, and was stopped by the inhabitants of Port St. Paul:—It was found loaded with ammunition from the arsenal; and this discovery was no sooner made, than a general alarm was excited. The boatmen were examined, and M. de la Voissiere and some other persons who had the custody of the powder, &c. were sent for, who produced an order signed “De la Salle, acting for M. de la Fayette.” It was in vain that it was represented to the mob, that this powder was *poudre de traite*, that is, of an inferior quality, such as is sent to Guinea, which was transporting from the arsenal only to be changed for better. The mob immediately exclaimed, it is *poudre de traître!* and clamoured for vengeance. M. de Salle had been dining in the country, and in the evening had returned to the Hotel de Ville, where he was no sooner arrived than he found upwards of forty thousand people demanding his life. Learning by accident the cause of the tumult, he had, however, the good fortune to retreat without being discovered.

During this time, a miscreant was at the lamp, with a new rope in his hand, where he is said to have remained for not less than three quarters of an hour, while a crew of banditti broke into the

the Hotel de Ville, and ascended even into the clock, in quest of the marquis de Salle. The coolness and serenity of the marquis de la Fayette, appeared to increase with the tumult and the danger. In the mean time, he had given secret orders, and had arranged every thing for the public safety by the agency of a faithful serjeant. At length, when he was satisfied that every thing was right, he suddenly arose, and addressing himself to the committee, who had sat with him the whole evening, he said—"You are fatigued, gentlemen, and I am fatigued also—let us retire: the Greve is completely free; and I give you my word, that Paris was never in a more perfect state of tranquillity." On looking out of the windows, nothing was to be seen of the mob who had so lately filled the square; it was entirely occupied by soldiers of the national guard, drawn up in most excellent order, who had been gradually introduced by the marquis, and by this means, without tumult or trouble, expelled their opponents.

The restoration of tranquillity and order was an object of the first importance with the friends of liberty, and it was evident, that to place the municipal government under proper regulations was the only method of effecting this desired end. As Paris also was not only the first in importance, but the most exposed to the disasters of anarchy, to put a stop to the disorders of the capital was a matter of the most urgent necessity; this could only be done by giving the citizens an interest in the support of a good government; and by conferring on those who had property to defend, functions and authority adequate to this purpose; by establishing a regular chain of subordi-

nation, and enabling each person to comprehend his proper duties as a public man. A temporary plan of municipal regulation was therefore advised by M. Bailly for the metropolis, which was to exist only till the assembly had perfected that more enlarged scheme by which the whole of the kingdom was to be regulated. As this plan was only temporary, it is unnecessary to enter into any detail concerning it. It is sufficient to say, that the number of the representatives of the districts were augmented to three hundred; that the committee of subsistence was established, which delivered the city from the horrors of famine; and that a lieutenant of the mayor was appointed in every district, who contributed greatly to preserve the harmony of government, and to facilitate the execution of every measure for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Another operation no less important was the organization of the national guard in Paris. The plan of M. de la Fayette for this purpose was simple but excellent. The Parisian infantry was limited to thirty-one thousand men, of whom one thousand were officers; six thousand were paid as soldiers, and the other twenty-four thousand consisted entirely of the citizens without pay. The city of Paris was apportioned into six military divisions; a commandant was created for each; and to each district a battalion was appointed, composed of five companies of one hundred men each: in those battalions, one company consisted of regular soldiers, or the old French guards, and termed the centre company. The districts elected their military officers. The choice of each of the six commandants was referred to an

an electoral assembly of the division, composed of representatives of the districts. The right of electing a commander in chief was vested in the districts at large, who appointed a major and lieutenant general. To these important posts the marquis de la Fayette promoted M. Gouvion, who had been his colleague and companion, when he fought for American liberty; and M. Jarre, who had been distinguished in Holland by his attachment to the patriotic party.

After having satisfied the immediate demands of the nation, by the abolition of the feudal absurdities; the national assembly returned to its great work, a declaration of the rights of man. Among the many schemes or systems which were presented to the assembly on this occasion, three principally arrested their attention: those of M. de la Fayette, of the abbe Sieyes, and of M. Mounier. The first of these, in its clearness and simplicity, greatly resembled the celebrated American declaration: that of the abbe Sieyes embraced the whole fabric of man, and pointed out his right and his duties in the various departments of social life; it was, however, too complex and profound to be adopted as a kind of popular catechism: that of M. Mounier was not quite so plain and simple as that of the marquis de la Fayette, and was yet less complex than the other. It was, however, neither sufficiently clear and decisive in its principles, nor concise in its phraseology; and the assembly, after long debates, referred the matter to a committee of five members. M. Mirabeau proposed, that the declaration of rights might serve as a kind of preface or introduction to the system of the constitution. After long debates upon the

subject, however, it was agreed that the declaration of rights should be immediately published: and on the 20th of August that form was adopted, which afterwards appeared at the head of the new constitution.

It would be at once useless and uninteresting to enter into a minute detail of the circumstances under which the several articles of the French constitution were voted, or of the debates which they occasioned. The day after the declaration of rights was decreed, six articles, chiefly relating to the nature of the monarchy, collected literally from the instructions, were read in the assembly, and were upon the point of being collectively passed; but M. Petion, whose anti-monarchical prejudices have been so injurious to his country, entered upon a long declamation on the subject, and insisted on the rashness of passing a number of articles without a specific examination. After a debate of some length, it appeared that the great object of discussion would be the share which should be allowed to the monarch in the legislative authority. It was therefore determined previously to investigate this single point, whether a law could be enacted by the mere authority of the legislative body, without the sanction of the king, or what we term in England the *royal assent*? The Latin word *veto*, which had been in use in Poland on similar occasions, was adopted in the debates to express the negative of the king; and on the subject of this negative three opinions were prevalent in the national assembly.

Messrs. Mounier, Lally Tolendal, Trillard, d'Antraigues, de Mirabeau, and de Liancourt, supported the absolute veto of the king. Two powers, they observed, existed in the body politic

litic; the power of willing or decreeing, and that of acting. By the first, a society established the rules of its own conduct, and by the second, rules were carried into execution and effect.—Both of these powers are equally necessary; and if on the one part it is essential to liberty that the legislative should be secured from the executive power, so it is no less necessary to support this last against the usurpations of the other; this could only be effected by investing the chief magistrate with an authority to examine the acts of the legislative body, and to refuse to endow them with the sacred character of laws.

If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expressing their will in direct terms, it would be absurd to subject laws so enacted to a royal sanction; but in a representative government, where the deputies might be chosen more from circumstances of fortune and situation than from personal virtue and merit, and where it is possible that the majority of them might unite in opposition to the general good, it is necessary to counteract such an aristocracy by the prerogative of a monarch. Hence an alliance between the crown and the people, against every species of aristocracy, is created by their respective interests and their fears. If, for instance, the prince is possessed of no negative, what shall hinder the representatives from passing an act for perpetuating their own authority, like the famous long parliament of England? What shall prevent them from invading all the functions of the executive power, as well as the rights of the people? There are only two cases in which a monarch can be supposed to refuse his assent: 1. where he conceives the

law in the question to be opposite to the real interest of the people; or 2dly, where, deceived by his ministers, he is induced to resist a law which is injurious to their personal interests. In the first case, the prerogative will be beneficially exercised; in the second, the law will be only suspended: for, it is impossible that a limited monarch should long resist the wishes of the whole nation. In fact, his veto, however absolute, can be no more at any time than an appeal from the legislature to the people at large.

Such were the arguments with which the almost irresistible eloquence of Mirabeau, in particular, defended the absolute veto; they were, however, combated with some energy by the opposite party; It is essentially necessary, said they, to preserve distinct the two departments of government, the legislative and the executive powers; nor is there any thing in the proper and natural functions of a king, which makes it necessary to constitute him as an essential integrant branch of the legislature. It is difficult to draw the line between the right of stopping proceedings, and the right of action. The right of stopping proceedings in the hands of the executive power, would be to make it superior to the majority of the legislature; it would be a *lettre de cachet* against the supreme will of the nation.

A suspensive veto, or an appeal to the will of the nation, it was urged, would be attended with worse consequences than even the absolute negative; it would change the very nature of the government, and convert it into a pure democracy, instead of a representative government. What an appeal would it be, to twenty-six millions of people, of whom nine-tenths are

are destitute of instruction and incapable of understanding the complex nature of political questions? But it is pretended that the legislative power may one day encroach upon the executive; as if a power destitute of arms could contend with a power which has continually arms in its hands; as if an assembly of 1200 men, necessarily divided by their private interests, and invested with a transient authority, were likely to invade successfully the perpetual and hereditary depository of the whole public force. Consult history, and you will find throughout every page the legislature of free nations employed, not in usurping the executive power, but in restraining it. Doubtless a good king will consult the general wish of the nation; but a violent and obstinate king will expose, in defending his prerogative, both his crown and his life.

It was in these terms that Mess. Garat, jun. de Landine, Sales Beaumetz, and others, attacked the royal negative. A very small party pleaded for a suspensive veto; but as both the great parties agreed in rejecting it, every plan of mediation appeared at first improbable. In the course, however, of the discussion, new lights were reflected upon the subject, and inclined both parties at length to this middle path.

It was acknowledged that the great fountain of the executive power could not, without some danger, be deprived of this prerogative; nor could it be unlimitedly assigned to the monarch, without the apprehension of a danger still superior. The decisions of a legislative body are certainly not infallible, and in some instances may be opposite even to the will of the nation in general; in that case, therefore,

there should exist some counterpoise to their action; and though it might be dangerous and impolitic to make the king a constituent part of the legislature, yet the power of suspending a law is not an act of legislation. An actual appeal to the people at large would be impracticable, if not unconstitutional. When France adopted the representative form of government, it virtually abolished mandatory instructions from the constituents: supposing the national assembly to be changed at certain periods by new elections, no great inconvenience could arise from investing the monarch with a power of suspending, for a certain number of successive legislatures, any law that might appear to him contrary to the welfare of the state. It was added, would not this suspensive veto, on the other hand, place the representatives and the king in a state of emulation extremely conducive to the general good? Would not the deputies of the nation become more circumspect, in not presenting for the royal sanction laws which the king might reject with applause? And would not the monarch be cautious of suspending laws, so good in themselves as to secure their action in successive legislatures?

The discussion of this important question was not confined to the assembly. The city of Paris most illegally and improperly presumed to dictate on this occasion, and afforded a melancholy omen of that horrid and unconstitutional interference by which the government was to be afterwards outraged: the populace threatened again to relapse into their former violence: and even a list was shewn in which a number of members belonging to the assembly itself were marked for destruction.

struction. Rennes and Dinan also formally protested against the veto in the most violent terms. In the mean time a memoir was sent from M. Neckar to the assembly on this subject, in which, by a number of very sensible arguments, he enforced the adoption of the suspensive veto, limiting its effect to two legislatures: but the majority, consisting of the most violent of both parties, on the plea of prohibiting all ministerial influence, would not permit the memoir to be read. It was, however, made public in a few days, and is supposed to have had considerable weight with the people at least, if not with the assembly. It was therefore at length determined, "that the king should have the power of suspending any decree for two successive legislatures; but that if a third should persist in enacting it, in that case it was to have the force of the law without the royal sanction."

While the assembly remained undetermined on the important question of the royal *veto* (for it was in agitation from the latter end of August to the 17th of September,) other subjects of government, not less interesting, presented themselves for discussion. The first of these regarded the permanence of a national assembly; in plain terms, whether there should always exist an assembly ready to be convoked upon any occasion, like the parliament of England; or whether it should only meet periodically, and be virtually dissolved on the close of the session? On this topic there was little room for dissent, and it was carried in favour of a permanent assembly with only three dissenting voices. On the next topic of discussion there was less unanimity. M. Lally Tolendal, in the name of the committee of constitution, proposed

that the legislature should consist of two chambers, a lower and an upper house. In the original draft which the reporter exhibited, there is an improvement on the English constitution, the senate or upper house was to be composed of members chosen for life; but M. Mounier thought that this high dignity ought to be conferred only for seven years.

This proposed organization was universally disapproved by the people. It was evidently founded on the supposed balance of powers in the English constitution. But the popular party considered it as an asylum for the old aristocracy, and (to use the phraseology of a writer of this party) as the cradle of a new one: nay, even the partizans of the feudal system opposed the creation of a new dignity, which was to be raised in function and authority above the ancient nobility of the realm.

On the discussion of the subject in the assembly, the English government was treated with all due respect; but M. de St. Etienne observed, that the establishment of an upper house there, was not originally with any view of restraining the excesses of popular counsels, but was simply a treaty of accommodation; a capitulation between the arrogance of the great, and the spirit of liberty in the people. "It is," said he, "one of the feudal relics, and we have agreed to destroy that pernicious system."

The very nature of things, it was urged, is adverse to every division of the legislative authority. The nation which is represented is *one*, the representative body ought to be *one* also. The *will* of the nation, of which the assembly is the organ, is indivisible, and so ought to be the *voice* which pronounces it.—Again, if the two chambers have
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not respectively a *veto* upon the acts of each other, there is no object in dividing them; if each of them possess this *veto*, in some cases they will be reduced to perfect inaction. If the senators are appointed for life, they will naturally be on the side of the monarch, who may gratify their avarice by places and pensions, and amuse their ambition by splendid expectations and promises; a senate for life would then be no more than an additional force added to the executive power.

The remainder of the debate was interrupted and tumultuous. The bishop of Langres, who was president, and a decided friend to the measure of two chambers, quitted the chair, which was taken by the count de Clermont Tonnerre; and when the suffrages were collected, though more than one thousand voted, only eighty-nine were in favour of an upper house.

In the discussion of the *veto* two other subjects had also been involved; namely, the *duration of the legislative body*, and the mode to be pursued in *re-electing the deputies*. On the first of these topics two evils were to be avoided; an existence too short, which afforded no scope for experience, nor for the display of talents, and which would necessarily render the operations of the legislative versatile and inconstant; and a protracted duration, which opened a way for corruption, to generate the *esprit de corps*. The term of *two years* was adopted, as the medium between the extreme points of an annual assembly and the dangerous possession of authority for a more extended period. The same reasons induced the assembly to prefer the *election of new members entirely to each legislature*, rather than a partial re-election; since they conceived, that whatever

the new members might want in experience, they would compensate in diligence and zeal; that it might be a means of extending the political knowledge and ability of the superior classes; and, in fine, as it appeared the only effectual mode of utterly excluding the evils of faction and venality. This, however, in the conclusion, though it did honour to their intentions, proved the most fatal of all the false steps taken by the constituent assembly, and was assuredly the cause of the dissolution of that constitution which they had established.

The assembly decreed, with an unanimous voice of acclamation, That the *person of the king is inviolable*; that the *throne is indivisible*; that the *crown is hereditary* in the males of the reigning family, according to primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females.

The unanimity on these questions was nearly destroyed, and the proceedings of the assembly interrupted, by the artful introduction of a most imprudent topic. The only hope of the disaffected party now rested on the probability of involving the nation in a dispute or contest with some foreign power; and a fair opportunity was offered when the motion for regulating the succession came under consideration. It was then proposed, that the assembly should decide whether the Spanish branch of the Bourbon family were legally excluded by the renunciation which Philip V. had agreed to by the treaty of Utrecht. No question could be more impertinent or irrelevant in its object than this: and the necessary consequence of a decision must have been, on the one hand to disgust the court of Spain, or on the other to give occasion to the calumniators of the

the new legislature to assert that they paid no regard to the sacred nature of treaties. From this dilemma they were happily relieved, after three days' debate, by an amendment proposed by M. Target, which disavowed the intention of extending the spirit of the last of the above articles to the prejudging of the effect of renunciation by treaty.

The decrees of the 4th of August had, as we have already stated, been sent to the king; and on the 12th of September a decree was passed, pressing the necessity of their promulgation. On the 18th a letter was received from his majesty, approving in general terms of the spirit of the decrees, but stating some objections against particular articles, especially the abolition of those rents which had been originally founded on personal service, but which were to the present proprietors a species of actual property; and also remarking, that some difficulty would attend the abolition of tithes; and that there appeared some danger of offending the German princes who had possessions in Alsace, which were secured to them by treaty. To these articles he proposed therefore to give only a conditional assent, with a promise of modifying or renouncing his opinions, if convinced by the observations of the national assembly.

Neither the people nor the assembly were satisfied with this letter of the king. It was said, that these decrees were sent to the executive power, not for his assent, but for the purpose of promulgation merely; that they were principles rather than laws, and that the sanction of the executive power was not necessary to the consecration of principles; but that the observations of his majesty would come more pro-

perly under consideration when these articles were to be reduced into the form of laws. On the motion of M. Chapellier, therefore, it was resolved, "That the president should wait on the king to intreat him, that he would immediately order the promulgation of the decrees of the 4th of August and the following days; assuring his majesty that the national assembly would pay the most respectful attention to the observations which he had been pleased to communicate." The king immediately acceded to the wishes of the legislature, and on the 20th of September sanctioned the decrees.

Amidst this general prospect of a happy establishment of rational liberty the derangement of the finances seemed to oppose an invincible obstacle to the patriotic labours of the friends of the people. The proposed loan of eighty millions had failed; loans in general were decried; and the current specie of the kingdom was transferred to distant countries. Nothing, however, could discourage the confidence which the citizens reposed in their representatives; the pecuniary difficulties which embarrassed the government were no sooner known, than a number of disinterested expedients were projected for relieving them. The wives and daughters of the opulent inhabitants of Paris appeared at the bar of the assembly, and, after the example of the Roman ladies, offered their jewels and ornaments of value on the altar of the public. The whole kingdom was at once actuated by a general enthusiasm: infancy sacrificed its toys; old age its comforts; opulence presented the tribute of its wealth; and poverty itself consecrated to its country a part of its subsistence. The king, whose benevolence has never been questioned,

questioned, however imprudently he may have acted in some difficult circumstances, and under improper influence, voluntarily sent his rich services of plate to the mint, though the assembly intreated him in the strongest terms to revoke his resolution.

The necessities of the state, however, were too considerable to be materially relieved by these donations; and they were found scarcely sufficient to answer the current expences. M. Neckar was the only person who did not despair. He had the courage to represent to the assembly the calamitous situation of the public, and the means of alleviating it. He shewed that by certain reductions in the public expence, by different projects of economy, by an equalization of the taxes, the most reasonable hopes might be entertained respecting the future restoration of credit, and re-establishment of the finances; and, in order to obviate the present embarrassment, proposed that *a contribution should be demanded from each citizen equivalent to a quarter of his nett income*, to be collected in the space of fifteen months, agreeable to the solemn declaration of the respective contributors. The assembly were terrified at the boldness of the project; but the count de Miradeau, who possibly repenting at the share he had taken in defeating the former project of the minister, now exerted the full force of his irresistible talents in his favour.—He proved that the exigencies of the state required an immediate supply; and that it was impossible to substitute a new scheme of finance in the place of that proposed by M. Neckar, or even to examine that which he had submitted to them: since to go through the very figures which the statement contained would require a period of not

less than three months. He urged the necessity of confidence in such a conjuncture: a confidence which he observed the former conduct of the minister entirely warranted; and which ought now be to accorded to him, even though his plan might not be the best that human ingenuity could devise, because there was no other before them which they could adopt. The assembly upon these reasons accepted the plan of M. Neckar; and on the 1st of October he presented it in its perfect form, and with it his own contribution, which amounted to 100,000 livres.

Though the scheme however was accepted in the general, the execution of it in detail appeared to be attended with some difficulty; the principal of which was that all the *cahiers* or instructions, had prohibited the imposing of any taxes till the constitution should be established. In this case, however, the necessities of the state rendered a strict compliance with the instructions impossible; but as a pledge to the public, that the assembly were not inattentive to the will of their constituents, several of the patriotic members proposed, that the king should be requested to accept that part of the constitution which was already determined, previous to presenting him with the decree concerning this extraordinary impost.

The events which follow, are by the candid of all parties allowed to be still enveloped in an almost impenetrable cloud of mystery. The democratic writers assert, that a plot was concerted of immense extent for the total ruin of the liberties of France; the principal articles of which were—That the king was to be transported voluntarily, or involuntarily, to Metz; where the royal standard

standard was to be erected; where all the ancient authorities, the ministers, generals and parliaments, were to be assembled, and to issue manifestoes against the representatives of the nation—That a subscription was actually opened, by those who termed themselves the *king's party*, for the express purpose of carrying on a civil war—That both the capital and Versailles were once more to be invested with a powerful army—and that the national assembly was to be forcibly dissolved. These assertions undoubtedly received some countenance from the fragment of a letter from count d'Estaing to the queen, in which he mentions some rumours having reached his ears, and in which he earnestly dissuades her from becoming a party in so rash a measure. The court party, on the other hand, threw the blame upon their adversaries, and affirmed that the whole was a preconcerted plan of the popular leaders to force the king and the assembly to reside within the walls of Paris.

All however that is known with certainty respecting the circumstances which conducted to the commotion at Versailles is, that the minds of the two great parties which had already begun to assume the factious epithets of *democratic*, and *aristocratic*, were at this period inflamed to a most extravagant pitch of resentment, and disposed to suspect each other of the most atrocious designs; that the declaration of rights and the first articles of the constitution had remained for some days in the hands of the king, who had delayed to give them the expected sanction; that the clamours of the aristocratic party were louder than ever; that every mode was essayed to work upon the compassion and the loyalty of the na-

tion; that the king was represented as dethroned, and reduced to the most abject state of slavery; and that some of the dependents of the court, in the plenitude of their zeal, were heard to boast "that a few days would restore affairs to their ancient situation, and that the king and his ministers would resume their power." It is well known on the other hand, that the old French guards, who composed, as we have already seen, the centre company in each battalion of the city militia, and who had been accustomed to the honour of guarding the king's person, saw with a most jealous eye that important trust committed to the body guard and the militia of Versailles. It is not improbable too, that the more ardent of the patriotic party might entertain suspicions, that the sovereign might one day effect an escape from the unguarded palace of Versailles to put himself into the hands of their enemies, and might secretly wish to see him lodged in the centre of a city devoted to their interests, and from which there was but little probability of retreat.

The court at Versailles were not without hopes that, as the revolution was in a great measure effected by the change which was produced in the minds of the soldiery, a similar change might operate in their favour. In the mean time, Paris was afflicted with all the evils of famine. Either no bread was to be obtained, or bread of so bad a quality, that the populace, always mistrustful and suspicious, were not without their alarms of a criminal design upon the lives, or at least the health, of the inhabitants. And suspicions were entertained respecting the design of dissolving the assembly, and carrying off the sovereign. At the same

same time the mutual resentment of the contending parties hourly augmented; and the imprudent conduct of the minority exposed them to every insult. White and black cockades were worn as signals of defiance.— They were torn out of the hats of the wearers by the mob; but such was the enthusiasm of one of these votaries of party, that he is said to have picked up from the ground this relic of loyalty, to have kissed it respectfully, and attempted to replace it in his hat. Every measure that could be taken by the three hundred directors of the municipality to prevent the spreading of the insurrection was taken—in vain! Early on the morning of the memorable 5th of October, a woman sallied out from the quarter of St. Eustacia, and entering the corps-du-garde, and seizing a drum, paraded the adjacent streets beating an alarm, and exciting the people with clamours respecting the scarcity of bread. She was soon joined by a very numerous mob, chiefly of women, and repaired immediately to the Hotel de Ville. A few of the committee of the commune were assembled; and M. Gouvion, at the head of the national guard, endeavoured to prevent their entrance; but the soldiers, swayed either by gallantry, humanity, or disaffection, gave way, and permitted them to pass. Some of the women, who by their air and manner appeared to be of a superior class, entered with good humour into conversation with the committee, and pleaded eloquently the cause of their companions, who under various circumstances of misery came to ask for relief. But the greater number, both by their appearance and their conduct, shewed that they were collected from the lower rank of indigence and depravity. With horrid

imprecations they demanded bread and arms; they exclaimed with violence against the pusillanimity of the men, and threatened the lives of the whole committee, and particularly of M. Bailly and the marquis de la Fayette. Others penetrated the magazine of arms; and a third troop ascended the belfry, where they attempted to strangle the abbe de Lefevre. In one of the halls two furies endeavoured to set fire to the public papers, but were happily prevented by Stanislaus Maillard, who had rendered himself famous at the taking of the Bastile.

This young man finding all endeavours to resist the fury of the mob in vain, employed a new stratagem to preserve his country. He applied to the commanding officer for his authority; and having obtained it, he proceeded down the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, which were filled with women, and seizing a drum, which lay at the door, he offered to put himself at the head of the insurgents; the universal clamour was to proceed to Versailles. By an unanimous shout of applause Maillard was chosen captain of this turbulent troop; and by his authority the assembly was adjourned to the Champs Elisées. When arrived at this general rendezvous their numbers amounted to eight thousand: and their first measure was to surround their chief and to insist upon his leading them to the arsenal to equip themselves completely with arms. Fortunately he had authority enough to make himself heard, and to convince them that the arms had been removed from the arsenal; and that he had even sufficient address to engage them to lay aside the weapons with which they had provided themselves, by representing to them, that since their object was to

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supplicate

supplicate the assembly for justice and for bread, they would operate more forcibly on the compassion of that body, by appearing as distressed petitioners, than with arms in their hands. They departed for Versailles about noon, preceded by a company of armed men, and guarded in the rear by the volunteers of the Bastile, whom Maillard had prepared for that purpose.

Unfortunately the fanaticism of the moment was communicated to the grenadiers. They not only declared, "that they could not turn their bayonets against the poor women who came to ask for bread," but intimated an inclination themselves to proceed to Versailles. Their spokesman declaimed loudly against the committee of subsistence, against the gardes-du-corps, and concluded, "that the people were miserable, and the source of the evil was at Versailles; that they must go and find out the king, and bring him to Paris." While the marquis de la Fayette reasoned, insisted, threatened, the tumult increased from all quarters; an immense crowd armed with sticks, pikes, guns, &c. rushed from the suburbs; and though the national guard appeared not in the most tractable position, the mayor and municipality probably conceived it to be the only means of preventing mischief at Versailles, to permit their departure with their commander at their head. The marquis therefore received an order to depart for Versailles, and it was most cheerfully obeyed by the national guard.

The representatives of the nation, the majority of whom at least were totally unconscious of what was passing in Paris, were assembled on the 5th, in expectation of receiving back the constitutional articles sanctioned by

the king. M. Mounier was then president. The sitting opened with reading a letter from the king, in which he pleaded "the difficulty of judging partially of the constitution;" adding, however, that in the confidence that the new articles were calculated to establish the happiness and prosperity of the kingdom, he accepted them; but with one positive condition, that from the spirit of the whole system the executive power should have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He concluded with observing, that though these constitutional articles did not all indiscriminately present him with the idea of perfection, yet he thought it proper to pay this respect to the wish of the assembly, and to the *alarming circumstances* which so strongly pressed him to desire the re-establishment of peace, order, and confidence.

This letter by no means proved acceptable to the assembly; the popular members marked in strong terms their disapprobation of this provisional assent, which only seemed to be given in consequence of the *alarming circumstances* of the nation. The prudence of the president prevailed over the rashness of both parties, and it was decreed, that the president should wait on the king to request a simple acceptance of the constitutional articles. The assembly was frequently alarmed, during the course of this discussion, by repeated intelligence that all Paris was advancing to Versailles. Maillard conducted his tumultuous troops with uncommon address. When he came within sight of Versailles, he arranged them in three ranks and advertised them, that as they were entering a place where they were not expected, they must be careful, by the cheerfulness of their appearance, and the regularity of their conduct,

conduct, to excite no alarms in the inhabitants. When arrived at the gate of the national assembly, Maillard undertook to speak for them. He entered attended by fifteen of the women, and persuaded the rest to wait for his return at the gate. His address had two objects; "to intreat that the assembly would devise some method of relieving the dreadful scarcity of bread which prevailed at Paris, and which, he said, had been occasioned by the interception of convoys, and by the monopolists; and to solicit that the gardes-du-corps might be ordered to assume the national cockade." He had scarcely finished, when a national cockade was presented to him on the part of the gardes-du-corps, as a proof that they had already adopted it. Maillard shewed it to the women, who immediately answered, by loud acclamations of *Vive le Roi, & M. M. les gardes-du-corps!* A deputation was immediately appointed to wait on the king with this intelligence.

The king had gone that morning to take the diversion of shooting in the woods of Meudon; and in the midst of his sport intelligence was brought, "that a most formidable band of women were on the way from Paris, exclaiming for bread." "Alas!" answered the king, "if I had it, I should not wait to be asked." On his return, as soon as he mounted his horse, a chevalier of St. Louis fell upon his knees, and beseeched his majesty not to be afraid. "I never was afraid in my life," returned the king.

On his arrival at Versailles, he found the gardes du-corps and the national guard under arms, and the palace surrounded by a mob. With a deputation from the assembly, five of the women were introduced to his majesty, who on

hearing of the distresses of the metropolis was extremely moved, and the women sympathized in the feelings of the monarch. Louisa Chabry, a young woman who was employed in some of the branches of sculpture, and was only seventeen years of age, fainted. When she recovered she desired leave to kiss the king's hand, who embraced her, and dismissed her with an elegant compliment. The women without doors could scarcely believe the report of those who had been admitted. In the mean time the king signed an order for bringing corn from Senlis and de Lagni, and for removing every obstacle which impeded the supply of Paris. This order was reported to the women, and they retired with acclamations of gratitude and joy.

This band of Amazons was no sooner dispersed than it was succeeded by another, headed by M. Brunout, a soldier of the Parisian guard, whom they had compelled to assume the unpleasant office of their leader. It is uncertain upon what provocation M. Savonieres, a lieutenant in the gardes-du-corps, and two other officers, imprudently singled out Brunout from his company, and chaced him along the ranks with their drawn sabres. The unhappy man was upon the point of being cut to pieces with their sabres, when one of the national guard of Versailles fired upon M. Savonieres, and broke his arm, and by that means saved the life of Brunout: and this incident is said to have greatly increased that unfortunate antipathy which the people afterwards manifested by atrocious acts of cruelty to the gardes-du-corps.

Whether there was indeed a concerted plan to carry off the king to Metz, or whether the court was really terrified by the accident which we have

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just recounted, it is impossible to determine; but the king's carriages were ordered to the gate of the castle which communicates with the orangery. The national guard of Versailles, however, which occupied the post, refused to permit them to pass; and the king himself was resolute in his determination to stay, declaring, "that he would rather perish, than that the blood of the people should be spilled in his quarrel."

The assembly continued sitting; but the session was tumultuous, and interrupted by the shouts and harangues of the Parisian fish-women, who filled the galleries.

The superior wisdom of the American congress over the French assembly was manifested in many instances, but in none more than this, that their deliberations were all private, or at least in the presence of few auditors. The orators of the French assemblies, too eager for applause, imprudently opened their galleries or tribunes to the public. The least pernicious effect of this injudicious arrangement was, that the assembly became a mere theatre, and the members only actors, whose sole view was to catch the applause of the galleries. In the end the auditors became their masters, and used them as they deserved.

A letter from the king was read, deploring the scarcity of provisions, and recommending that effectual means might be taken to remedy that calamity; and in a little time after M. Mounier entered with the pure and simple assent of the king to the constitutional articles. The assembly was then adjourned; but the applause which was bestowed on its proceedings was mingled with affecting murmurs and complaints, the multitude crying

out that they were actually starving, and that the majority of them had eaten nothing for upwards of twenty-four hours. The president therefore humanely ordered that provisions should be sought for in every part of the town, and the hall of the assembly was the scene of a miserable, scanty, and tumultuous banquet. Indeed, such was the dreadful famine, that the horse of one of the gardes-du-corps being killed in a tumult, he was immediately roasted, and greedily devoured by the mob. Previous to the adjournment of the assembly, Maillard and a number of the women set off in carriages, provided by the king, for Paris, carrying with them the king's letter, and the resolves of the national assembly, in the hope of restoring peace to the metropolis.

Darkness and a deluge of rain added to the horrors of the night. The wretched multitudes who had travelled from Paris were exposed, almost famished, to the inclemencies of the weather in the open streets: within the castle all was trepidation; nothing was to be heard from without but imprecations, and the voice of enraged multitudes demanding the lives of the queen and of the gardes-du-corps. Towards midnight, however, all appeared tolerably peaceable, when the beating of the drums, and the light of innumerable torches, announced the approach of the Parisian army. The marquis de la Fayette, on his arrival, repaired to the royal closet, and informed the king of the whole proceedings of the day; a part of the national guards were distributed in posts agreeably to the orders of his majesty; the rest were entertained by the inhabitants of Versailles, or retired to lodge in the churches and public edifices, for the remainder of the

the night; and tranquillity appeared once more perfectly restored.

The troops of vagabonds who had accompanied Maillard, or who had followed the Parisian militia, were chiefly disposed of in the hall of the assembly, and in the great corps de-garde; and at about five in the morning the marquis de la Fayette, after visiting all the posts, found every thing quiet, and retired to his chamber to write to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of snatching a few hours' repose.

The day began to break at about half past five; and at this period, crowds of women and other desperate persons, breathing vengeance, and thirsting for blood, advanced to the castle, which, in the fatal security which the arrival of the Parisian militia inspired, was left unguarded in several places. Some of the iron gates were shut, and some left open. An immense crowd found its way into the *cour des ministres*, and immediately proceeded to the royal gate, which was shut, and a number of the invaders attempted to scale it.—Another troop of ruffians proceeded to the chapel court, and another to that of the princes, and by both these avenues penetrated into the royal court. Some hasty dispositions of defence were made by a M. Aguesseau; the gardes-du-corps were soon under arms, and one man was wounded by them in the arm, and another shot dead. The crowd immediately mounted the grand stair-case, where one of the gardes-du-corps, M. Miomandre, endeavoured to dissuade them from their attempt; but he narrowly escaped with his life. M. Tardivet du Repaire hastened to the queen's apartment, in order to prevent the entrance of the banditti; but he

was assailed by thousands, and felled to the ground. A villain with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart: but he had the good fortune to wrest the weapon from his hand, with which he parried the attacks of his enemies, and at length effected his escape. M. Miomandre in the mean time made his way to the queen's apartment. He opened the door, and cried out to a lady whom he saw in the inner chamber—"Save the queen, madam, her life is in danger; I am here alone against two thousand tygers." He shut the door, and after a few minutes' resistance was desperately wounded with a pike, and left for dead; though he afterwards recovered.

The queen had been awaked a quarter of an hour before by the clamours of the women who assembled upon the terrace; but her waiting-woman had satisfied her by saying, "that they were only the women of Paris, who she supposed, not being able to find a lodging, were walking about." But the tumult approaching, and becoming apparently more serious, she rose, dressed herself in haste, and ran to the king's apartment by a private passage. In her way she heard the noise of a pistol and a musket, which redoubled her terror. "My friends," said she to every person she met, "save me and my children." In the king's chamber she found the dauphin, who had been brought there by one of her women; but the king was gone.—Awaked by the tumult, he had seen from a window the multitude pressing towards the great stair-case; and alarmed for the queen, he hastened to her apartment, and entered at one door at the moment she had quitted it by the other. He returned without loss of time; and

having with the queen brought the princess royal into the chamber, they prepared to face the multitude.

In the mean time the noise and tumult increased, and appeared at the very door of the chamber. Nothing was to be heard but the most dreadful exclamations, with violent and repeated blows against the outer door, a pannel of which was broken. Nothing but instant death was expected by the royal company. Suddenly, however, the tumult seemed to cease; every thing was quiet; and, a moment after, a gentle rap was heard at the door. It was opened, and in an instant the apartments were filled with the Parisian guard. The officer who conducted them, ordered them to ground their arms. "We come," said he, "to save the king;" and turning to such of the *gardes-du-corps* as were in the apartments—"We will save you also, gentlemen; let us from this moment be united."

Unfortunately the national guard arrived too late to prevent all the mischief. Two of the *gardes-du-corps* were murdered by the mob before the troops could be rallied; and their heads fixed on pikes, served as the standards of this detestable banditti. From the first moment of the alarm, the marquis de la Fayette had even exceeded his usual activity. He appeared in every quarter.—"Gentlemen," said he to the Parisian soldiers, "I have pledged my word and honour to the king that nothing belonging to him shall receive injury. If I break my word, I shall be no longer worthy to be your commander." Captain Condran, the officer who had driven the ruffians from the king's apartment, was no less conspicuous for his activity. The Parisians forced their way in every part through

the almost impenetrable mass—surrounded the *gardes-du-corps*, and placed them in safety under their own colours.

Plunder is however commonly one great object of a mob. The banditti had already begun to strip the palace, and to throw the furniture to each other out of the windows. M. Condran pursued them from place to place, till the castle was at length completely cleared. Expelled from the palace, they repaired to the stables; but here a sudden stop was put to their depredations by M. Doazon, a former general, and captain of the Paris militia. The horses were all recovered, and brought back in safety to their stalls. Disappointed at length in every view, they departed in a body to Paris, and left Versailles entirely free, and under the protection of the national guard. The most generous expressions of kindness and gratitude took place between the *gardes-du-corps* and the national guard. The former considered the others as their deliverers; while the latter evinced every inclination that they should in future form one united corps.

The royal family now ventured to shew themselves at a balcony, and received the most lively acclamations of respect from the soldiers and the people. But whether it had been planned by the popular party, or whether it was the immediate impulse of the multitude—the former is most probable—at the first a single voice, or a few voices, exclaimed—"The king to Paris!" and this was instantly followed by an universal acclamation enforcing the same demand. After some consultation with the marquis de la Fayette the king addressed them:—"You wish me to go to Paris—I will go, on the

the condition that I am to be accompanied by my wife and children." He was answered by the reiterated acclamations of *Vive le roi!*

Before the departure of the king, the national assembly was convened; and, on the motion of M. Mirabeau, passed a solemn decree, "that the assembly was inseparable from the person of the king." A deputation of one hundred members was also appointed to accompany the king to Paris. During the preparations for the journey, the gardes du corps changed hats and swords with the grenadiers and national guards, and both they and the regiment of Flanders desired leave to mix indiscriminately in the ranks. It was two o'clock in the afternoon before the procession set out. During the progress all was gaiety and joy among the soldiers and the spectators; and such was the respect in which the French nation still held the name and person of their king, that the multitude were superstitiously persuaded that the royal presence would actually put an end to the famine.

The popular exclamation was, as they proceeded along, "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the little journeyman."

On his arrival, the king was congratulated by the municipality, and declared his approbation of the loyalty which the city of Paris manifested. On this occasion he gave one proof, among several others which he had before given, that however he might be wrought upon by misrepresentation and evil counsels, his character was in the general neither deficient in good sense nor firmness. As they ascended the stairs of the Hotel de Ville, the marquis de la Fayette requested the king that he would either assure the

people himself, or permit some other person to assure them in his name, that he would fix his abode in Paris. "I feel no objection," replied the monarch, "to fix my abode in my good city of Paris: but I have not yet formed any determination on the subject; and I will make no promise which I do not positively mean to fulfil."

Whatever might have been the intentions of either party in producing the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, the removal of the king to the metropolis, was, for the moment, productive of the happiest consequences. It satisfied the suspicious and unquiet minds of the Parisians; it brought their sovereign more immediately in connexion with them, and strengthened in some degree the bands of union; nay, chimerical as it may appear, the superstitious fancy of the populace, that the presence of the king would terminate the famine, was in some degree realized. The abundance and profusion which always accompany a court, procured some relief to the indigent: and the consciousness of the supply that would be necessary, served to replenish the impoverished markets.

The aristocratic party connected with the court, were the persons who manifested the deepest regret on this occasion. If they really entertained any design of conveying the king to a distant part, it was frustrated by this measure; and, independent of this, they had cause to be apprehensive of the fury of the populace, should any incident happen to excite their ardent and sanguinary resentment.

In the assembly itself, notwithstanding the vote which declared the legislative body to be inseparable from the person of the monarch, some objections were strongly insisted upon against the projected

projected removal; and indeed the sequel evinced them to be but too well founded. It was said, that the deputies would no longer be the legislators of the nation; they must obey the arbitrary mandates of the populace, and even the freedom of debate would be annihilated. To remove their scruples, a letter was directed to them by the king, inviting them to resume their session in the metropolis; and this was powerfully seconded by a deputation from the citizens of Paris. By the mouth of their speaker M. Brissot, the citizens professed "their joy at the expected removal of the representative body;" they pledged themselves by a solemn oath, "to protect the persons of the deputies, and the freedom of debate;" but the oaths of a mob never can be deserving of credit. They intimated that they had forwarded an address to all the provinces and communities of France, to satisfy them relative to the late proceeding; to assure them that the commune of Paris was actuated by the most perfect loyalty to the king, the most inviolable obedience to the national assembly, and a sincere paternal regard to all the municipalities of the kingdom.

Though this address might probably diminish the fears of a part of the assembly, and certainly hastened their removal; yet the apprehensions of the aristocratic part of that body were not removed by these empty professions. Numberless passports were solicited on various excuses; and among these some deserters from the popular cause were observed with regret. M. Mounier and count Lally Tolendal retired in disgust. Many of the high aristocratic members took refuge in other countries, where they applied themselves indefatigably to what is always a

destructive measure, that of exciting a foreign war against their country and connexions. To prevent, however, as much as possible, similar emigrations, the national assembly decreed, "that passports to the members should be only granted for a short and limited period: and that as to unlimited passports on account of ill health, they should not be granted till substitutes were elected: that in future all substitutes should be elected by the citizens at large, or by their representatives, without any regard to orders; and that eight days after the first session at Paris, a call of the house should be instituted."

Count Lally Tolendal had concurred early in the popular measures which had produced the revolution; and his letter to a friend, in the original French, inserted by Mr. Burke in one of his publications, gives an account of his reasons for withdrawing from that assembly; for that he had for some months past lifted up his voice in that den of anarchy, until he was no longer able to exert it. As a farther reason for withdrawing, he describes the shocking cavalcade of a royal family brought in the most brutal manner to their capital, by a mob, preceded with a rout of furies in the shape of fish-women, bearing the bloody heads of the king's guards on pikes, as the standards of their triumph. Some shots were fired, and, "Aim at the bishops," was the cry; a shot being fired at the king's coach in which a venerable bishop accompanied him, that the sanctity of his character might be a means of shielding the degraded monarch from the grossest of insults. During these atrocities, one of the members of the assembly enjoyed the scene, calling it a glorious day. Another said, the vessel
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of state would, from that circumstance, be more safely launched to its intended destination. The Count then affirms, that himself and the virtuous Mounier with the utmost difficulty escaped assassination from a blood-thirsty crew, who wanted to add their heads to those of the guards, which they carried in triumph.

A proclamation ascertaining the right of citizens was now decreed; the power of originating laws was exclusively confined to the assembly; and the executive power was prohibited the liberty of creating or suppressing posts or offices without an act of the legislature. The power of laying taxes was also vested exclusively in the representatives of the people; the responsibility of ministers was established; and the phraseology in the proclamations and other acts of the king, "such as *our* pleasure," &c. was abolished. The title of the king was changed from "the king of France," to that of "king of the French," as more expressive of the office, which is a king or ruler of men, and not of the soil or territory. Some difficulty arose respecting the title of king of Navarre; for that petty state, considering itself rather as the ally than as a part of the empire, had not sent representatives to the national assembly. The deputies of the great provinces, however, strenuously opposed the title, and asserted that the king might as well be stiled count of Provence, duke of Brittany, king of Corsica, as king of Navarre; it was therefore agreed to expunge the title.

Tranquillity, however, was by no means perfectly restored; and to repeat the vague and idle reports that every day were spread, to alarm the people, would require volumes; for se-

veral nights the houses of individuals were marked with chalk, and the colours, it was said, whether they were to be plundered, burnt, or the inhabitants murdered. In this state of suspicion and ferment, innumerable reports, some true, and some false, and some, the foundations of which have never yet been completely explored, were industriously propagated; among others, was a rumour which represented the duke d'Orleans as harbouring criminal designs upon the crown, or the regency at least. The marquis de la Fayette, who was always forward in every thing that might contribute to the union of order and good government, with the blessings of liberty, undertook to persuade the duke however to withdraw himself from the public for at least a short time. He was invested with some public commission, rather nominal than real, and solicited from the assembly a passport for England. The Count de Mirabeau, and some others of the more intimate friends of the duke, opposed strenuously his retiring, as more likely to give credit to the reports against him, than to disprove them; but he chose to retire from the scene of difficulty and danger. At Boulogne his highness was stopped by the municipality, notwithstanding his passport, and detained till set free by a subsequent order of the assembly.

On the 19th of October, the representatives of the French nation held their first session at Paris. A deputation from the commune waited on them immediately with the congratulations of the city, at the head of which were M. Bailly the mayor, and the marquis de la Fayette. After the answer of the president, which was interrupted by peals of applause, the count de Mirabeau embraced the opportunity to
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press a vote of thanks to the mayor and the commander of the national guards, for their essential services to the nation, and "thus (he said) to signalize their first session in the metropolis, by a public act of justice, which was calculated to confirm the authority of the civil powers, and to repress the false zeal of imprudent friends, as well as the malignant designs of the enemies of freedom." The vote of thanks was decreed amidst the loudest acclamations, and the session of that day concluded, contrary to general expectation, without the smallest disturbance.

Neither this act of respect towards the magistracy of the city, however, nor the departure of the duke d'Orleans, could entirely prevent the horrors of massacre and insurrection; and the assembly had scarcely been established two days at Paris, before a most atrocious murder, committed almost in its very presence, obliged them to adopt a stronger measure against outrage and bloodshed. On the 21st of October an unfortunate baker, of the name of Francois, who resided in the street Marche Palu, close to the Archeveche, where the assembly at that period was convened, was singled out as the victim of popular phrenzy. After having served out his usual quantity of bread in the morning, he found his door still besieged by several persons who had not yet been able to obtain a supply. Among these was a woman, who is said to have borne a particular enmity against the unfortunate baker, and who insisted upon searching the house for bread. On entering, she found three loaves which the journeymen had reserved for their own use; and snatching one of them in her hand, she raised the injurious outcry, that Francois had

reserved a part of the provision which ought to have been distributed for the use of the poor, and that he was a monopolist and monster. The complaint was no sooner made public than an immense mob was collected; the baker was dragged forcibly to the Greve; and there, notwithstanding all the efforts of the municipality in his favour, he was hanged.

So outrageous a defiance of authority, so complete a subversion of law and justice, could not escape the pointed notice of the legislature. The first movements of popular fury, on their deliverance from despotism, might seem excusable; but the populace of Paris had now reached the summit of licentiousness and injustice. They had erected themselves into a power superior to the magistrates; and unless some decisive measure was taken, there was danger that the representative body itself would no longer be able to maintain its authority. An act was immediately passed for the prevention and the dispersion of riots, which authorized the magistrates, on any number of persons assembling, to call in the aid of the military, and to proclaim martial law. A red flag was to be displayed from the principal window of the town-house; and from that moment all assemblies of the populace, with or without arms, were to be considered as criminal. Should the mob refuse to disperse on being required by the magistrates, the military were then to act on the offensive; those who escaped might be arrested; and if unarmed, and they had been guilty of no act of violence, they were to be imprisoned for one year: if found in arms, they were declared liable to three years imprisonment; and if they had committed any violence, were judged

judged guilty of a capital offence. To give effect and vigour to this law, the committee of research was ordered to make all necessary inquiries into treasonable offences; and the constitutional committee to form a plan as soon as possible of a tribunal for the trial of all crimes of *lexenation*; and in the mean time this power was for the present vested in the court of the Chatelet.

These efforts of the assembly were vigorously seconded by the municipality. The murderer of Francois was arrested on the very day on which he committed the crime; and on the following day was executed, with another unfortunate person, who was also convicted of exciting sedition. The king and queen sympathized in the distress of the unfortunate widow of Francois: by the hands of the duke de Liancourt they sent her two thousand crowns; the commune also sent a deputation with a present to her; his remains were decently interred at the public expence; and the king and queen undertook to become the sponsors at the baptism of the child with whom his widow was pregnant at the time of his death.

The same disposition to violence, the same proneness to suspicion, that appeared in the capital, was no less active in the provinces. At Alencon, the viscount Caraman, who had been sent thither by marshal Contades with a detachment of horse, was on the point of being destroyed by the populace, on a most improbable rumour that he was inimical to the revolution. And at Vernon, a M. Planter, deputy of the commune at Paris, who had been sent by the magistrates to purchase corn, was seized by the mob, and after a mock trial, the fatal cord was twice

fixed round his neck; when Mr. Nesham, a young Englishman, who happened to be in the town, opposed himself singly to the violence of the populace, and rescued from instant death a respectable member of society. For this noble act of courage and humanity, Mr. Nesham was honoured with the first civic crown which was ever decreed in France; and was presented by the magistrates of Paris with a sword, on which was engraven the honourable testimony of having saved the life of a French citizen. At Lanion, a town in Brittany, also, some gentlemen who had been sent from Brest for the purchase of provisions, incurred a similar danger with M. Planter. A detachment, however, of the national guard from Brest soon restored order and tranquillity, and obliged the inhabitants of Lanion to make satisfaction for the outrage they had committed.

After all that had been performed by the assembly, the utter derangement of the finances, and the actual deficiency of means to supply the exigencies of the nation, threatened loudly the destruction of the state. In this difficult and hazardous predicament, the popular party resolved upon a bold and dangerous measure, which no apology can justify, and which it would not be easy even to excuse; and this was, to sacrifice the estates of the church to the exigencies of the state.

The extreme necessities of the state was the apology that was urged for this flagrant act of injustice; but though we are far from wishing to countenance the vulgar opinion "that the French are a nation of atheists," yet it is too certain that many of their leaders were of that description, and this most impolitic measure we are inclined to think originated in the *irreligious* prejudices

judices of some of its projectors. However this may be, it has had the most fatal consequences. It shews what bad politicians *infidels* are, and how improper to be entrusted with the important business of legislating for a great nation.

The most singular circumstance attending this unprecedented alienation is, that it was first proposed by an ecclesiastic. The young and ardent bishop of Autun, M. Talleyrand Perigord, whose appointment was already considerable, and whose rank and abilities afforded him the most brilliant prospects in the ecclesiastical career, ascended the tribune on the 10th of October; and after stating the necessities of the nation, the exhausted state of the finances, and utter impossibility of remedying them by any thing but a strong measure; with a disinterestedness which astonished the assembly, and with a boldness which for the moment silenced opposition, he observed, that the state had yet an immense resource in the possessions of the clergy. He asserted, that the revenues of the clergy are at the disposal of the nation; that all sinecures might and ought to be suppressed; and that the right which every ecclesiastic possessed in the revenues of his church was limited to that of a decent subsistence. The annual revenue of the church he estimated at one hundred and fifty millions; one hundred millions of which he proposed to appropriate still to the purposes of public worship, and fifty to the public service. This, with a vigorous exertion of public œconomy, he asserted, would supply the annual deficit, and would redeem the heavy and oppressive salt-tax, and the sale of offices. His speech contained many other matters in detail, and appeared of such im-

portance, that it was ordered to be printed.

Though we endeavour as completely as is consistent with our limits, to give an abstract of the arguments that were stated in the assembly on every important question, we would not be understood to assent to all that we quote.—The sentiment we have just repeated is wretched sophistry; and if it was admitted, it would follow that a legislature might at any time enact an Agrarian law, which would be the most outrageous act of tyranny and injustice. It is not true that property has merely *originated* from the *law*; but, on the contrary, one great end and reason for the *institution* of laws is the *protection* of *property*. We would neither adopt the language of the national assembly, nor of Mr. Burke—Man *has* imprescriptable rights—God forbid it was otherwise! and one of these is the *right of property*.

The advocates of the clergy maintained, that their opponents had grounded their arguments on a principle which was drawn from the dark and abstract subtleties of metaphysics, in opposition to the dictates of common sense, the evidence of history, and the universal practice of mankind; that unless the rights of property were held sacred, civil society was dissolved, the confidence which ought to be its support was ever removed, and men sunk again into a state of nature, that is, of barbarism and rapine; that the estates of the clergy were never actually possessed by the nation; and were sanctioned by the same titles, the same authorities, as the estates of private citizens; a part was obtained by bequest or assignment, and a part was the effect of œconomy and industry in the clergy themselves; that to deprive the
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church of its property was to annihilate it; that infinite scandal would accrue to the nation from such a measure: and that religion itself would receive a fatal wound. The clergy concluded by offering a quarter of their revenues to supply the deficiency of the finances, and, if that should not be sufficient, a half; but the offer was most imprudently rejected, and it was decreed, "that the estates of the church were at the disposal of the nation, which undertakes to provide for the decent support of the clergy; and that in consequence no clergyman ought to possess less in any parish than 1200 livres, or 60*l.* per annum, independent of the parsonage-house, garden, glebe, &c.

While the discussion concerning the estates of the clergy was in agitation, the assembly abolished formally *lettres de cachet* and all arbitrary imprisonment; decreed, that from henceforth no man could be imprisoned but for offences against the laws; and appointed a committee for enquiring into the offences of persons detained in the state prisons. They also abolished the difference of habit which marked the different orders in the national assembly. They refused to invest their own members with any peculiar immunities; and in particular *disclaimed the privilege of franking letters*. An enquiry into the nature and amount of the pensions laid out of the public funds was also instituted, and a committee appointed for the purpose.

It is evident that measures so hostile to the interests of so many individuals, possessed both of consequence and power, could not be suffered without opposition. The bishop of Treguier was one of the first to draw the sword of hostility against the assembly; he publicly declaimed against all the mea-

sures of the new legislature, represented them as fatal to religion, and as reversing the whole system of government—About the same period, a considerable number of the members of the parliament of Thoulouse, who stiled themselves of the order of nobility, published an invitation to the clergy and the *tiers etat*, to unite with them in an effort "to restore to religion its beneficial influence; to the laws, their force and action; to the monarch, his liberty and lost authority.

But what might appear more formidable still, was the convoking of the ancient provincial states. Those of Bearn were actually assembled. Those of Dauphine convoked themselves also without the king's authority; and, contrary to their own positive resolution, they restored the distinction of orders in their form of assembling. The states of Cambray protested against the decree concerning the church lands. In Brittany also some strong efforts of party were made, which could scarcely fail to intimidate a body less resolute than the national assembly.

The parliaments were not backward in joining this league against the new arrangements. The chamber of vacations at Rouen registered indeed the law which suspended their powers, but transmitted a secret protest to the king, who, justly irritated at such a proceeding, immediately laid it before the assembly. So decisive a defiance of the legislative authority demanded exemplary punishment; and the assembly resolved, "that this protest should be forthwith submitted to the tribunal, which for the time had cognizance of the crimes of leze-nation; and that the king should be intreated to name another chamber of vacations, which might register without any comment

the decree of the 3d of November."— So decided a step had its due effect upon the parliament. Instead of persisting in this opposition, its first step was to endeavour to explain away the malignant spirit of the protest: to represent, that the decree was registered in the fairest and most simple manner: and that the paper in question was meant merely as a testimony of respect to his majesty. Satisfied with this submission, the king wrote to the president with his own hand, soliciting the pardon of the offending chamber of vacations, which, after some debate, was at length accorded. The parliament of Metz, in the same spirit, but with less violence, protested against the decree which suspended its functions; the assembly ordered the offending members to their bar; but the parliament finding little support from the people, and terrified for the consequences, applied to the municipality to intercede with the legislative body in their favour. A decree of amnesty was therefore passed, and the pardon of the magistrates granted to the intreaty of the citizens.

In Provence, and particularly at Marseilles, commotions were excited by a fatal jealousy between the members of the parliament and the municipality. A cat was hanged by the populace at Marseilles, and the aristocratic party insisted upon it that the execution was emblematical. The intendant of the city was particularly odious to the people, and he requested a military force to assist him in preserving order. The military were received with infinite courtesy by the inhabitants; but the harmony was not of long continuance; for the disturbances broke out afresh, on an attempt being made by M. Caramon, the com-

mander of the troops, to reform the constitution of the national guard. An invitation was posted up in the different parts of the city, requiring the citizens to repair to the turret to oppose this reform. Thither immediately the military was ordered, and one of the citizens was killed. The people carried his body through the streets, and entered the house of an obnoxious person, M. la Fleche; the military were again called out, and twenty-three persons were arrested. The severity of the prevot-general, M. Bournisac, in prosecuting on account of these commotions, and his injustice in directing accusations against innoxious citizens who were guiltless of every public offence, continued to promote, instead of appeasing, the troubles. The indignation of the national assembly was at length roused by these proceedings.— The prosecution of the offenders was taken out of the hands of M. Bournisac, and referred to the seneschal court of Marseilles, and peace was once more established.

It was natural, in such a state of things, that jealousies should arise between the people and the soldiery; and these jealousies were certainly fomented with industry by the enemies of the new constitution. At Toulon, M. Albert de Rioms, commandant of the marine, a man of high military reputation, but supposed to be infected with aristocratical prejudices, offended the populace by expressing himself in a contemptuous manner of the national guard, and prohibiting the workmen in the arsenal from wearing the national cockade. His rashness, however, had nearly cost him his life; a mob assembled, and, but for the prudence of the national guard, would have sacrificed him to their resentment. He
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and four of his principal officers, who were accused of having given orders to fire on the people, were committed to prison to wait the decision of the assembly; and the legislative body judging favourably of the motives of M. Albert, and probably wishing to provoke as little as possible the resentment of any party, passed a decree favourable to the restoration of tranquillity, and liberated the officers.

About the same time a melancholy event, the effect of private revenge, took place at Senlis, which, from the vicinity of that place to Paris, made the greater impression. A soldier, who had been discharged from the national troops, fired on a procession of the citizens as they passed by the house in which he was. An immense multitude rushed impetuously in to seize the culprit; when the house, by design, as was generally believed, blew up, and no less than sixty persons lost their lives, and an immense number were wounded by the explosion.

On the 3d of August the fatal die was cast, when M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly to demand the deposition of the king. The audacious proposal was heard with horror by all good patriots; but it was followed by others of the 6th and 7th. A petition had lain for eight days on the altar of the Champ de Mars, and was presented by a countless multitude on the 6th, who were preceded by a pike crowned with the Jacobin ensign, the red woollen cap, with an inscription upon it, "The deposition of the king."

In compliance with these repeated requisitions, the assembly at length determined to come to a decision on this difficult and dangerous subject, and the fatal 10th of August

was appointed for the discussion. The assembly, however, had exhibited some proofs of caution and temperance which did not coincide with the impetuosity of the Jacobins, and the urgency of their cause.

The federates had been detained on different pretences in the metropolis; and even if their stay could be protracted, the leaders of the party were doubtful whether harmony could long exist between them and the mob of Paris: the passions of the people were now inflamed; but the French are versatile, and a change of opinion might succeed. In few words, there can be little doubt but that it was well understood that the people were to be excited by the Jacobin party, and that force and a mob were to effect what they despaired of from legally constituted powers. In proof of this assertion many facts might be adduced. To some foreigners regular notice was given by the leaders of this party to absent themselves from Paris on that day; and we know from the best authority, that one of the most active in the conspiracy was heard to say, "If we cannot provoke the people to rise by the tenth, we are lost."

While such were the evident designs of the adverse party, the king was not uninformed of their proceedings; and as no alternative now appeared but to repel force by force, preparations were made for defending the Tuilleries in case of an attack. The dreadful Rubicon was now passed, and no hope of the return of harmony or peace remained. A solemn gloom overspread the palace, and superseded the native gaiety of the French nation. Loyalty and friendship were now put to the severest test; and the question was not who will conquer, but, who will die
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in the defence and in the presence of his sovereign? Amidst his accumulated misfortunes, a small and firm band retained their attachment to their king, and upon different motives devoted themselves to his defence.

Among these brave and gallant men, none were more respectable than the Swiss guards; the number of which was about seven hundred.

Besides the Swiss, the number of gentlemen and others who repaired to the palace on this melancholy occasion, is said to have amounted to from twelve to thirteen hundred.

The king was advised to repair, as the only asylum which was open to him, to the national assembly. The queen, whose penetration led her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose force of mind was generally more disposed to resistance than submission, opposed with vehemence M. Rœderer's proposal, and exclaimed—"That sooner than remove she would be nailed to the walls of the palace."—But the habitual gentleness of the king's character induced him to comply.

The king met with no interruption in crossing the Thuilleries to the staircase leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there he was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled with the grossest abuse, the most alarming threats against his royal person. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the most forward of the insurgents snatched the prince royal out of the queen's arms, and carried him to the assembly.

The legislative body, at the moment their majesties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall.

As soon as he entered, the king seated himself by the side of the president, and addressed the assembly in these words: "I come hither to prevent a great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." The king and queen were accompanied by their son and daughter, and princess Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

The number of the insurgents has been stated at about twenty thousand effective men. The crowd of idle spectators who followed them, partly from curiosity and partly in hopes of plunder, is not to be estimated. The active rebels consisted chiefly of the lower class of the inhabitants of the suburbs, distinguished, as we before intimated, by the appellation of *sans culottes*, with some hundreds of the Marseillois, and other federates, who were certainly the most daring, and contributed most to the success of the enterprize. They were marshalled in tolerable order under the command of a Prussian, a soldier of fortune, of the name of Weisterman, and were armed, some with spears, some with muskets, and had with them in the centre no less than thirty pieces of cannon.

About a quarter past nine the gates of the Cour Royale were forced open, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of the Marseillois, whose leader drew them up in two square divisions facing the palace. They brandished their spears, and levelled their pieces with menacing gestures; while the Swiss and national guards from the windows intreated them by signs to keep the peace, and withdraw.

A few of the *sans culottes* at length proceeded to the foot of the first staircase, and seized the Swiss sentinel,

and soon after five other of their countrymen, disarmed them, and the main body then rushing in, cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceless victims.— On observing this outrage, the Swiss drew up in order of battle, some on the stair-case, others on the steps facing the chapel-door, and seeing no alternative but to stand upon the defensive, fired upon the murderers. At the same moment a national officer, who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his pistol against the walls of the palace, provoked those who were in the windows to return the fire. The assailants then applied their matches to the cannon, and the engagement soon became general.

The contest chiefly lay between the Marseillois and the Swiss. The national guards within the palace appeared at a loss what part to take. Either way a semblance of duty appeared to disarm them, and withhold them from active measures. The gendarmerie were in the same situation, and a party of them who had their situation near the coach-houses, were at one time raked by two fires from the Swiss and the rebels, and out of one hundred men, lost twenty-five in this inglorious inactivity. After a most gallant resistance of more than an hour, in which the Swiss were frequently victorious in different parts, these brave men, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti, enraged instead of being interested by their gallantry and fidelity, pursued the fugitives with the rancour of savages, and the victory was converted into a massacre. The national guards, either from policy, or from that enthusiasm which we know to be contagious, united with the populace in the exter-

mination of those whom but just before they had regarded as their fellow-soldiers. All the Swiss who were in the palace were murdered; many of them on their knees imploring quarter.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace saw no alternative at this formidable crisis, but to proceed as well as they could to the national assembly. The only possible road was through the queen's gate; they rallied all the Swiss whom they found dispersed in their way, and as many of the national guard as still retained their fidelity. The number of the fugitives must amount to five hundred; but as only one person could pass through the gate at a time, they were exposed to a continual fire from several battalions stationed at about 30 yards distance; and as the red uniform of the Swiss attracted particular notice, the devoted strangers were still the greatest sufferers.

Of the remainder some escaped by the gardens, and others in small parties made good their progress to different parts of the city, where, upon dispersing, they were secreted and saved by the humanity of individuals.

The defenceless victims who were found in the palace, were all involved in one promiscuous massacre. The gentlemen ushers, the pages, those who were in the lowest and most servile offices, were slaughtered without discrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Thuilleries from the roof to the foundations. The shocking barbarities which were practised on the bodies of the Swiss it would be offensive to relate. The massacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some chests indeed, containing papers, and assignats, and even some of the royal plate, were taken from

from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the national assembly.

A party of armed men proceeded to the Carmes, where a number of the non-juring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force their sentence of banishment; and there, in cold blood, the remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless, and probably innocent men.

From the Carmes they proceeded to the Abbey prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers. The assassins continued the whole night of the 2d at the Abbey, and the prison of the Chalet, whence they proceeded to the prison of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arrested on the 10th of August, were confined.

In this dungeon was the beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidant of the queen. When summoned to appear before the bloody tribunal, she was in bed, and was informed by the person who delivered the message, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbey. She begged, in return, to remain undisturbed, since to her one prison was as acceptable as another.—Being informed that she must appear immediately before the tribunal, she dressed in haste, and obeyed the summons. In the course of her interroga-

tion, no crimination against the queen or royal family could be extorted from her, and it is said it was the intention of the judges to acquit her. As she was conducted, however, out of prison, stupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, she received from behind a blow on the head with a sabre, which produced instantly a violent effusion of blood. In this situation she was supported by the arms of two men, who forced her to continue her progress over the dead bodies.—As she fainted every moment from loss of blood, like Cæsar, she was solicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at last she became so enfeebled, as to be able to proceed no further, her head was severed from her body.—The mangled corpse was exposed to every kind of indignity, and the head, in full dress, fixed upon a pike, was carried to the temple, and shewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid sight. It was afterwards carried in triumph round the streets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, probably without much feeling, by her brutal relations: madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and some other ladies, who were confined in the same prison, were spared. The whole that were massacred amounted to the number of one thousand and eighty-five.





AN

IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF THE WAR,

FROM THE

Commencement of the French Revolution.

As an introduction to this history, a recurrence will be necessary to those remarkable changes, made by the French Revolution in the politics of Europe; by which the interests of its sovereign states were apparently endangered, and those of Great Britain, though farthest from the vortex of the French troubles, were at last drawn into it.

The restless politics of France, by intermeddling in our contest with America, had given her people a tendency to embrace republican principles. That avowed scepticism, falsely called philosophy, advanced by many popular writers in that nation, with the extreme profusion and want of economy in its court and nobility, had so far prepared the people for a revolt, that the greatest prudence, firmness, and good management were necessary to prevent it.

Had the French contented themselves with that wise and liberal system of government, established by their constituent assembly, Europe had been at peace, and Liberty must have had her claims allowed in every country wherein she suffered oppression. But no sooner did the mad and unprincipled ambition of the intriguing parties in France aim at the destruction of Royalty, in order to possess dominion themselves, than every king felt his own safety threatened in that impending fate, which they saw awaited the unfortunate monarch Louis XVI. The views of the Jacobins being known, the generals of their own armies, seeing the danger that awaited the king and constitution, they had drawn their sword to defend, opposed their designs, and would have saved the state, had not the machinations of the factious proved too powerful for

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integrity

integrity and patriotism. To avoid falling into the general wreck of the government, La Fayette was induced to leave an army he could no longer command, as the patriotic general of his country, to seek an asylum in a distant nation. And here it must be lamented, the dismal fate which has since attended this unfortunate captive. Liberal in his feelings for all mankind, he devoted his life to the defence and establishment of freedom. Although born a subject of despotism, his mind was unshackled, and asserted his native rights to protect and liberate mankind from oppression. Noble and disinterested in his views, he loved his king, while he dethroned the despot. Being a chief instrument in subverting the oppressive government of France, he had no other aim than to protect his king in that system of power, established so much for the benefit of his country. He therefore led the armies of France against those powers he thought were leagued to restore its ancient tyranny. These have been his motives and actions, which ended with his being immured in a prison; but has been since liberated, and is supposed to be now in America.

The depositions of the members of the National Assembly, that were made of a plot against the royal family, of which the queen was stated to be the devoted victim of M. d'Orleans, excited the alarms of the friends to the newly-established government.— They perceived those who had been concerned in the revolution, had not yet attained their object. The welfare of the people appeared then to be only the pretence for gratifying personal ambition; and as the money and influence of this execrable character were too powerful to be openly re-

sisted, a plan was formed to convey the king in safety from a throne which he could no longer hold without the loss of his life. Here may be dated the first cause of the present war.

Such was the foundation for the alarms of Europe, lest the king of France should fall the victim of M. d'Orleans, and his tool M. de Mirabeau, that even a question was put to the national assembly, whether they could be screened from prosecution by the inviolability of deputies? The speaker, declaring the sentiments of the assembly, replied, that each member would look on such privilege with horror. But, to shield themselves from further enquiry and punishment, they sought shelter in making all Paris a party in their individual accusation. They asserted, that it was only a design to dishonour the revolution, to deceive the king, and to excite the pity of all Europe, for his perilous situation of being dethroned by M. d'Orleans.— However, with all their endeavours to evade the punishment they deserved, not a testimony was produced to falsify what had been deposed against them by 388 witnesses. Irresistible in their influence, they knew they could not be tried without an insurrection of all Paris being the consequence. Without seeking, therefore, that legal vindication, which can only be the test of innocence, they contented themselves with saying, that among all the Chatelet had printed of these traitorous designs, nothing had resulted which could criminate M. d'Orleans and M. de Mirabeau. This was easy to assert, when they knew their accusers saw an insurrection of the people would be the consequence of bringing them to trial. For this was the period in which M. d'Orleans's influence had risen to its

its zenith, and which afterwards prevailed so as to deprive the king of his throne and existence: but the power which M. d'Orleans had raised to support and promote his views of possessing the throne, proved his own destruction. Those who now possessed the government, knowing his ambitious designs, they had the best of all pretences to sacrifice him, in his turn, in order to possess themselves of his immense property, and thus maintain the authority they had acquired.

This plot of M. d'Orleans, against the royal family, was so universally confirmed, although his influence in the national assembly had caused it to declare there was no ground for accusation, that many of the departments lost their confidence in the permanency of the new constitution. The officers of the army became disaffected to the prevailing party, the municipalities avowed their loyalty, the gentry associated, and the peasantry began to rise in defence of their endangered sovereign. The balance of Europe being threatened with disorganization, by the impending destruction that awaited the sovereignty and government of France, excited alarm in all the cabinets of Europe. Although leagues have been formed against the encreasing power of France, yet now measures were concerting for its preservation. So necessary was its existing government thought to be to the peace and welfare of Europe, that even the rivals and natural enemies of France were alarmed for their safety, and anxious for her welfare. Those, therefore, who could imagine that the allies combined for the purpose of dividing the territory, must know very little of the importance which France has ever been thought to be to the

equilibrium of Europe. To divide this country by partition, would be only making it the subject of a general war among the different powers. The Emperor justly considered, that, on France he could only depend for protection against the Belgic provinces.—England began to arm—but with a magnanimity peculiar to herself, forbore hostilities until her own safety was threatened in the danger of her allies. Switzerland, although the natural ally of France, was nearly induced to enter into the league. She, however, determined to withdraw her support from a government that might have involved her in the ruin to which it seemed devoted. Spain contributed her money and troops. Prussia armed her legions; and the King of Sweden prepared to lead his armies in this general confederacy against the designs that were formed to destroy the constitution, so lately recognized and sanctioned by every state of Europe.

So shaken was the government of France, by intrigue and faction, that the colonies, convinced of its weakness began to revolt. The people of Colour vindicated their natural rights against the superiority of the Whites. They would no longer indure that unnatural distinction of a white father not suffering his coloured son to eat at the same table with himself. This excited the alarm of the Whites, lest the Black slaves and Mulattoes should demand their liberty. The free people of Colour sent a deputation to France, to require the same privileges as the Whites, who, in their turn, endeavoured to defeat their purpose. The Colonial Assembly, at the same time, endeavoured to be independent of the mother country. Although the assembly was dissolved, yet its independence

was afterwards recognized by the national assembly, declaring, that the French constitution was not adapted to the colonies. But this not satisfying the people of colour, a party, headed by one of the deputies, named Ogé, who had returned from France, attempted an insurrection. Being routed, Ogé fled to the Spaniards in St. Domingo, where he was given up to his pursuers, who broke him upon the wheel. Anarchy, and a disposition to revolt, so pervaded the whole island, that even the soldiers of a regiment rose and assassinated their own colonel. The civil powers were disorganized, municipalities were established, who disputed and opposed the authority of the governor. In this state the general assembly of the island opened their ports to foreigners, and threatened the deliverance of the colony to England. To re-establish peace, order, and confidence in the national assembly, two decrees were passed, in order to conciliate the pretensions of the whites, and natives of colour; but neither party were satisfied: and intelligence was soon afterwards received from St. Domingo, that the chains of the blacks were broken, and that, being provided with arms and ammunition, they were led to battle.—Fifteen leagues of the country had been ravaged, and the most horrid barbarities committed on the whites. Such was the situation of France and her colonies, at the moment when Mirabeau, the creature of M. d'Orleans, resigned his existence, and every nation was drawing the sword to protect the king and the constitution, against the dangers with which both were so alarmingly threatened.

The forces of the armed powers now approached the frontiers of

France. The Austrians approached the north, the Spaniards the south, and the Italians the west. The Jacobin faction, perceiving such a support in favour of the king and the constitution, against their meditated designs of subverting both, endeavoured to excite the vengeance of the people by false and malignant rumours. They alarmed the people with stating that the king intended to retire to Metz, where, supported by the emperor, he would be able to dictate laws to his people, and to crush, with foreign legions, any opposition that might be made to his re-assumed tyranny. And that his partizans would be re-possest of their former dignities. This had such an effect on the deluded people, that every person belonging to the royal family apprehended the danger of falling victims to their vengeance.—The king's aunts sought refuge in their flight to Rome. And the king's brother, preparing to escape, was prevented by a concourse of people assembling round his palace, and obliging him to promise that he would not leave the kingdom.

The public societies, which had the will of a misled, depraved, and desperate mob in their favour, awed and impeded the energies of government, whenever they proved inimical to their interested designs. This empire within an empire, prevented every exertion of ministers for the defence of the country. Perceiving their power and influence, they were impatient to leave their subordinate situation, in order to assume the reins of government themselves. But, in order to secure the prejudices of the multitude in their favour, they continually alarmed them with suggestions of returning despotism. This rendered the people

people always ready to perpetrate every outrage they were told was necessary to secure them from falling again into their former servitude. And, to render this fear as plausible as possible, they caused the legislature itself to adopt proceedings which seemed but defences against the approaching evil. The commonalty, thus perceiving that the government saw the danger, they became more alarmed and more desperate in their intentions to oppose whatever they were taught to believe threatened them with their former oppression.

But the great master-stroke of the factious Jacobins, was effecting the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, and causing it to pass a decree, which deprived their members, for a certain period, of being re-elected. The wisdom, dignity and moderation they had evinced in their proceedings, were not favourable to the impatient views of the intriguing parties. They wished for an assembly more servile to their dictates, and more congenial with their interest. The new assembly was composed of the dupes and creatures of M. d'Orleans and his minions. Being formed of members chosen from the country, those few who possessed integrity or principle were obliged, from their inexperience, to follow the dictates of their artful and designing advisers. And those who possessed distinguished abilities were found to be the most powerful advocates against that system which would have rendered the newly established constitution permanent and effective. Although the individuals of the faction were not numerous, yet their measures being bold, vigorous, and active, they were most powerful in their effects. Those who are suddenly elevated to trust or

power, are generally the most intemperate in exercising either. Such, for the misfortune of France, proved to be the conduct of those senators who were before but the editors of newspapers and publishers of periodical pamphlets. They had no sooner formed their assembly, than their democratical principles were avowed, and all their efforts were directed to blacken the least vestige of monarchy. They declared France could never be happy or secure until every remains of royalty were no more.

Having destroyed the great barrier of social harmony—a veneration for religion—their passions were unrestrained, and at liberty to enforce the vilest and most abandoned inclinations. Having exiled religion, they endeavoured to sanction their proceedings by forming a philosophy without virtue, reason, or principle. Their system of ethics abstracted remorse from crime, severed the ties of social compact, subverted justice, and banished mercy.

With these sentiments, it was natural to suppose to what excess of insult and outrage the members of the new assembly were prepared to extend their proceedings. Not contented with seating the king on the *left* hand of their president, sitting covered before him, and offering many other petty indignities, which disgraced themselves more than they degraded royalty, they began to interrogate his ministers concerning the state and arms of the national guards destined for the frontiers, the recruiting service, supply of provisions, providing arms, &c. all of which were, in a long memorial, satisfactorily answered.

The brothers of the King being assembled with large bodies of emigrants upon the frontiers, hostile proclamations

clamations were issued. To repel the approaching danger, they passed a decree to the following purport :

"The National Assembly considering that Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, being the next in succession to the regency, is absent from the kingdom. In virtue of an article in the second section of the French constitution, decrees, that the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legislative body shall have been published in Paris.

"Should the said Louis Stanislaus Xavier, French prince, fail to return to the kingdom within the above period, he shall then be deemed to have forfeited his right to the regency, in virtue of the second article of the constitutional act. The assembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the 30th of this month (October) a proclamation to this effect shall be printed, affixed, and published within three days, in the city of Paris, and that the executive power shall notify the same to the assembly within the three following days."

What aggravated this first symptom of a disposition to rapine and plunder, was the decree being formed at the moment when the armed powers gave the most lavish assurances of their amicable dispositions to the King and the Constitution. But the Legislative Assembly seemed determined to irritate the courts of Europe, in order to cause a foreign war, which they thought would sanction the violences they were meditating.

How much it is to be lamented, that a whole people should be liable to be the sport of a few designing, unprin-

cipled villains! Thus menaced within and without the kingdom, they were distracted with alarms. Ready to repel their enemies, their desperation was more easily directed by those who falsely deceived them with friendly professions to popular liberty. And thus were their resentments directed against the King and his ministers.—The public violence against the throne and government being too notorious not to be known to the emigrant princes and the foreign powers, induced them to join in an immediate effort for the salvation of Louis and the Constitution. This disposition was still more excited by the following severe and violent decree of the assembly, on the 9th of November.

"That the French, who were assembled in a hostile manner beyond the frontiers, were suspected of a conspiracy against their country. That, if after the 1st of January, they should be found in that situation, they should be declared actually guilty of a conspiracy, and punishable with death.

"That all the French princes and public functionaries, who should not return before the 1st of January, should be adjudged guilty of the same crime. That the high national court should, immediately after that period, be called to pronounce judgment on such offenders. That such as should be convicted during their absence, should forfeit their estates and property, during their own lives, but not to the prejudice of their children. That all such persons holding offices, &c. should be adjudged to have forfeited the same; and all such, being officers in the army or navy, should be considered as deserters. All Frenchmen who enlisted men to attack the frontiers, were to be adjudged guilty of high treason. No
arms

arms or military stores were to be transported out of the kingdom."

This proceeding of the Legislative Assembly clearly evinced the determined disposition they had of seizing every opportunity that offered to promote their designs of rapacity and ambition. Instead of following that lenity which the Constituent Assembly had adopted with regard to the emigrant princes, they did every thing to excite their resentment and indignation. Instead of endeavouring to regain their confidence, by inviting them to return, under assurances of protection and friendship, they raised an insurmountable obstacle to their ever re-visiting again their native soil, unless by the force of arms.

By their decree, if the princes and their adherents returned, even before the 1st of January, it would subject them to be apprehended as suspected conspirators. It therefore appeared, they were determined to prevent the princes coming again to France, in order to have some plea for seizing their estates, and to keep alive that hostility which they thought necessary to authorise those measures they had planned for subverting the government.

The proof which the King had given of his intention to govern agreeably to the constitution, they represented as a measure which justly excited their alarms for the safety of the people.— This party, so disaffected to the new constitution, asserted, that the King refusing to sanction the above decree of the 9th of November, against the emigrants, evinced that the present government was inconsistent in principle and practice. The constitution was composed, they said, of an hereditary monarchy, and a democratical assembly. The *veto* of the King would

defeat every patriotic measure, while he bribed with the civil list the corrupt members of the legislature, and assisted the enemies of the nation, assembled and assembling, with every hostile preparation.

It was only by the *veto* of the King that the constitution could be preserved from their inimical designs. Could the unfortunate Louis but have enforced this *veto*, so as to have annulled the decree, the free government of the new constitution had been preserved, and the nations of Europe saved from that loss of blood and treasure which they have suffered, and to which they are now exposed. But when the princes were, by this decree, deprived of their hereditary rights, and subjected to the penalties of death, no hope remained but in the armed assistance of foreign powers. However they might have induced the courts of Europe to suspend, until now, hostilities, wishing to effect a reconciliation, and to obtain a permanent security for their royal relation, they were now stimulated to the *dernier* resort of trying the force of war.

The Jacobins having prevailed over the Feuillans, who had associated in favour of the King and Constitution, still more convinced the emigrant princes and foreign courts of the necessity of interposing. After the impeachment of M. Delessart, the Republican party were absolute in the politics of France; for the court were obliged to relinquish all pretence to resistance.— M. Dumourier and M. Lacoste, two leading Jacobins, being nominated to the vacant departments of Foreign Affairs and the Marine, plainly evinced to all Europe the desperate state of the Royal Family, and the newly-established government. Such, however,

ever, was the popular delusion in favour of the Jacobin ministry, that, although justly suspected without the kingdom, they seemed to possess the entire confidence of the people within. Their affected attachment to freedom was such as to have induced upwards of 400 emigrants to return in one day through Lisle, immediately after the appointment.

The dispatches from Vienna, read by the new minister on the 29th of March, appeared almost a declaration of war. For the memorial, Prince Kaunitz sent, in the name of his master, the King of Hungary, stated, that the political system of the late Emperor would direct his conduct, which he would avow and explain with that frankness becoming a great power. The charge of assembling troops on the frontiers, he recriminated on France. The King of Hungary, and the Princes of Germany now thought it necessary to assemble still greater numbers to maintain their internal peace against the example of France, and the criminal machinations of the Jacobins.

This address, which was deemed insolent by the assembly, Dumourier affected to treat with great forbearance and magnanimity. He prevailed upon them to suspend all proceedings they might, in their indignation, be tempted to adopt, until a categorical answer was received from the court of Vienna. He stated to them, that the King of Sardinia was more favourable in his reply. For his majesty had assured him, that his troops were actually below the peace establishment, and that he suffered no hostile combinations of emigrants within his dominions.

But the war, which the violent

measures of the prevailing parties had provoked, seemed now to be dreaded. The preparations were too formidable not to excite alarms in a government so convulsed with faction. To prevail on the court of Vienna to desist from hostility, Dumourier caused the King to send, with his dispatches, an affectionate letter, entreating his nephew, the King of Hungary, to stop the effusion of blood; and assuring him, that the issue of a war would prove ultimately fatal to him, the King of France.

The Emperor, seeing with indignation the servile state of his uncle, and the artful and unmanly manner in which the minister attempted to insult his feelings, avowed openly the concert of princes against the Jacobin government of France. Knowing it was premeditated to dethrone the King, and subvert the monarchy, the first opportunity that offered, he avoided affording them a pretence for regicide, by terms of reconciliation. But here it must be lamented, that the ambition of the King should stain the affectionate feelings of the nephew. Instead of evincing that he had no other motives in commencing the war, than the protection of the King of France, and his government, he demanded the guarantee of the feudal rights of Alsace and Lorraine; the restoration of Avignon to the Pope; and that the neighbouring powers should have no apprehension arising from the present system of government of France.

The Jacobins, to evade the guarantee of the feudal rights of Alsace and Lorraine, adduced the following article from the treaty of Westphalia: "That with the consent, advice, and inclination of the electors, princes, and states of the empire, it is agreed, that the places

places ceded by the empire to France, in Alsace, shall belong henceforth to the most Christian King, and to the crown of France, with all manner of jurisdiction and sovereignty; and that neither the Emperor, the Empire, the house of Austria, nor any other power, may in any wise contradict the same; that they establish the crown of France in full and just sovereignty, property, and possession over them; renouncing for ever all rights and pretensions which they had to those places; *that the said seigneuries and rights shall be cancelled from the matricule of the empire.*"

From this article, France asserted, that the sovereignty of Alsace was her right; while the Emperor claimed it by virtue of the 48th article of the said treaty, wherein it reserved the *immediacy* to the empire, although it granted the sovereignty to France.—And, as the total abolition of title and feudal tenure were the objects of the National Assembly, the Emperor took this opportunity of demanding that his feudal right in Alsace should be preserved to him.

Instead of entering into any further negociation, the ministry of France resolved in council to declare war against the King of Hungary.

The King was accordingly prevailed upon to go to the National Assembly, and propose, in a formal manner, a declaration of war against Austria. He informed them, that he came to the Assembly for an object of the highest importance. "My minister," said he, "will read to you the report which he made to me in council, on our situation with regard to Germany."

The minister for foreign affairs then went; and, standing by the King's side, read the report as follows, in the

Minute of the cabinet council of France addressed to the King.

"Sire,

"When you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you became the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop—no motive of alliance—of neighbourhood—of propriety, could prevent their enmity.—Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots; and, from that moment, they forgot your Majesty's fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers, to prepare a guilty aggression against France. They wish to carry into its bosom fire and sword. Their rage would have been impotent, had not the foreign princes encouraged their criminal manœuvres.—The house of Austria has done every thing to encourage their audacity. The house of Austria, which since the treaty of 1756, has found us good and faithful allies! This treaty, Sire, subjected us to the ambitious views of this house. She engaged us in all her wars, to which she called us as her ally. We have been prodigal of our blood in the cruel tragedies of despotism. The instant that the house of Austria saw she could no longer govern us for her purposes, she became our enemy.

It was Austria that had excited against France the restless northern Potentate, whose tyrannical frenzy has at last made him fall under the sword of an assassin. It was Austria, who, in circumstances of which Europe shall judge, advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of the 18th of February, was, in truth, a declaration of war.—M. Kaunitz there avows the league of
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the powers against France. The death of Leopold ought to have made some change in this ambitious system; but we have seen the contrary.

"The note of the 18th of March, is the ultimatum of the court of Vienna. This note is more provoking than the former. The King of Hungary wishes that we should submit our constitution to the revision; and he does not dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

"Sire," continues the minister, "in charging me with foreign affairs, you have imposed upon me the necessity of telling you the truth. It results from this measure, that the treaty of 1756 is, in fact, broken on the part of Austria. Maintaining a league of the powers, is an act of hostility against France. You ought, therefore, this instant, to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave. Sire, the Austrian troops are on the march, the camps are marked out, and fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negociation is a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired—your honour is attacked—the nation is insulted. There remains for you no other part to take than to propose to the National Assembly a formal declaration of war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

The minister having read this dictatorial minute, the King resumed his speech to the Assembly.

"You have heard," said his Majesty, "the deliberation and the decision of my council. I adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wish, many times expressed, of the National Assembly, and to that which

has been addressed to me by several districts of France. It appears to me to be the wish of all the French people. Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to a state of humiliation, which compromises our dignity and our constitution. I have endeavoured, all in my power, to avert war; but I judge it indispensable. I come, therefore, in the terms of our constitution, to propose to you, formally, to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

This speech, which the King made in compliance to the dictates of a ministry he could no longer oppose, was followed by

The President's Answer.

"Sire,

"The assembly will proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which your Majesty has made to them. They will address to you, by message, the result of their deliberation."

War being determined upon by the National Assembly, they sent the following message to the King:

"Sire,

"The National Assembly have thought it their duty to come to a speedy determination on the proposition you made to them for declaring war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary. They charge us to present their decree for the sanction of your Majesty. It is conformable to the wish you have expressed to them. It is the result of the lively and constant solicitude of the elected representatives, and the hereditary representative of the nation, for maintaining its dignity, its liberty, and its constitution."

To

To this message the King gave this short—but forcible, and even prophetic answer :

“I shall take the decree of the National Assembly into deep consideration. It involves the most important interests of the nation.”

That it involved the most important interests of the nation, the consequent dismal calamities that have since happened, too fatally have evinced. This war accelerated the fall of Louis, and the entire subversion of the government. To this decree, may be attributed all the massacres that have polluted with human sacrifice the page of history, and indelibly disgraced the national character of France. Had not the feelings of the people been initiated by the prospect of the miseries with which impending war threatened them, they could never have been stimulated to have committed such outrages on society as we have too lamentably seen. Let us hope, for the honour of human nature, that, unless the most abhorrent system had produced such a train of circumstances to rouse the people to desperation no such atrocious actions as France has lately exhibited, could ever have happened. When it was represented to the people, that nations, by combining against their new-born freedom, had forced them to draw the sword, their desire to avenge was inflamed with boundless ferocity. Thus, misled in their judgment, and goaded in their feelings, the republican ministry directed all their actions to promote their own ambition. And to excite the languid, encourage the timid, and controul the disaffected, deluding honours, and summary punishments were adopted. With these views and principles was a war de-

clared, contrary to the prudent and moderate advice of Fayette, who recommended the deferring such a measure until Austria had actually commenced hostilities. But the daring temper of Dumourier was not to be restrained by any lessons of moderation. The proposal for a declaration of war was accordingly made on the 20th of April, by the French King, to the Assembly, who immediately decreed war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. This proceeding was countenanced with the applauses of the whole assembly. The following are the particulars of the

DECREE OF WAR,

By the National Assembly of France, against the King of Bohemia and Hungary. April 20, 1792.

“The National Assembly deliberating on the formal proposition of the King, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and security of the French nation.

“That Francis I. King of Bohemia and Hungary, has, by his notes of the 18th of March, and 7th of April last, refused to renounce the concert.

“That, notwithstanding the proposition made to him, by the note of the 11th of March, 1792, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace establishment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparations.

“That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring, that he would support
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the pretensions of the German Princes, possessionaries in France, to whom the French nation have continued to offer indemnifications.

"That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against each other, by offering support to the mal-contents in the concert of the powers. Considering also, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the King of France, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negociation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, decrees that there exists a case of urgency.

"The National Assembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by the Constitution, not to undertake any war with a view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people—take up arms only to defend their liberty and independence.

"That the war into which they are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people against the unjust oppression of a monarch.

"That the French will never confound their brothers with their enemies—that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war—to preserve their property—prevent it from sustaining any injury—and to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from war.

"That it adopts all those foreigners, who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall join its standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom—that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their settlement in France.

"Deliberating on the formal propositions of the King, and after having decreed the case of urgency, the National Assembly decrees war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary."

By the above declaration of war, the Jacobins adopted their accustomed principles of delusion. They asserted, that they undertook the war not with any views of conquest, but of solely defending their liberty and themselves against the attacks meditated by the combined powers. That they would soften the rigours of war, and never confound their brothers with their enemies. With these professions they thought to delude nations into an opinion of their humanity, justice, and liberality. By this means they flattered themselves, that the disaffected of every country would be anxious to join their standard of fraternization.—But the war being particularly declared against Germany, seems to have arisen from the expectations they had of taking immediate possession of the Belgic provinces, from their having been so many years in a state of revolt. They at least imagined they would meet with the most friendly reception and assistance from a people so disaffected to their own government. Anxious to seize a moment so favourable to their views, they commenced their operations with greater haste than prudent judgment. Their measures being rash, precipitated, and ill concerted, proved proportionably unfortunate.—To this extreme desire of commencing hostilities, the repulse they received from Tournay may be ascribed. The mode of attack was no better concerted than the general system of the war.—Instead of mixing these undisciplined troops with more experienced veterans, they parcelled them in small divisions, under

under commanders whose merits they had never tried, and of whose fidelity they were not assured. Some of them were indeed supposed to be disaffected to the popular cause. Had they assembled their troops, so as to have formed an effective army, under the command of an able and distinguished general, the men would have fought with more confidence and ardour. But being led in small bodies, and under commanders who had never distinguished themselves, the soldiers were more inclined to mutiny than to fight the enemy. Conscious of their weakness, and suspicious of the courage and principles of their leaders, in the moment of attack they lost their ardour, and deserted their colours; and, to shelter themselves from disgrace and punishment, accused their commanders of betraying them.

The war thus commenced, on the 28th of April, 1792, with three divisions of French entering different parts of the Austrian Netherlands.— Their object was, undoubtedly, to divide the enemy's forces, in order to diminish the strength which appeared to them, when collected in one body, too formidable for their undisciplined troops to resist. Ten squadrons of cavalry were commanded by M. Thebold Dillon, an able officer, and a field marshal. He was directed to march from Lisle for Tournay. Another division, consisting of 10,000 men, under Lieutenant General Biron, formerly Duc de Biron, was ordered to proceed to Mons; and a third, of 1,200, commanded by M. Carl, went to Furnes. The general rendezvous for the troops, Marshal Rochambeau was to draw from the garrisons, to support M. Biron, was Valenciennes.

Although Biron was ordered to Mons, to learn how the Austrian soldiers and the inhabitants of the country were disposed, yet the French were misled by fallacious intelligence.— The numbers and dispositions of the enemy being always greater than they expected, increased the natural timidity of troops untrained, and unaccustomed to contend with regulars.— M. Dillon found at Tournay, a strong force under General Count D'Happencourt, strongly posted, and ready to receive him. Both armies prepared for battle. The contest had no sooner begun, than the French troops were thrown into disorder, from which they could never be recovered, by every exertion of the General to recal them to duty, and to persuade them to renew their ranks. But this panic was unfortunately increased by some cowardly or treacherous person, crying, in the midst of the confusion, "Save qui peut." Let every person save himself if he can. The voice seeming to proceed from the spot where M. Dillon stood, the suspicious and irritable temper of the French was so excited, as to cause a general cry of "Treason! Treason! We are betrayed!" Every rank resounded with this general clamour, while they fled before their pursuers, in the greatest disorder and consternation to the gates of Lisle. The unfortunate Dillon had no sooner entered the city, than he was murdered and torn to pieces by the routed soldiery. This ferocious action sated not their savage vengeance. A party of the Royal Cravate, a regiment of cavalry, speeding most precipitately towards Lisle, overtook, beyond the Port de Eive, M. Berthois, an officer of engineers.— They instantly exclaimed, "There's another

another of these traitors," and shot him. Falling from his horse, they took and suspended his corpse upon a lamp iron, where every soldier of the party discharged his piece at him. Two or three persons besides lost their lives in this disastrous panic and desperation of the French, in their first contest with the Austrians.

Quievrain being taken by M. Biron, without any contest, he proceeded with his troops, in three columns, to Mons. On his road, he was informed by some travellers near Bossu, of a grand movement of the Austrians.—Some Hulans, opposing him at the end of the village of Bossu, were immediately dispersed by a few discharges of cannon. Arriving in the sight of Mons, he perceived the heights before the city were occupied by a considerable force, who were advantageously posted, under the command of Baron de Beaulieu. The Austrians were found more numerous than the French; and, by their manœuvres, he perceived they intended to turn the right wing of his division. This determined him to defer proceeding to action until he knew the success of the attack intended towards Tournay. The enemy perceiving his reluctance to begin the contest, and supposing that he waited for an expected reinforcement, took the immediate opportunity of attacking his right wing, at the village of Vannes. The French received them with such great skill and firmness, as to repulse, with some loss, their assailants.

M. Biron soon after received information, from Marshal Rochambeau, of the defeat and murder of General Dillon. This determined him to retreat in the morning; but, towards ten o'clock at night, the 5th and 6th

regiments of dragoons mounted their horses, without orders, and formed a column to the left of the camp. Pursuing them alone, and unarmed, he was carried away with the column, which was on a quick trot, and crying out, "We are betrayed." He was carried more than a league before he could prevail upon his flying troops to return. He, however, so far succeeded as to bring the two regiments back, except about forty or fifty, who deserted to Valenciennes, where they reported M. Biron, after betraying them, had deserted himself to Mons.—At day break, on the 30th, this General began to retreat to Quievrain, where he arrived without molestation. The Hulans dispossessed the battalion of National Guards, who covered Quievrain. To save, therefore, his camp, M. Biron, with the 49th regiment, attacked and took Quievrain. But, from the want of provisions, and the exhausted state of the rest of his army, particularly the infantry, he was obliged to abandon his camp and train of artillery to the enemy, and make a precipitate retreat to Valenciennes. To favour this retreat, Marshal Rochambeau posted himself, with some squadrons, upon the heights of St. Sauve. This assistance enabled him to accomplish his object, without the disgraceful disasters which had unfortunately happened at Lisle. The French, in this expedition, suffered considerably more loss from hunger and fatigue, than from the arms of their enemy.

The only successful division of the three which commenced the campaign, was that commanded by M. Carl. He, with only 1,400 infantry, and 240 cavalry, so far succeeded, as immediately, on presenting themselves, on

on the 29th of April, before Furnes, to induce the magistrates to offer the keys of the gates. This offer, although declined, was the more readily made, when the commander, in a conference, informed them that the French came to treat the Flemings as brothers, instead of making war against them as enemies. What induced M. Carl to refuse taking possession of the town, was the smallness of his force, and the unfortunate events attending the other two divisions of M. Dillon and M. Biron. He was therefore obliged, by this failure of the general plan, to retreat to Glywilde, and soon after to Dunkirk.

These disasters were justly attributed to the ill-digested plans of the ministry. —The generals remonstrated against Dumourier in particular, whom they considered as sacrificing their honour to his own sinister designs. The manner in which the operations were concerted, proved to them that the war minister would not have suffered his plans to have been anticipated by the enemy, nor would he have exposed such small forces to the danger of falling a sacrifice to the considerable bodies of troops now in arms against France, had he not some design to effect for his own personal aggrandizement. He, perhaps, had in view, what afterwards happened, his own appointment to command the armies, by which he promised to himself the plunder of Belgia, and other countries, under the pretence of fraternization. However this might be, M. Rochambeau complained, “that the plan of M. Biron’s expedition was published in all the journals before he knew it officially.” And, in his letter to the King, he said, “The ministers—and particularly the minister

of war, wished to play the whole game, and make him only a piece to be moved about at pleasure.” Convinced of this being the intention of Dumourier, and disapproving of offensive war, he desired permission to resign. After some interval, Field Marshal Luckner was appointed his successor in the command of the Northern army.

An universal sensation of horror pervaded Paris, on hearing what atrocities had been committed by the troops at Lisle. M. La Fayette and his army felt the greatest abhorrence, and demanded that the murderers should be brought to immediate justice.

The ascendancy of the Jacobins has been proved in a variety of instances. The appointment of the ministry, on the resignation of M. d’Grave, soon after the unfortunate affair of M. Dillon, is another instance. For M. Servan, a violent Jacobin, was added to the ministry, who were now entirely composed of that party. The designs of this society were incessant in their exertions, to seek pretences for dethroning the King, and establishing a republic. The Jacobin clubs, instituted in all the principal cities in the kingdom, and linked together by an intimate correspondence, constituted the great engine for the subversion of the public sentiment in favour of the late established government. The press teemed with disloyal invectives; the private characters of the reigning family were calumniated, and the sincerity of the King’s acceptance of the constitution was questioned.

But knowing they could not promise themselves success while their armies were so inclined to mutiny, desertion and rebellion, they endeavoured to conciliate their affections, and to win their

their confidence, by every finesse of declaring to the people the purity of their intentions, and the zeal of their attachment to freedom. With these motives, they published the following remarkable address, from the representatives of the French people, to the citizens armed for the defence of the country.

"The fate of our liberty, perhaps the liberty of the world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our confidence; that, like your courage, is unbounded. We have not provoked the war. When the King proposed to us to revenge the outrages upon the national dignity, we resisted, for a long time, the wish expressed by the general indignation of the French. A good and free people take up arms with regret; but they take them not in vain; they triumph, or they break them in their hands. The tortures and shame of an eternal servitude, would not sufficiently punish a nation who suffered their liberties to escape after having conquered slavery. What object can be more worthy of your courage?"

"The period is no more when French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprices, or the possessions of Kings.—Now yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer or return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of taxation, oppression, and servility.—Your individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, are thus nearly connected with the safety of the country. But those are unworthy to defend, who add not virtue to courage. The men whom

we fight to-day, are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle—firm in misfortunes—modest after victory—generous to prisoners—such are a free people. Crimes have, however, been committed: the laws, in their just severity, will punish all outrages against the rights of nations, and the sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever gratitude and homage from every friend of liberty. If they die in battle, their children shall be the children of the country.

"We shall ourselves remain immovable amidst political storms, while we are watching over the stratagems of the enemies of the empire. The world shall see, whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of certain Kings in Europe.—We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny; we shall keep our oath, "*Death—Death—or Victory and Equality!*"

"But to assure victory, discipline should regulate all the movements of courage. Nor should they be destroyed or suspended by distrust. There can be no triumph without a constant and fraternal union. The enemies of your country know that you will repulse, with horror, him who would lessen your civic zeal—your unalterable fidelity. It is even in your virtues they seek the means of your seduction.—Affecting to share your patriotism, they mingle with its expression, both in their writings and conversations, insinuations which first alarm, and afterwards create the most blameable distrust. They talk to you only of treason and perfidy. Observe attentively those who use this language, and

and you will find them, under whatever name they shelter themselves, to be generally the emissaries, or the hired writers of the enemies of French liberty.

“Warriors, observe the second battalion of Paris; 6th regiment of chasseurs, ci-devant Languedoc: the 3d regiment of Hussars, ci-devant Esterhazy; and the 49th regiment of infantry, ci-devant Vintimille. It is among yourselves that we are happy thus to find examples for you. They have trusted, obeyed, and merited well of the country.”

By this address, they endeavoured to win the confidence, and to excite the courage of their armies. They complimented the troops with possessing virtues, contrary to which they had perceived the most unequivocal and unfortunate symptoms. But while they affected to persuade, they deterred with threats of punishment, contrasted with promises of rewards to all who evinced their attachment to the cause in which they were engaged. And to diminish the dread of falling in battle, lest children might be left unprotected and unsupported, they declared the children of such as died in battle should be treated as the children of the country. Thus every lure of promise and pretence was adopted, in order that their armies might prove more determined and effective. But to prevent the forces against them being at the same time increased, they dispatched M. Chauvelin, with a confidential letter from the King to the King of England.

In this letter, it appeared M. Chauvelin was appointed minister plenipotentiary to this court, for the purpose of winning our friendship and forbearance.

It contained also expressions of gratitude from the King, for ours not having become a party to the concert formed against France. It artfully suggested the necessity of the two countries forming every possible connection with each other. “I think,” were the dictated words of Louis, “that I see the remains of that rivalry, which has so much injured both France and England, wearing away.” The national flattery was also exerted by those who dictated this letter, in order to delude our court into a more strict connection of amity. “Two Kings,” continues this letter, “who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, ought to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests.”

The success of this application will be related in its place of order and time.

At the moment when the ministry were thus occupying themselves with regard to foreign courts, a plan was also concerted for all the French troops to be in motion about the same time, and form, if possible, a general rendezvous in the centre of the Austrian Netherlands. By this plan, M. La Fayette was to be at Givet by the 30th of April; and, although the orders only reached him six days before, and he was, in several respects, indifferently provided, he so exerted himself as to obtain, in two days, 78 pieces of cannon. On the same day he dispatched a larger portion of troops, with a considerable quantity of artillery, under the command of M. Narbonne, the late minister of war. His orders were, by forced marches, to pene-
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trate to Givet. M. Narbonne, with a heavy train of artillery, performing a march of 56 leagues, in five days, over ground generally bad, and with which he had not time sufficient to acquaint himself, was a wonderful instance of activity in military operations. The rest of the troops were equally active and punctual in their rendezvous on the appointed day, after having driven in the patrols of the enemy.

On the 1st of May, Major General Gouvion took post at Bouvines, half way to Namur. At this period every circumstance seemed to promise, and even insure, success to their expedition. But the failure of M. Dillon, however, rendered it abortive, although M. La Fayette continued to retain his post, and even slowly to advance upon the enemy. And here it must be observed, this distinguished General seemed to adopt that circumspection which characterized the operations of Fabius Maximus among the Romans, and his successful imitator, General Washington, in America. Determined in his object, and zealous in the cause in which he was engaged, his military proceedings were directed by the greatest prudence and wisdom. He avoided exposing his troops until some important view prompted the enterprise. To defend with caution, he had seen, proved infinitely more advantageous than the wanton attacks of men, less desirous of obtaining an essential benefit to their country, than intemperate in the pursuit of military achievement. With these opinions and sentiments, he commenced his military operations, with an address to his army, on the 1st of May. From this exemplary and patriotic appeal to his soldiers, the purity of his prin-

ciples are avowed, and his unalterable attachment to his King, and the new constitution, most honourably displayed. While he candidly declares his sense of his having incurred the hatred of all the ambitious and the factious, he places his dependence in the love, spirit, and fidelity of his troops.—Although he is sensible himself of the Republican spirit existing in the Jacobin ministry, he endeavours to remove all apprehensions of such an evil from the minds of his soldiery. Confiding in the strength and attachment of the forces he commanded, he trusted that he should always be able to crush any open violence that might be made by the prevailing party against the King, the constitution, or himself.

He is supposed to address the soldiers as citizens of that community, which, under its King, had declared war against the Emperor, and, as such, obliged by the Federal Oath, which they had taken to pursue it. If the Emperor had first declared war, now was the time to mention that circumstance, is a proof that he had not room to enforce it, for the purpose of inflaming the army with the mention of a first aggression.

This speech, and the mention of King, with the army's general attachment to him, caused him to alarm the Jacobin societies as meaning to be dictator of France, through the medium of the King. These machinations were secretly concerting, while every preparation was making to choose popular generals, who might have the command of armies more immediately devoted to their interests.

Whilst these sinister plans were forming by the Jacobin ministry, the French and the Austrian armies were continuing

continuing the war by frequent skirmishes. Although the French army was repulsed in their attempt to penetrate the Austrian frontier, it was some time before the enemy were able to retaliate. On the 17th of May, a body of Austrians, amounting to 3000, attacked Bavai, and took the garrison, consisting of 80 men, prisoners. Intelligence of this loss was no sooner brought, than M. Noailles, with a van guard of cavalry, was sent to the relief of the town. This advanced guard was accompanied by Marshal Luckner, who was followed and supported by Marshal Rochambeau, with a body of infantry. The above, was, however, only a predatory excursion of the Austrians; for they had retreated two hours before the arrival of M. Luckner. They took with them a quantity of forage, which appeared the principal object of their attack.

At this time, M. La Fayette, with his army, occupying the tract of country from Givet to Bouvines, was gradually gaining ground on the enemy. On the 22d and 23d of May, M. Gouvion, with his advanced guard, was successfully employed in foraging. On the latter day he was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a superior force to his own, which only consisted of 4000 men. The Austrian advanced guard was twice repulsed.—But M. Gouvion, observing the great superiority of the enemy, ordered his camp equipage to Philipville, which was effected with the loss of 20 tents. He then made a retreat, that has been praised for its management and regularity. In the action the French had 24 killed, 63 wounded, and 3 pieces of cannon taken.

On the 11th of June, the Austrians

attacked the advanced guard of M. La Fayette at Griselle, near Maubeuge. M. Gouvion, who commanded, perceiving their design, dispatched his camp equipage to Maubeuge, and began a retreating fight, in which his infantry must have suffered considerably, had they not been covered all the way by the hedges.—The Austrians, pursuing them with great vigour, lost a number of men by the cannon of the French. A violent hurricane prevented M. La Fayette hearing the signals. But as soon as he received intelligence of his advanced guard being attacked, he dispatched M. Narbonne with a considerable reinforcement to flank the enemy, while himself advanced with the main army. Thus, overpowered by numbers, the Austrians left the field, and a part of their killed and wounded, to the French, who pursued them more than a league beyond the ground of their advanced guard, where they re-took possession of their former post. But this success was attended with the loss of M. Gouvion, and the Lieutenant-Colonels of the regiment of Cot D'Or. The former lost his life by a rolling bullet, while he and a Hussar were endeavouring to expedite the arrival of an ammunition chest.

At this time, the hopes of the Emigrants and Combined Powers were raised by the desertion of the 4th regiment of Hussars, and some other soldiers, from Strasburgh. But, however, that capricious inconstancy which has ever marked the French character, ruling the conduct of these deserters, a considerable number returned again to the army, and left their officers.

The concerns of the war, and the contests of party, so engrossed the attention of the National Assembly, that

that the great business of legislation was neglected for trifling innovations. With this contemptible temper, they decreed the burning of parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to pedigree and nobility. The most laudable decree they passed, from the commencement of that year of their sitting, was that for the education of those children sent from Domingo, whose parents or relations had been disabled, by the troubles in that island, from remitting money to France for their support. The laws they made respecting desertion, evinced their arbitrary intentions; even the exigencies of the times could not sanction laws that were found too severe for the military code of a free country.—But while we condemn the tyranny of the above decree, impartiality obliges us to applaud that which forbids privateering. To lessen the calamities of war, is the first principle of benevolence, which a legislator should be anxious in every instance to adopt.—To sanction the plunder of individuals, is calculated to subvert that moral virtue, which holds the right of personal property so sacred, as to consider its violation the most criminal of actions. And here it is to be regretted, that the subsequent decrees against property, have so subverted justice and humanity, that the French are now the most sanguinary and ferocious of any people that ever disgraced social virtue. The series of transactions that now must be detailed, have been the cause of that atrocious ruin of order, plunder of property, massacre of being, and exercise of the most cruel and wanton oppression which have destroyed France, and involved in war surrounding nations. To establish the Jacobin power, the

whole state is now one universal wreck of morality, religion, government and property.

The Republican party, studying metaphysics more than history, did not foresee that they would soon lose the power they meant so unjustifiably to assume. Daring in their views, they were too intoxicated with their hopes to think of bolder dispositions, throwing them, in their turn, from their heights of authority, and making them victims, as they were making others, to unprincipled ambition.

The sanguine and confident temper of Dumourier, was not to be controlled by any lessons from the past.—All his mind was embracing the future elevation of himself to the pinnacle of power. With these views, he directed the actions of the King, so as to precipitate him more speedily from his throne. He is accused of secretly advising Louis to oppose the measures of the ministry, which he pretended were hostile to his safety and dignity. The unfortunate monarch, wearied with their continued insults, readily adopted the advice. And, when the rest of the Jacobins were apprised of the King's intention to resist their measure, they accused Dumourier of deserting his friends and patrons, which caused him to be frequently in a minority with M. Lacoste, the minister of Marine. But Dumourier, regardless of their censure, persevered in his attachment to the King.

The Republican party, in the meantime, were indefatigably exerting the suspicious and turbulent spirit of the factious metropolis. They asserted, that an Austrian Committee was formed of courtiers, to betray the public to the House of Austria. They accused the ex-ministers, M. M. Montmorin and

and Bertrand, with being at the head of this combination; this determined those gentlemen to prosecute their calumniators. M. La Riviere, a judge of the peace, citing M. M. Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the assembly, and the most clamorous detractors of M. Montmorin, unfortunately injured the cause it was meant to serve. A decree of accusation was passed against M. La Riviere, and M. M. Gensonne and Brissot undertook to prove the existence of an Austrian Committee.

The character of the King being implicated in this calumny, he wrote himself to the Assembly, requesting that the truth of this report might be investigated; and, if destitute of foundation, that the base inventors might be punished. But the propagators of this story, knowing their falsehood would be traced by a rigid inquiry, censured this interference of the King as unconstitutional, and caused it to be treated with murmurs of disapprobation. The accusation, however, of M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand was brought forward by M. M. Gensonne and Brissot, on the 22d of May. To substantiate the charge, they had recourse to speeches containing more declamation than evidence. The only fact on which they supported their charge, was a passage in a letter from M. Montmorin to the French minister at Vienna, in August, 1791, which states—"The best men in the National Assembly (Barnave, Lameth, Duport, &c.) and those of the greatest influence, are now acting in concert with the true servants of the King, to restore to his Majesty the authority necessary to carry on his government." On the 1st and 2d of June, the ex-ministers submitted their defences in writing to

the National Assembly, who referred them to a committee.

There being such a deficiency of real evidence, the Republican party adopted another expedient more calculated to obtain their object; for they found the rumour of the Austrian Committee was too feebly supported to act upon the fears and suspicions of the multitude. A report was, therefore, industriously circulated, that, on the 23d of May, the King intended secretly to abscond from Paris. To give plausibility to this fiction, M. Petion, the mayor, wrote his suspicions to the commandant-general of the National Guard, and entreated him to adopt every measure of prudence and observation. This letter produced an immediate reply from the King, directed to the Municipality of Paris.—His Majesty observed, that he considered the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended to excite the people to insurrection, and to force him to quit the capital. He, however, assured them, that their efforts should prove abortive. "While France," said the King, "has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my post is to be established." "I commit myself," added he, "without reserve, to the citizens of Paris and the National Guard—Surrounded by them, and strong in the purity of my intentions, I shall wrap myself up in tranquillity, fearless of all events," &c.

In M. Petion's answer to the King, although he mentioned having received several informations of his intended flight, yet he avoided specifying the evidence on which he supported his suspicion. From this circumstance, the report has every appearance of fabrication. The King, harassed and perplexed as he was, with the knowledge

ledge he had obtained respecting the inimical designs of his Republican ministry, against his person and government, might be anxious to find a shelter from his impending danger.—That he meditated a second flight, is not improbable; but that M. Petion had proofs of such an intention, does not appear from his not having adduced them. If he had had such testimony, he would not surely, in an affair of such magnitude, have submitted himself to the charge of being the foul and base calumniator of the King.

The factious party, no doubt, fabricated this rumour, for the purpose of exciting the alarms of the people, by false fears and groundless suspicions. So prone are the French to jealousy, that, although no proofs were adduced, of the intended flight of the King, yet they believed the rumour. The Body Guard allotted to the King by the constitution, was particularly accused of incivism, and disbanded by a decree of the Assembly on the 30th of May. The defence of the person of the King was committed to the National Guard of Paris. A decree of accusation was also passed against the commandant, M. Brissac. At the same sitting, two of the deputies, known friends to the court, M. M. Frondiere and Calvi, were committed to the Abby, on a charge of insolence towards the Assembly.

The Jacobin influence in the Assembly, caused a decree to be passed on the 26th of May, authorizing the banishment of any nonjuring priest, on a petition presented by twenty citizens to the directory of the district. The ecclesiastic was, in such circumstances, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to have a passport, and

to quit the district within twenty-four hours. The King, after some deliberation, was induced to affix his veto to this decree, which seems to have been passed, as a measure of cruelty, towards these unhappy persons, in consequence of Louis refusing to sanction the former against the refractory clergy.

The suspicions of the Republican party were extended to all who were not immediately their adherents or creatures. The National Guards became next the objects of their rancour and jealousy. They still affected to fear the Austrian Committee. To retain, therefore, their power, and the controul over the court, more than to preserve Paris from its external enemies, the Military Committee, on the 6th of June, proposed, "That a camp of 20,000 men should be formed under the walls of Paris." To complete this levy, every canton in the kingdom was to contribute four regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry. These were to assemble at Paris before the 14th of July, the day of celebrating their general confederation; and, to augment their patriotism, these troops were to assist. The proposal of the minister of war greatly dissatisfied the National Guard and volunteers of Paris. The intention of the plan being perceived by the friends of the existing government, the King refused to sanction the decree.

About the same period, the section of Croix Rouge proposed to the National Assembly, that, as the necessity for arming the whole nation was urgent in the present crisis, and as the scarcity of fire arms, for such immense numbers, rendered it impossible for many citizens to obtain a supply; that the Assembly would order

order an immediate fabrication of pikes over the whole surface of the empire. This application was obtained by the intriguing influence of the Republican Jacobins. It was, however, some weeks before the banditti of Paris were formally and completely armed, by a decree which must ever be considered as the fatal blow which effected the demise of French liberty.

The King, seeing the desperate state of his throne and authority, lost his accustomed forbearance. Every moment brought some new alarm against his safety. He was, therefore, determined to stem the torrent which he saw approaching with such rapid force, as he conceived would prove irresistible, if he remained any longer a placid passive observer. Whether thus driven to desperation, or encouraged by M. La Fayette, and some other respectable characters, he was resolved to make one grand effort of vindicating his authority against his opponents, unhappily for the monarch, he was premature in his resolution. Had he first permitted his adversaries to have more openly exposed their inimical intentions, the prejudice of the people might have turned in his favour. He might have selected, from those who were not the most favourable to him and his court, such as he could, by his conduct, have convinced of his sincerity. Among these, M. Roland would, most probably, have proved eminently serviceable in gaining the influence of the people in favour of the King. This minister having carried with him into retirement the regret and esteem of all honest men, proves that he would have materially benefited Louis in such a measure, had he been timely and judiciously cho-

sen. He was certainly deceived with regard to the real intentions of the King.

But, supposing every caution had been adopted by the King, it is a question not easy to determine, whether he would have avoided his lamentable fate, and preserved the government. The party, who had some among them of brilliant talents, resolved to establish a Republic, by every means of intrigue or outrage their guile was capable of devising, and their depravity of executing.—Resolved to effect their vile designs, they were inexhaustible in their plans, and irresistible in their execution. The temporizing of the King might not, therefore, have proved more successful than his avowed opposition; but, however, to have concealed his real intentions, was the only chance of saving himself from their destructive measures. When the King renounced the Jacobin ministry, his fate appears to have received the last signet. When he dismissed M. M. Servan, Claviere, and Roland, his authority rapidly declined, and his safety became more imminently endangered. To this he appears to have been induced by the intrigues of Dumourier, who was anxious to have the appointment of minister of war. Deux Ponts succeeded him in the foreign department.—M. Roland was succeeded by M. Mourges; and some time after, M. Naillac was appointed minister of Finance.

Previous to his dismissal, M. Roland had written the following remarkable and prophetic letter to the King:

“Sire,

“The present state of affairs in France cannot be of long duration.

It

It is a crisis at its highest degree of violence, and must terminate in a shock that interests your Majesty as much as it does the whole empire.—Honoured with your confidence, and placed in a situation in which it behoves me to speak the truth to you, I venture to do it without disguise: it is an obligation under which your Majesty has laid me. The French have formed a constitution, and it has produced mal-contents and rebels.—The majority of the nation approve it and have sworn to maintain it, at the expence of their lives. They have considered the war with satisfaction, as the grand expedient for establishing the constitution; yet, buoyed up by hopes, the minority have exerted their united efforts against it. Thus arises that intestine conflict with the laws, that anarchy, which all good citizens lament, and of which the ill-disposed have taken the advantage, in order to countenance their aspersions against the new government. Thus have arisen those opinions which are every where spread abroad, and every where fomented: for in no part is indifference of opinion to be found. Either the triumph or the change of the constitution is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain or new model it. I shall only advert to what the present circumstances of things require; and, with the utmost impartiality, shall suggest an idea of what turn affairs may be expected to take, and what measures would be prudent to adopt.

“You enjoyed, Sire, great prerogatives, and which, indeed, your Majesty conceived to be inherent in royalty. Bred up with the idea of preserving these prerogatives, you could not see yourself deprived of them with

satisfaction. The desire of recovering them was as natural as the regret you felt at their dissolution.—These sentiments, which are natural to the human heart, have had their proper influence on the minds of the anti-revolutionists.

“They have, therefore, depended upon being secretly favoured by your Majesty, until circumstances permitted an open declaration in their favour.—This posture of affairs could not but be evident to the whole nation; and it was sufficient to put men upon their guard. Your Majesty has then been ever under the necessity of either yielding to the force of habit, and to particular inclination, or to make sacrifices, dictated by philosophy, and required by necessity.

“Every thing has its turn of duration, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived. Can your Majesty openly ally yourself with the pretended reformers of the constitution? or, is it incumbent upon you, generously, to devote yourself to promote its triumph?—Such is the true statement of a question, the solution of which the present state of things renders of inevitable necessity.

“As to the metaphysical question, Whether the French are ripe for liberty? it is foreign from the subject before us; for it is not our business to consider what we should become in a century hence, but to see of what the present generation are capable.

“In the midst of the fermentation of the last four years, what has taken place? Privileges burdensome to the lower orders of the community have been abolished—the ideas of justice and equality have been universally spread. The acknowledgment of

of the rights of the people, which has been solemnly allowed, is become a sacred doctrine in politics. The hatred against the Nobles, has been long since inspired by the nature of the feudal system: it is now increased by their manifest opposition to the constitution. The people consider these Nobles in an odious light, on account of the oppressive privileges they enjoyed; but they would have forgotten their hatred on the abolition of the privileges, if the conduct of the nobility, since that period, had not given every reason for men to consider their rank with distrust, and to oppose it as an irreconcilable enemy to their welfare.

"The public attachment to the constitution proportionably increased. The people not only derived essential advantages from it, but were persuaded that still greater benefits were preparing for them, since those who were accustomed to oppress them, were endeavouring so earnestly to destroy or modify it. The Declaration of Rights is become a political gospel, and the French constitution a religion; in the defence of which the people are ready to perish. Thus their zeal went so far as to supply the place of law; and when its influence was not sufficient to restrain the disturbers of the public peace, the citizens assumed the right of punishing them. Thus the possessions of the emigrants have been exposed to the ravages incited by vengeance.—Thus so many departments so severely treated the clergy, whom the public opinion had proscribed, and of whom some would have been victims to its resentment. In the collision of interest, every sentiment assumed the tone of passion. Our

country is not a mere word, created by warmth of imagination; it is a being to which we offer sacrifice, to which we are more attached by the very solicitude it brings upon us. We love it on account of the benefits we hope to derive from it. Every injury offered to our country, increases our enthusiasm.

"To what a height did this enthusiasm rise, when the machinations of foreign enemies were added to those of the domestic foe, in order to perpetrate all that could be wicked and fatal? The fermentation is extreme in the various parts of the empire; it will burst upon us with a dreadful explosion, unless it be calmed by a well-founded confidence in your majesty's intentions. But this confidence will not be established by mere promises and protestations; it can rest upon facts only. The French people know their constitution can sustain itself; that government will have all necessary aid, whenever your majesty, wishing well to the constitution, shall support the Legislative Body, by causing their decrees to be executed, and remove every pretext for popular dissatisfaction, and every hope to the mal-contents.

"For instance, two important decrees have been issued; both essentially concern the public tranquillity of the empire; their not being sanctioned, excites mistrust; if it be postponed, it will create mal-contents: and it is my duty to say, that in the present effervescence of the people's minds, discontent may lead to any thing. It is no longer time to recede: it is no longer time to temporize. The revolution is established in the public mind: it will be completed by the effusion of blood,

if wisdom guides not against evils which can yet be prevented.

"Were force recurred to, in order to restrain the National Assembly; were terror spread through Paris; disunion and consternation in its vicinity, all France would rise with indignation; and, distracted by the horrors of civil war, she would display that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and crimes, ever fatal to those who provoke it. Public safety, and your majesty's individual happiness, are closely connected: no power can divide them; distresses, and certain misfortunes will gather round your throne, if it do not rest, through yourself, on the basis of the constitution, and be established on peace, which the maintenance would finally produce in our favour. Thus the state of the public mind, the circumstances, the political reasons, your majesty's own interest, render it indispensable for you to join the Legislative Body, and to concur with the will of the nation. The nation considers, as a necessity, what principles dictate as a duty; but the natural sensibility of this affectionate people, affords another motive. You were cruelly deceived, Sire, when wicked men endeavoured to excite uneasiness and mistrust in your breast, injurious to this kind people, this people so easily affected.

"By being perpetually taught not to confide in the nation, your own conduct alarms them. Let the people see that you are willing the constitution should take its course, the constitution to which they have united their happiness, and you will soon become the object of thanks.

"The conduct of the clergy, in many parts of the kingdom, the

pretext they furnish for their commotions, occasioned a wise law to be enacted against those disturbers of the peace. Let your majesty's sanction be given to it. The public tranquillity, and the safety of the clergy, solicit it. If this law be not enforced, the departments will be obliged to substitute severe measures, as they have always done, and the people will supply its place by violence.

"The attempts of our enemies, the fermentations in the capital, the extreme disquietude from the conduct of your guard, and which the testimonies of satisfaction given to that body, contained in your proclamation—a measure truly impolitic under such circumstances, still continues; the alarming situation of Paris, its proximity to the frontiers, all contribute to shew the necessity of a camp in its neighbourhood. This measure, the wisdom and urgency of which are allowed by thinking men, waits only for the sanction of your majesty. Why should delay create an appearance of neglect in your majesty, when dispatch would claim gratitude from us? Already have the machinations of the staff of the Parisian National Guards, against this measure, caused men to suspect that they acted under superior influence. Already the clamours of certain outrageous demagogues raise suspicion; and already the public opinion exposes the intention of your majesty.

"A little more delay, and the afflicted people will imagine they perceive in their king, the friend and accomplice of conspirators. Good Heaven! Are the powers of the earth stricken with blindness, and will they

they never attend to any counsel, but that of their leaders, to ruin?— I am aware, that the language of truth is seldom received in courts.— I am likewise sensible, that as her voice is scarcely ever heard there, revolutions become necessary. Above all, I know to speak the truth to your majesty, not only as a citizen, subject to the laws, but as a minister honoured with your confidence, or invested with functions implying it; nor do I know what can prevent me from fulfilling a duty which I feel incumbent upon me. With the same intentions, I shall repeat my observations to your majesty, on the utility and necessity of executing the law, which prescribes, that there should be a secretary of council. The law speaks so powerfully, and its execution shall immediately follow.

"It is necessary, for the sake of responsible ministers, to use means to establish sedateness, wisdom, and caution, in the deliberations of council."

The above letter, containing the sentiments of an honest heart, and a penetrating mind, was prophetic in stating, that the then present state of affairs in France, could not be of long duration. It was, indeed, a crisis at its highest degree of violence, and which terminated in a shock, involving the fate of Louis and the whole empire. That intestine conflict with the laws, that anarchy which Roland, with all good citizens, lamented, were the advantages of which the Jacobins availed themselves to dethrone the king, and subvert the government.

Although this minister did not name the Jacobins as being the persons who raised an outcry for the

change of the constitution, yet he bears testimony to such a design in saying, "Either the triumph, or the change of the constitution, is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain, or new model it." Impressed with this conviction, he recommended the king to establish sedateness, wisdom, and caution in his councils, which could only preserve responsible ministers and the government from the machinations of the turbulent and ambitious. Knowing that the Jacobins would be more assisted in their designs, by the king exercising his veto in a moment when his authority was too weak to enforce it with efficacy, he most wisely suggested to the monarch, to relinquish this part of his prerogative, and cause the decrees in dispute to be executed. By this means, the prejudices of the people would have been changed in his favour, and the Jacobins proportionably disappointed in not having the popular indignation to countenance their meditated violences. But, unfortunately for the king, he persisted in his refusal, which ended in his murder, and the ruin of the government, so wisely formed by the Constituent Assembly.

Every method was adopted to render the king odious to his people.— That infamous incendiary, Marat, exhorted the populace to murder their sovereign. Every outrage was permitted with impunity, while the most seditious addresses were fabricated, and presented to the Assembly. Whatever appeared to favour the royal cause, was either suppressed or prosecuted. The inhabitants of the suburbs of St. Antoine, accompanied by immense crowds of the lowest ranks of the populace, armed with pikes, were led by

M. Santerre, a brewer, on the 9th of June, to present to the Assembly an address, congratulating them on the decree for the camp—and 20,000 armed men, in direct violation of the laws, filed off through the Assembly.

Previous to this, M. Merlin stated in the Assembly, that it was necessary the guard of the king should be dissolved. The pretence for this outrage on the sovereignty was, that the guard consisted only of refractory Priests, Arlesians, domestics of the Emigrants and Counter-revolutionists, who held scandalous nightly orgies, in which they drank continually the health of Monsieur, the Count D'Artois, the Prince of Lambese, &c.

To enforce still farther the necessity of this violence to the king, M. Isnard stated, that so far were the guards disaffected, that they had received M. Delatre, the son, with open arms, although he was, at that time, so much suspected by the Assembly. This caused M. Camot to demand, "That the Assembly should commence a permanent sitting—that the guard should every where be redoubled—and that the mayor of Paris should report every morning, the state of the capital." These three propositions were immediately decreed.

Such were the systematic preparations which the Jacobins were adopting, in order to increase their own strength, and to weaken that by which they naturally expected to be opposed. It was impossible men of reflection and integrity should not foresee, with indignant sorrow, the tendency of such proceedings. On Tuesday the 29th, the debate on the question to disband the king's

guard, continued during the greater part of the night. This motion of Baziere, was supported by Guadet, Lacroix, and Lasource. M. Dumas Girardin, and Raimond, maintained the contrary opinion. This long and tumultuous debate ended with its being resolved,

"That the King's Guard be disbanded, and that a Royal Guard shall be forthwith established, according to law.

"Until the formation of the new guard of the King, the National Guard of Paris shall perform the service on the King's person, in the same manner as they did before the establishment of the King's Guard."

During the above debate, M. Calvet and M. Prondier were committed, for three days, to the Abbey prison, in consequence of their rebuking the Assembly for the violence of their proceedings, and saying that their measures resembled those of the days of Tiberius and Sejanus.

To sanction still more these violences, they passed a decree against Brissac, denouncing him in these words:—"That there is ground for accusation of M. Cosse, called Brissac, commandant of the King's Guard, and that the seal of the nation be put upon all his papers."

And, in order to impress the minds of the people with an idea of their humanity, and extreme liberality of principle towards mankind, on the next day, the remarkable decree respecting privateers, to which we have before alluded, was passed. This was hailed by the nation as a new era in the annals of war.

M. Kersaint, in the name of the Diplomatic, Marine, and Commercial committees, read the plan of this decree,

cree, which was passed in the following terms:

I. That no commission of marque and reprisal should be granted.

II. That no vessel, armed merely for its own defence, should be permitted to capture any vessel of the enemy, unless they were provoked to it by constraint.

III. That no ship of the enemy should be taken, unless armed for war.

IV. Corsairs, taken by the armed ships of the nation, shall be inquired into by the tribunal of the district into which they are carried: and all Frenchmen found on board, as active partizans, shall be punished with death.—

The subjects of the powers at war shall be sent to prison, and the subjects of foreign powers shall be dealt with according to the arrangements to be agreed upon with such powers; and, in the mean time, that they shall be confined in prison.

Had this decree been made by persons possessing that humanity it seemed to breathe, France had been preserved from its subsequent depredation and massacre; but every means was to be exerted to delude the people with an appearance of patriotism, liberality, and benevolence. On this alone, the Jacobins depended for popular support. Thus, while they were mediating the most atrocious system of plunder, slaughter, and tyranny, they were affecting to be actuated by motives the most favourable to human welfare. And while they were pretending to be directed by the most disinterested principles of freedom towards the people within the kingdom, they seemed to be consulting, with equal care, the protection of nations abroad. With such

a depth of artifice, it is no wonder the popular mind was deluded into a veneration for the National Assembly.—

The people, acting from the momentary impulse, seldom reason; and are therefore, always the dupes of the designing. Their passions being instantaneously excited, prejudices are formed, cherished, and established, beyond the power of reason to unfix, or even punishment to subdue. To this is owing the many wanton sacrifices of life, which no threat of law and justice can restrain. To this may be ascribed that enthusiastic madness which has directed the dagger of the regicide, and the sword of rebellion.— Every villain, therefore, who designs to raise himself unjustifiably into power, or into a situation of gratifying his inordinate rapacity, seeks his support in popular delusion. With these views and motives, the above, and every other decree, promising the service of mankind, were adopted; but men of virtue saw and lamented that they were but the precursors to an open violation of every good and sound principle of government.

During the above transactions, M. Chauvelin was endeavouring to attain the object of his mission with the English court. On the 12th of May, he transmitted, by order of the National Assembly, the following note to Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for the foreign department:

“The King of the French, in sending a Minister Plenipotentiary to London, has especially charged him to commence his mission, by manifesting to the British Government, the powerful reasons which have determined France to declare war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia. He thinks that he owes this

this explanation to the purity of the intentions that animate him, as well as the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which attaches to every thing that can maintain mutual confidence and friendship between two nations having now, more than ever, motives to draw them more closely to each other.

“ Having become the King of a free nation; after having sworn the agents to maintain the constitution, which the nation formed for itself, he could not but feel most profoundly all the attacks that were made against that constitution, and his probity commanded him to counteract and prevent them.

“ The King saw a grand conspiracy against France. This league covered, under an insulting pity for him, the preparations of their designs; and his Majesty has had the grief to count among them, even Frenchmen, whose fidelity, the most powerful motives, and the most particular ties, ought to have guaranteed.

“ The King did not omit to try the means of persuading them to return to their duty, and to disperse this threatened league which supported and strengthened their criminal hopes; but the Emperor Leopold, the decided mover and chief of this vast plot, did not satisfy any of the frank and repeated demands of the King. Having exhausted, by delays and vague answers, the patience of the French; worn out every day by new provocations, the Princes have successively avowed the coalition of the powers against France; they did not deny the part they had taken, nor conceal the measures they meant to take. Far from being disposed to dissolve the plot by their influence,

they tried to connect it with facts that were foreign to it, and upon which France has never refused justice to the persons interested; and, as if the King of Hungary denied to consecrate the perpetuity of his attack against the sovereignty of the French empire, he has declared, that this coalition, equally injurious to the King and the nation, could not cease, so long as France should preserve the serious motives that have provoked the commencement—that is to say, so long as France shall not relax from her new constitution.

“ Such an answer, preceded and supported by preparations the most evidently hostile, and by an ill-dissembled protection of rebels, could not appear to the National Assembly, to the King, and to all France, but as a manifest aggression; for it was an actual commencement of war, to announce that they were collecting materials for it: that they were collecting together their forces from all parts, to constrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they had freely chosen, and which they had sworn to defend. This was the sense and the substance of all the evasive answers of the ministers of the Emperor, and of the King of Hungary, to the simple and honest explanations which the King of France demanded.

“ Thus the King is constrained to enter upon a war, which was, in truth, already declared against him; but, religiously faithful to the principles of her constitution, whatever may ultimately be the fate of this war, France repels all ideas of aggrandizement. She wishes to preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitution, and her immutable right to reform

form herself when she shall think proper. She can never consent, that, under any pretext, foreign powers shall undertake to give her laws, or dare to entertain such a hope. But this pride, so natural and so just, is a sure guarantee to all the powers that have not provoked her, not only of her constantly pacific disposition, but also of the respect which the French will always shew to the laws, to the usages, and all the forms of government of other nations. *The King also wishes that they shall know, that he will severely discountenance all those of his agents at foreign courts, at peace with France, who shall dare to deviate, for an instant, from this sacred object, either by fomenting or favouring insurrection against established order, or by interfering in any manner whatsoever, in the internal politics of these states, under the pretext of a proselytism, which, exercised among friendly powers, would be a direct violation of the rights of nations.*

"The King hopes that the British government will find, in this exposition, the incontestible justice and necessity of the war, which the French nation supports against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; and that they will find also a common principle of liberty and independence, of which his Majesty will not be less jealous than France; for England also is free, because it is her will to be so, and certainly she has not suffered, nor would suffer, other powers to come and force her to change the constitution she adopted; nor that they should lend the smallest support to her rebel subjects; nor that they should presume to interfere, under any pretext, with her internal disputes.

"Persuaded that his Britannic Ma-

jesty does not desire, less ardently than himself, to see consolidated and drawn closer, the good understanding and union subsisting between the two nations; the King desires, that, conformably to the treaty of Navigation and Commerce, of the 26th of September, 1786, his Britannic Majesty shall prohibit all the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland (and publish the order as usual through the two kingdoms, and the islands and countries dependent thereon) from commencing hostilities against French ships at sea; and that they shall not take out any patent, commission, or letters of reprisal, from different Princes or States at war with France; or to use, in any way, such patents and commissions.

"The King desires, besides, that all the articles of the said treaty, which have reference to the case of one of the Contracting Powers being at war, and particularly Articles 3, 16, 39, 40 and 41, shall be punctually observed and executed, as his Majesty is, on his part, determined to perform in all the stipulations of the said treaty.

(Signed) "CHAUVELIN.

"London, May 15."

The British court, anxious to preserve peace and amity with France, agreed to the above requisitions, and the King published a Proclamation, forbidding all his subjects to take any commission at sea from any foreign Prince or State, against any other in friendship with his Majesty. This proclamation prohibited also all vessels from being employed against such Princes or States, either as ships of war or privateers.

Another

Another proclamation being issued against seditious publications, the quick-eyed jealousy of M. Chauvelin, fancied he perceived some latent cause of apprehension. On the 24th of the same month, he transmitted another note to Lord Grenville. In this he stated, that the Royal Proclamation contained some expressions, apparently giving credit to the erroneous opinions which the enemies of France strove to propagate relative to the intentions of Great Britain.

He observed, if individuals of this kingdom had entered into a foreign correspondence to excite troubles, and Frenchmen had entered into their views, it was a circumstance unconnected with the French nation, the Legislative Body, the king, and his ministers. It was a fact entirely unknown to them, entirely repugnant to all the principles of justice, and which, being known, would be universally condemned throughout France.

Independently of those principles, from which a free people could never depart, he stated, that if any one was anxious to reflect candidly on the true interests of the French nation, they would evidently find that France must be anxious for the internal peace, stability, and duration of the constitution of a country with whom she considered herself in a state of natural as well as political alliance. He asked, was it not the sole reasonable desire a people could form, who perceived so many efforts against their liberty?

For the honour of France, the desire she entertained to preserve a good intelligence between the two countries, and the necessity of removing doubts, he begged that his official note might be communicated to both Houses of

Parliament, previous to their proceedings on the proclamation.

To this Lord Grenville replied, in a polite answer, that, as Secretary of State to his Majesty, he could not receive any communication on the part of a foreign minister but for the purpose of laying it before the king, and of taking the orders of his majesty upon it; and that the deliberations of the Two Chambers of Parliament, as well as the communications which his majesty might please to make to them respecting the affairs of the kingdom, were objects entirely foreign from all diplomatic correspondence. It was, therefore, impossible for him to enter into any discussion whatever with the ministers of other courts.

Conscious of the intrigues that France was secretly promoting in this and every country in Europe, M. Chauvelin could not avoid taking, as a reproof, expressions displaying the consequent punishment that would attend the further efforts of French incendiaries. But, without effecting his purpose, of having their conduct defended, if not paliated, in the British parliament, he only exposed his sinister intentions.

On the 4th of June, the minister for foreign affairs in France, reported the proceedings and result of M. Chauvelin's mission to the British court.—His statement was, that the king of England, sensible of the good intentions of his most Christian Majesty, was extremely sorry at the declaration of war between France and the king of Hungary. Humanity, the peace of Europe, and the prosperity of the Belligerent Powers, interested his Britannic Majesty. But without searching into the motives from whence it originated, his majesty declared
directly

directly and positively, that he would maintain the Treaty of Commerce subsisting between England and France. That his Majesty, faithful to his engagements, expected a similar conduct on the part of France; and that his rights, and those of his allies, should be equally respected. To this was subjoined the Royal Proclamation, issued at London the 25th of May.

At this time the King of Hungary had issued a declaration, which was read by M. Emery in the Assembly, stating—that being willing to preserve, as far as the circumstances would permit, the commercial connections subsisting between France and the States belonging to the house of Austria, the French vessels should be received into the ports of Ostend, provided they did not come in a hostile manner, or laden with ammunition. He permitted them to unlade their cargoes in safety, if France would act, on her part, in a similar manner.

The decree, for forming a body of 20,000 men near Paris, by detachments from several departments, raised much dissension and difference of opinion. Some of the National Guards presented addresses to the Assembly, approving of the measure, while others petitioned for its being revoked. In fact, it was the source of equal apprehension to two parties. The one dreaded that this new army might be employed to overawe the National Guard at Paris; and the other, that it might be used to intimidate the National Assembly. Thus, what had been proposed by the Jacobins, in order to strengthen their own power against all opposition to their vile system, they now appeared to dread would prove inimical to the purpose

for which they meant it should be established. This apprehension was the natural consequence of those fears which will ever arise in the minds of such as are directed by criminal principles. Conscious of their meditated guile, they are constantly in a state of alarm, lest their designs should be detected, and themselves suffer that punishment they know they deserve. In this state of anxiety for their preservation, their best friends, if they have any, are suspected, and frequently fall indiscriminately with their avowed enemies.

Among those who were the friends of the King and the constitution, Madame d'Eon most eminently distinguished herself by a petition she presented to the National Assembly on the 11th of June.

This petition stated, that, although she had worn the dress of a woman for fifteen years, she had never forgotten that she was formerly a soldier; that since the Revolution, she found her military ardour revive; and demanded, instead of her cap and petticoats, her helmet, her sabre, her horse, and the rank in the army to which her seniority, her services, and her wounds entitled her; and that she requested permission to raise a legion of volunteers for the service of her country. Unconnected with any party, she had no desire of brandishing her sword in processions in the streets of Paris. She wished for nothing but actual service, war nobly made, and courageously supported. “In my eager impatience,” added she, “I have sold every thing but my uniform, and the sword I wore in the last war, and which I am anxious to wear again in the present. Of my library, nothing remains but the shelves and the manu-
E scripts

scripts of Marshal Vauban. These I have preserved as an offering to the National Assembly, for the glory of my country, and the instruction of the brave generals employed in its defence. I have been the sport of nature, of fortune, of war, of peace, of men and women, of the malice and intrigue of courts. I have successively passed from the state of a girl to that of a boy, from the state of a man to that of a woman, and thus experienced all the strange vicissitudes of life. But soon, I hope, with arms in my hand, I shall fly on the wings of liberty and victory, to fight and die for the nation, the law, and the king."

This petition, so characteristic of enthusiastic bravery and national attachment, was interrupted by repeated bursts of applause, and was ordered to be honourably mentioned in the minutes, and referred to the Military Committee.

However we may discountenance any deviation of the female sex from that softness, delicacy, and tenderness, which can only endear them to man, and preserve them in that state of domestic vocation for which they were formed and designed, yet such traits of courage and patriotism, as those displayed by Madame d'Eon will ever claim admiration and applause. To see a woman, rather advanced in age, demand, with all the bravery of a Grecian or Roman warrior, her arms to repel the enemies of her country, and to wish for no greater happiness than to die victorious in the cause of her king and nation, must stimulate the timid, and inflame the brave.

The rapid progress that the Jacobins were making against the king

and constitution, excited the indignation of every man of integrity. But, although many perceived the meditated subversion of the state, few dared oppose themselves to a torrent of violence, which appeared irresistible. Among these few, M. La Fayette was the most conspicuous, and decided in his declarations against the measure designed for the establishment of an authority on the wrecks of all order, property, and preservation.

On Monday, June 18, the president announced that ever memorable letter which they received from M. La Fayette, dated Camp of Maubeuge, June 19, 1792.

In this letter, he drew a very formidable picture of the dangerous situation in which the nation was placed by the attempts of its foreign and domestic enemies. He unveiled the designs of the Jacobin club, to whose faction he attributed a considerable portion of the public calamities.

"At the moment," said he, "too long delayed, perhaps, at which I am going to call your attention to great public interests, and point out, among our dangers, the conduct of a ministry, which my correspondence has long since accused, I am informed, that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues." He observed, that it was not sufficient this branch of the government—the king's counsel, should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal was in danger—the fate of France depended chiefly on her representatives, of whom the nation expected her salvation. But when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them

them the course by which she was to be preserved.

He was persuaded, that, as the rights of man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed, became the law to the legislators appointed unto it. "It was to themselves," he said, "that he was bound to denounce the too powerful efforts then exerted to carry the representatives beyond the rule they had promised to follow."

He declared, that nothing should prevent his exercising the right of a free man, and fulfilling his duty as a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion:—for what, he justly asked, were opinions when they deviated from principles? Neither his respect for the representatives of the people—for he more respected the people themselves; nor the favours they had shewn them; for he wished to preserve—as he had obtained them, by an inflexible love of liberty. None of these considerations should deter him from a rigid performance of his duty.

Having thus stated the purity and firmness of his patriotism, he proceeded to observe, that the circumstances of the National Assembly were difficult. France was menaced from without, and agitated within, while foreign courts announced the intolerable project of attacking what he conceived the national sovereignty, and thus declaring themselves the enemies of France; internal foes, intoxicated with pride and fanaticism, entertaining chimerical hopes, and fatiguing the nation still more with their insolent malignity. He said, therefore, and with propriety, that the representatives ought to have suppressed them; but he reminded them, that

they could only have this power from their being themselves constitutional and just.

Not doubting the integrity of their intentions, he asked,—Could they dissemble, that a faction—and, to avoid vague determinations, that a *Jacobin* faction had caused all the disorders?—To this faction he loudly imputed every enormity. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis and its affiliations, blindly directed by certain ambitious leaders, this sect, he asserted, formed a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurped by subjugating their representatives and their mandatories.

In this Assembly, he continued, love of the laws was denominated aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism.—There the assassins of Desilles received triumphs, and the crimes of Jourdan found panegyrists. There also the recital of the assassination that stained the city of Metz, excited formal acclamations of joy.

"Can it be believed," asked he, "that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named? Are they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced their name? And, because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to meddle in our quarrels, are we released from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny?"

What did the projects of foreigners, their connivance with counter-revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty, import to this duty? "It is I," said he, "who denounce this sect. I who, without speaking of my past life, can

can answer those who feign suspicions of me. Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will soon be known; and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, most firm in his resistance, will best brave the obstacles and the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to estimate and encounter for her sake."

When every day weakened the constituted authorities, and substituted the spirit of a party for the will of the people—when the audacity of agitators imposed silence on peaceable citizens, and supplanted useful men—when devotion to a sect was made the substitute of all public and private virtues—virtues which ought, in a free government, to be the austere and only means of arriving at the first functions of government, how could he longer delay fulfilling his duty?

He next stated, that it was after having opposed to all obstacles and all snares, the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed, perhaps, to combination against its leader, that he could then oppose to this faction, the correspondence of a ministry, the worthy production of its club—a correspondence of which all the circulations are false, the promises vain, the information fraudulent, and the councils perfidious or contradictory: where, having pressed him to advance without precaution, and to attack without means, they began to tell him, that resistance would soon be impossible, when his indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.

"What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen," asked he, "there is between those factious men, who avow their aristocratic spirit, and

those who usurp the name of patriots?—Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, detest the National Guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

"As for me, gentlemen," continues M. La Fayette, "who espoused the American cause at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me that it was lost; who ever since devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty and the sovereignty of the people;—who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—*for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause,—of contempt for the cowards who desert it,—and of indignation against the traitors who would sully it; I come to declare, that the French nation, if she is not the most vile in the universe, may, and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her."

He observed in this excellent letter, that it was not in the midst of his brave army, that timid sentiments were permitted:—patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues he had found it to possess. In his army, the principles of liberty and equality were cherished, the laws respected, and property was sacred; in it calumnies or factions were unknown.—And when he recollected that France had several millions capable of becoming such soldiers, he asked himself—How lowly debased must be an immense people, who entertained even the idea of sacrificing their sovereignty, of covenanting for their liberty, and
of

of submitting their declaration of rights to negotiation!

That soldiers of liberty might war with efficacy, it was particularly necessary that the citizens, rallied around the constitution, should be assured that the rights it guaranteed were respected with a religious fidelity. This alone would drive its concealed or public enemies to despair.

"Reject not this wish," implored the unfortunate La Fayette, "it is the sincere wish of the friends to your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measures can serve a cause owing its force and glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, make criminal justice resume its constitutional course, and make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

"Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the King be revered, for he is invested with the national majesty; let him have the power of choosing a ministry, that wears not the chains of a faction; and if there be conspirators, let them perish by the sword of the law."

This most interesting letter, the exemplary Fayette thus concludes:—

"In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation, that understands its rights,

and defends them; in a word, let their factious combinations give way to the true interests of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those to whom her subjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous speculation.

"Such, gentlemen, are the representations and the petitions submitted to the National Assembly, as they are to a king, by a citizen whose love of liberty will never be honestly questioned; whom the different factions would hate less, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness; whom silence would have become better, had he, like so many others, been indifferent to the glory of the National Assembly, and the confidence with which it is of importance it should be surrounded; and who cannot better testify his own confidence than by laying before it the truth without disguise.

"Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and the obligation of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to the king, and, above all, to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to postpone observations that I think useful; and who wish to believe, that the Assembly will find in this a new homage of my devotion to its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude, and of my respect."

This letter, accompanied by one which he sent to the King, with a copy of it, was received by the Assembly with a degree of outrageous tumult. It was, however, decreed, that the letter should be printed; but several members demanding that copies should be sent to the eighty-three departments, a violent debate ensued,

ensued, and continued a considerable time. M. Verginaud opposed the motion: he thought it would be too great a countenance given to a general of the army, who might thus be enabled to supersede the laws, and destroy liberty.

M. Gaudet affected to doubt its authenticity. "It should be recollected," he said, "that when Cromwell wrote a letter, in terms nearly similar, liberty was no more in England." After a tumultuous debate, the letter was referred to the new commission for examining the state of the kingdom.

It has been observed, that if M. La Fayette was not well assured, that the sentiments of his army were in favour of this letter, he should not have written it. And if, on the contrary, he was certain of being supported by his military, he should have marched to Paris, and dispersed the traitors.

That he was conscious in his own mind of his army possessing the same sentiments as himself, no doubt can be possibly entertained.—It was on his army that he could only depend for support against a faction, whose vengeance he had now excited.—Without such a confidence, he would scarcely have written this letter of crimination and defiance; but that he was deceived by the treacherous professions of his soldiers, was found too fatally true for himself and the nation. Their desertion of the law and the constitution, was the cause of his unfortunate captivity, and the dreadful calamities which have since awaited the country. That he had the greatest assurance of his army's fidelity, is evident from the following passages, selected from the letter

he sent to the king, when he inclosed that addressed to the Convention.

After appealing to his majesty, as knowing the ardour, constancy, and devotion, he had always shewn to the cause of liberty, and the sacred principles of humanity, equality, and justice, he exhorts him to continue firm in the authority delegated to him by the nation.

"Persist, Sire," says La Fayette, "strong in the authority which the national will has delegated to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all their enemies. Let this resolution, supported by all the acts of your private life, and by a firm and full exercise of the royal power, become the pledge of harmony, which, above all, in the moments of crisis, cannot fail to be established between the representatives elected by the people, and their hereditary representative. It is in this resolution, Sire, that for your country, and for yourself, are glory and safety. There you will find the friends of liberty, all good Frenchmen, ranged around your throne to defend it against the machinations of the rebellious, and the enterprizes of the factious. And I, Sire, who, in their honourable hatred, have found the recompence of my persevering opposition,—I will always merit it by my zeal to serve the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my fidelity to the oath which I have taken to the nation, the law, and the king."

Conscious of being supported by his army in his defence of the king and the constitution, he promised glory and safety to Louis, if he persevered in the resolution of defending the state against all its enemies; but this

this confidence being delusive, he fell a victim to his own integrity.

The agitation, however, produced, by his letter, and the banditti of St. Antoine determining to demand of the king to sanction the obnoxious decrees, prepared the citizens of Paris for some great event. To enforce this demand, the above banditti threatened, in case of refusal, to plant, as the tree of liberty, an aspin in the garden of the Tuilleries.

On Monday the 18th of June, the Jacobin club declared itself permanent. This meeting was, in the highest degree, tumultuous and outrageous.— They proposed that M. La Fayette should be taken and sent to Orleans, as a traitor: others wished that a decree should pass denouncing him an enemy to France, and inviting all good patriots to murder him. While these were the transactions within, the Jacobins were, by their emissaries, endeavouring most earnestly to excite the people to insurrection without. Their endeavours were, unfortunately, too successful.

The situation of ministers was now too dangerous to be desirable. The politic Dumourier, wishing at this moment to retrieve his lost popularity, attempted again to court the favour of the Jacobins. To effect this, he made a positive demand of the king, either to sanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept of his resignation. His Majesty persisting in his refusal, this minister resigned.— M. M. Morgues, La Coste, &c. succeeded. On the 18th of June, Major General Chambon was appointed to the office of foreign affairs, M. Lajard, minister of war, and M. Monticel, president of the department

of Jura, was appointed minister of the interior: the department of finance was kept vacant. M. Dumourier, in a letter to the Assembly, requested leave to repair to the army, and concluded by wishing, that the same fate as Gouvion might speedily prove his attachment to his country. These artful professions had the desired effect: he was restored to the full confidence of the Jacobins, and afterwards appointed to the command of the army on the frontiers.

During this state of ferment and outrage, which threatened an immediate explosion in the mine, that had been so long preparing for the subversion of the government, the National Assembly proceeded to annihilate every vestige of nobility. June 19th, being the anniversary of the day when nobility was destroyed, M. Condorcet said, they could not commemorate this act of completing the edifice of political equality better than by authorizing the departments to burn all the books of noble registers and titles. A decree to this purport was passed unanimously.

The following letter was then read from the minister of justice:

“ Mr. President,

“ I have the honour to inform the Assembly, that the King has put the constitutional formula, “ *The King will examine,*” 1st, on the decree of May 27, 1792, which determines the cases and the forms of the deportation of disturbing priests; 2d, on the decree of the 18th instant, bearing that the armed force shall be augmented, by 20,000 men, who shall assemble on the 14th of July.”

M. Lacroix

M. Lacroix observed, that the refusing to sanction ought to be an official communication signed by the King.—The Assembly accordingly ordered, that such a communication should be transmitted and deposited in the archives.

On Wednesday, June 20, M. Roederer, the Procurer General Syndic, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, and represented, that, in defiance of the law, and the resolutions of the council-general of the department, a great number of armed citizens were assembled in the city and suburbs. And that, although there could be no doubt but that the object of the greater part was to give a new testimony to their zeal for liberty, and attachment to their representatives, it was to be feared that some of them meant, in this array, to present an address to the King, who ought not to receive it, unless it was presented by unarmed citizens. As they wanted also to present another petition to the Assembly, he entreated the Legislature not to receive them, but to preserve the laws and the constitution inviolate. A warm debate ensued.

M. Verginaud observed, that the Assembly, having often permitted citizens in arms to march through the hall, could not refuse the same honour to those who were now coming to make the same application. He was confident of the good disposition of this armed body; but to prevent any alarm, a deputation of sixty members might be sent to wait on the King, whom, he was certain, the citizens would not approach with arms in their hands.

While the Assembly were debating whether this unconstitutional deputa-

tion should be received or not, an immense multitude, with M. M. St. Hurage and Santerre at their head, presented themselves before the hall.—By their own report, they amounted to 8000; but it is probable, they were still more numerous. They consisted of all the refuse and desperate of Paris. A large portion of them were women, who carried standards expressive of the most seditious intentions. One had at the end of a pike, a heart, inscribed beneath, *Cœur d'un Aristocrate*. They requested permission to pass before the Assembly, and promised to prove, by their conduct, how ill founded were the assertions that they meant to disturb the public peace. The Assembly resolved they should be admitted. Being entered the hall, the orator, at the head of the deputation, made a long and violent speech against the king and the court. A petition was then presented, professing their attachment to the constitution and the law, complaining of the inactivity of the army, and the high national court, and praying leave to retain their arms until the constitution should be finished. They then passed through the hall. This procession, which some accounts state to have consisted of 15,000 men, women, and children, lasted two hours, when M. Santerre presented the president with a banner, in return for the honour conferred on the inhabitants of St. Antoine.

This numerous body immediately repaired to join an immense crowd, which had, by this time, collected round the palace and the garden of the Tuilleries. Here they arrived at half past three. They broke open the gate, and passed without resistance into the court, which was filled with National Guards, provided with cannon. Although

though this force was sufficient to have defended the palace against every attack, yet a respect for the lives of the deluded multitude, induced the King to forbear repelling force by force.—At four o'clock in the afternoon, the mob amounted to 40,000. The gate was abandoned so precipitately, that some of the guards left their arms.—Having pointed four cannon, under the vestibule, two on the side of the garden, and two on the side of the court, they entered the palace at the moment when the Royal Family were at dinner. They threatened to burn it, if the doors were not opened. On their attempting to break open the door of the apartment where the King was, he rose, and prevented the guards from resisting, saying, calmly, "I will go to them—I will prevent them from breaking open the door."—On the instant the door opened, a pike, which had been thrust against it to force it open, would have killed the King, had not a chasseur, with his hand, put it aside. The party having thus entered the King's private room, a man, in a red bonnet, with a pike and pistols at his girdle, made the King sit down in an arm chair, put a pike between his legs, and interrogated his Majesty. He next insisted that the King should wear his cap, which was the ensign of the Jacobins. He asked him, If he wished to oppose the people's happiness? If he wished to be King of Coblenz, or of the French? Presenting him with two cockades, one white, and the other party coloured, he said, that if the King chose the first, he would conduct him safe to Coblenz; but if he chose the latter, he should be of good faith, and sanction the two decrees relative to the clergy, and the 20,000 men. The

King asked three days consideration.—The mob replied, that they would not depart without a satisfactory promise. His Majesty promised them, and took the national cockade. He was then led with the red bonnet on his head, and coloured ribbons on his arms, to the window, and shewn, in this equipage, to the mob. He was next presented with a bottle, and desired to drink the health of the nation. Some of the attendants offered to bring a glass; but the sovereign refused the offer, and immediately drank out of the bottle.

It would be an unpleasing task to detail the indignities offered to the unfortunate monarch, or the torrents of abuse to which he patiently submitted. The mayor of Paris was unaccountably absent during the greater part of these disgraceful scenes. He seemed to be careful not to appear until the mob had effected their purpose, of obliging the King to promise his sanction of the decrees in question. When this was done Petion arrived; and, as if the mob had been raised by his order and contrivance, he caused them instantly to disperse: but he first gave them his approbation, and urged their perseverance, in the following address:

"Citizens,

"Your conduct has been firm and worthy of a free people; it is necessary to complete it by perseverance and a love of order—the King desires to be alone. I am going to retire, and I invite you to do the same."

When Petion entered, he assured his Majesty he had nothing to fear.—

"The man," replied the monarch, "who has a clear conscience, fears nothing;" and taking the hand of a grenadier, who stood near him, applied it to his breast, saying—"There, friend,

friend, feel my heart, whether it beats quicker than usual."

To the incessant demands of the populace, the King replied, that it was his firm intention to preserve the constitution; and to the torrents of abuse, and the repeated threats against his life, he answered in the most pathetic tone of resignation, "Alas! if my life could secure the good of my country, how willingly would I offer it as a sacrifice."

The approach of night delivered the monarch from this dreadful and humiliating persecution. The mayor having persuaded the people to disperse, the palace was cleared of these unwelcome intruders between eight and nine o'clock in the evening.

During the whole of the tumult, the Princess Elizabeth continued close by the side of the king, her brother. This was too true a symptom of her being born to be the victim of her generous affection, for partaking in all his unmerited disgraces and misfortunes.—When the rabble first broke into the palace, the Queen fainted, and, with her children, was accidentally separated from his Majesty, and conveyed to the apartments of the King's physician.—Recovering, she, in her distraction, attempted to penetrate to the King; but she was obstructed by the mob breaking into the council-chamber.—Fortunately, M. Lajard, the minister at war, and General Whittinghoff had retired to the same spot. M. Lajard formed a kind of rampart of the great council table, which he placed against the door, with a double row of National Guards before it. Behind the table stood the Queen with her children, the Princess de Lambelle, and some other ladies. In this situation she remained the whole time, condemned to hear the

most indecent reproaches, and the foulest imprecations, from the meanest and most depraved of her sex.

On the first entrance of the mob into the palace, the deputation of sixty members, sent by the National Assembly, arrived, with orders to exert themselves for the preservation of peace and personal safety. During this tumult, the deputation was renewed three times.

These events, on the 20th of June, were beheld as too certain a prelude to the downfall of monarchy and all government in France. Men of reflection anticipated those evils which have since happened in this devoted country. From this moment, all respect to authority, all order, all subordination, ceased. A momentary shame, indeed, appeared at first in the Parisians; and the directory of the department determined to take every step to prevent a repetition of such outrages. At the head of this directory, which was composed of some of the most respectable persons in the kingdom, were M. Rochefoucault, and M. Talleyrand; the former bishop of Autun, who were determined to adopt every means for preventing, in future, similar outrages. The conduct of M. Petion was justly suspected. One of the first measures adopted by the department was, therefore, to publish a declaration, "That the events of the 20th of June could not have happened, had the existing laws, and particularly those relating to the public force, been better known by the citizens, and better executed by the magistrates."

To the above declaration, M. Petion published a very voluminous answer, demanding a prosecution to be

be commenced; and, in general terms, protesting his innocence. The department next published an advertisement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and subordination, and intimating, that there existed a secret connection between the external and the internal foes of public tranquillity.—A petition was also sent to the National Assembly, complaining, in very severe terms, of the outrages on the 20th.—This was signed by the most respectable of the inhabitants. Different departments sent likewise addresses to the same effect.

On the 21st, the King sent the following letter to the National Assembly:

“The National Assembly is already apprized of the events of yesterday.—No doubt Paris is full of consternation. I leave, to the prudence of the Assembly, the management of the constitution, and also the individual liberty of the hereditary representative of the people. France will learn what has happened with grief. With respect to myself, nothing shall deter or prevent me from steadily pursuing, without the least distrust, the views directed by the constitution, which I have sworn to maintain, and to acquire those ends it prescribes.

(Signed)

LOUIS.”

This letter, full of patriotism, resignation, and fortitude, was followed, next day, by a proclamation from this persecuted monarch:

“The French cannot learn, without grief, that a multitude, excited by some factious persons, have come with

arms in their hands into the habitation of the King; have drawn cannon into the hall of the guards; have forced the doors of his apartment with hatchets, and there, audaciously abusing the name of the nation, have endeavoured to obtain, by force, the sanction his Majesty had refused to two decrees.

“The King had to oppose, to the menaces and to the insults of the faction, only his conscience and his love for the public welfare.

“The King was ignorant at what limits they would stop; but he can assure the French nation, that violence, to whatever excess it may be carried, will never force his consent to that which he thinks contrary to the public interest.

“He exposes, without regret, his tranquillity and his safety; he sacrifices, without pain, even his enjoyment of the rights belonging to a throne, and which the law should preserve inviolably sacred respecting him, as well as respecting all citizens. But the hereditary representative of the French nation having severe duties to fulfil—if he can sacrifice his own repose, he cannot abandon his duty.

“If those, who would overthrow his monarchy, require one further crime, they may commit it. In the present state of the crisis in which the King finds himself, he will give to all the constituted authorities, an example of that courage and firmness which can only save the empire—He, therefore, orders all the administrative bodies and municipalities, to watch over the safety of persons and properties.

(Signed)

LOUIS.”

This firm, but moderate appeal, served only to increase the insolence and outrage of the Jacobins. For, on the 23d, the minister of the home department informed the Assembly of the following placard, which had been stuck up in the Fauxbourg of St. Antoine :

Petition of the Fauxbourg of St. Antoine to the National Assembly.

"The men, of the 14th of July, rise a second time, and are come to denounce a King no longer worthy to fill the throne. We demand his head. If you refuse to comply with our desires, our arms are raised, and we will extirpate the traitors wherever we find them, even amongst yourselves."

This being read, a voice in the Assembly called for the order of the day, at which the members in general expressed their indignation, and demanded that the member should be sent to the Abbey. The memorial was afterwards referred to the new committee of twelve, to report in the evening.

At this time, the National Assembly, supported by this committee of twelve, who were afterwards sacrificed for their opposition to Rebespierre, seemed to be anxiously adopting every measure for the preservation of the government, from the violences with which it was threatened by the outrageous Jacobins.

In the evening session, M. Mouraire reported, in the name of the committee, that the text of the law respecting the troubles being formal, the committee could present no new legislative measure; but proposed to in-

vite, in the name of liberty, all good citizens to join the constituent authorities, for the support of order, and the security of persons. This proposal the Assembly, anxious to prove its determined resolution to support the law, decreed, without any discussion, and ordered it to be sent to the twenty-three departments.

This letter, sent as above, on the 22d, from the King, was read by the violent Bazire. He stated it as the cause of the confusion still being continued; and, therefore, he denounced it. The Jacobins stimulated the populace to tear it from every wall on which it was found.

Petion, to screen himself from the suspicions which he knew were entertained of his hostile designs against the king and the government, caused the following proclamation to be issued by the municipality :

"Citizens, preserve tranquillity, and see your dignity.

"Guard against the snares which are laid for you. It is wished to create divisions among the citizens, armed and unarmed.

"Cover, with your arms, the king of your constitution. Environ his person with respect, that his asylum may be sacred.

"Respect, and cause to be respected, the National Assembly, and the majesty of the representatives of a free people.

"Do not assemble in arms, the law forbids it; and this law has just been renewed.

"In crowds, the most innocent may mingle with the worst intentioned.

"The law reproves all violence, and you

you have intrusted to your magistrates the execution of this law.

"Shew yourselves worthy of liberty; and remember, that the people, who are the most free, are also most the slaves of their laws.

(Signed) PETION, Mayor.
DE JOLLY, Registrar."

The National Assembly were informed by the minister of the interior, that the enemies of the people, and of liberty, sought every means to overthrow the constitution, by usurping the language of patriotism; and that they were upon the point of misleading again the people of Paris to tumult and outrage. They, therefore, expressed their abhorrence of such proceedings, in the following short address to the people:

"Justly indignant at the criminal provocations and placards which have been denounced to us, and considering that the duty of the legislative body is to maintain the constitution, and the inviolability of the hereditary representation of the nation; that the laws have committed to the constituted authorities all the means necessary to secure order and public tranquillity, we declare, that it is unnecessary to take any new legislative measures. We have only to invite, in the name of the Nation, and of Liberty, all citizens to be faithful to those to whom the constitution is committed; to unite all our efforts to those of the constituted authorities, for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and for guaranteeing the safety of persons and properties."

The National Assembly next decreed the publication of the present act, and ordered the minister of the interior to

give an exact account, every day, of the state of Paris.

The insolence of the Jacobins having increased intolerably after the violences they committed on the 20th of June, and as their vengeance was now particularly directed against M. La Fayette, he, conceiving it necessary, presented himself, on the 28th, at the bar of the National Assembly. No sooner had he arrived at his hotel, than he was waited upon by several battalions of the National Guards. A Tree of Liberty, ornamented with ensigns and cockades, was planted before his door, and every circumstance evinced the return of affection in the people to their former friend and benefactor. He appeared at the bar with that dignified confidence, which integrity alone can bestow. As a reason for appearing among them, he stated, that the shame and indignation of his army, at the outrages of the 20th, were increasing so alarmingly, as could only be appeased by his promising them to appear thus alone before the representatives of the nation, and to demand, in their name, that order, respect, and obedience, should be restored to the laws. He had, therefore, done this to moderate their resentment against the factions of Paris. He avowed his letter of the 16th, intreated the Assembly to save the country from ruin, by dissolving the factious clubs, and inflicting exemplary punishments on the authors of the late disgraceful riots.

The Jacobins were filled with consternation at the arrival of La Fayette, and his appearance in the Assembly. To render him odious, they redoubled their exertions. The name of Cromwell was echoed from every press; and their indefatigable emissaries

emissaries so far succeeded, as to cause him to be burnt in effigy. In the Assembly, he was violently attacked by Isnard, Gaudet, and some others of the anti-constitutionalists. He was, however, defended by M. Raymond, in a most forcible and eloquent speech.—Being assured that his presence any longer in Paris could not effect the good purpose he hoped—of preserving the king and the government, he left the city on the 30th, and proceeded to his army.

That the officers, at least, of both armies, sincerely sympathized in the indignity offered to the hereditary chief magistrate of the nation, is evident from the letter of Marshal Luckner to the King. This was communicated on the 29th, to the Assembly, by the minister of war. In that letter, the Marshal declares, publicly, his approbation of the conduct of M. La Fayette, and expresses, in the most forcible terms, the sentiments of the soldiers on the 20th. "Their indignation, Sire," said he, "was terrible and sudden, and the army admire your courage."

On the same day, the minister of justice communicated a plan, proposed by the King, as a substitute for the two decrees which he had refused to sanction. With respect to protecting the capital, the King proposed to levy forty-two new battalions, to be stationed between Paris and the enemy, instead of immediately at the capital. By this, he meant, a second line should be formed behind the army, then on the frontiers. As to the danger of the refractory priests, the minister assured the Assembly, that it was the strict intention of the King, to enforce the execution of the laws against all disturbers of the public peace.

To prove that the intentions of the Jacobins were not agreeable to their professions, it has been well remarked, that, at the period in question, the army of La Fayette amounted only to between 17 and 18,000 effective men, and that the army of Luckner did not exceed 23,000. The proposed augmentation was, therefore, inadequate to defend the capital. And, if it was sincerely intended for that purpose, it should have been stationed nearer the frontiers, in such a manner as to enable it to co-operate with the army already commissioned for the defence of the country. Had such a force been stationed in or near the metropolis, it would only have increased the licentiousness already too turbulent in the city. They must reciprocate in the corruption of morals and discipline; and, while promoting the depravity of others, must have inevitably depraved themselves.

The Assembly, however, persisted in their decree; and the Federates, in the name of the new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris, without any lawful authority.

M. John de Brie, on the 1st of July, caused, by his motion, the Assembly to proclaim, "that the country was in danger." This was followed by ten other resolutions, ordering, that all citizens, having been National Guards, should be on permanent duty, and every officer at his post.

While these affairs were transacting in the metropolis, the French armies had made some progress in the Austrian Netherlands. On the 18th of June, Courtray surrendered, after a short resistance, to the arms of Marshal Luckner. About the same period, M. Carle took possession of Ypres, and the country

country adjacent. M. La Fayette had also advanced, and gained possession of St. Ghislain, and the key of Mons. Marshal Luckner soon afterwards entered Menin.

The department of Paris, enraged at the late violent proceedings, could not refrain from expressing their sentiments upon the occasion in the following instructions to the citizens of Paris:

"Citizens,

"Secret enemies of the public weal, mingled among you, wish to make you serve their purposes.

"Our enemies, thinking it necessary that the King should be out of the kingdom, and not daring to carry him off, wish, therefore, that you would force him to escape.

"They know, that most of the powers of Europe, assured of the King's personal liberty, refuse to unite with the King of Hungary to make war upon us: and they are solicitous, at least, to make these Kings believe, that his Majesty is not free, in order that they may draw them into the hostile league against us.

"They know, that the popular magistrates are charged to guarantee, in the midst of us, respect for the laws; and they hope to villify and destroy these magistrates, by placing them between the necessity of extreme rigour, or opprobrious inactivity, while crimes are perpetrating.

"They know, that all enlightened citizens, who understand the constitution, are devoted to its defence; and they desire to separate them and the constitution from the uninformed multitude. They even wish to bring them to a trial of strength with each other, and thus to enkindle a civil war.

"In a word, they know that the

cause of liberty, which is the cause of equality, cannot be better defended in the eyes of all nations, than by the wisdom and dignity of the French people; and they wish to dishonour a part of that people by exciting mobs, in which they mingle themselves, to accomplish their desperate and sanguinary purposes. They wish to make you demand from the King, the revocation of the *veto*, which he has pronounced to two decrees. You do not perceive, that if the King had yielded to the demand of armed thousands, assembled and threatening him in his palace, he would have declared to all Europe that he was not free.

"They force you to penetrate into his dwelling, which is surely not less sacred than your own. They tell you, the doors are not shut against us, and they break them open before you.—They tell you, the King shall be respected, which you believe; for you feel in your hearts for his Majesty.—But yet, in your presence, they offend and outrage him.

"They strive to make you believe, that the sovereignty, possessed entirely by the French people, is the particular property of the suburb which they excite, and of the groupes assembling round them. They assure you, that the constituted powers ought, and that they shall humble before you. Citizens, this language is a snare. Our enemies know well, that the magistrates, constituted by the people, and appointed by the citizens, cannot yield to illegal crowds. The traitors hope, that, amidst an irritated people, they may, with impunity, aim mortal blows at the magistrates of the nation.

"They dare also to tell you, that you are all that national force, exerted in

in 1789, and that nothing, therefore, can resist you. Citizens, this is another snare. In 1789, there burst forth an insurrection; a powerful insurrection, from its being general, and spreading over all the empire; a holy insurrection, from its being directed against oppression, existing by no powers constituted by the people, or conferred by their representatives. At present, all is changed. Nothing can now arise but seditions, tumults, and revolts, punishable by the laws, and easy to be suppressed. And why? Because we have a constitution, sanctioned by the oath of every Frenchman, determined to punish the factious.

"These factious men tell you, that the constitution is bad, and that it must be instantly changed, without even a trial, and without the forms prescribed by the constitution itself. The army at Coblenz says nothing else. Citizens, every thing tending to destroy the constitution, tends also to a counter-revolution. Liberty is destroyed, if the nation shall concert with intestine factions, the same as if it concerted with our external enemies.

"Citizens, these external enemies menace our frontiers; their force is formidable: the union and exercise of ours is necessary. Peace must reside among ourselves, if we mean to be formidable to them. On them we must direct our arms and our incessant attention. It is to the frontiers, and to the standards unfurled amid our armies, that we ought all to hasten and rally, brothers, to defend the cause of freedom against tyranny."

(Signed)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, President.
BLONDELL, Secretary.

This was given in the council of the

department of Paris, the 23d of June, 1792, in the 4th year of Liberty.

The above picture of the Jacobins' meditated desperation, and the artifices they adopted to subvert the government, were too just and forcibly drawn, not to excite their resolution to punish the authors, whenever a favourable opportunity offered. But, for the present, they contented themselves with the mischief they had done, without attempting any addition to their violence. Their time and attention were now directed to form plans of future attack on the king and the constitution, that would effectually possess them of the objects they had marked, to gratify their inordinate and unprincipled ambition.

The King, sensible that his own safety, and that of France, depended on unanimity among the different departments of the government, wrote, on the 5th of July, to the National Assembly, to the following purport:—He reminded them of the approaching epoch, for the commemoration of that part of alliance on the altar of the country, on the 14th of July. That the law, forbidding all particular federations, only allowed an annual renewal of the federative part of the chief town of each district. He observed, that when a great nation was waging war abroad, in defence of liberty, the necessity of peace at home was felt to be indispensable. When all the intestine dissensions seemed to coincide with the foreign, and wicked men strove to excite troubles, the peaceable citizen claimed encouragement. They ought, he said, to prove to the armies on the frontiers, they were fighting for the peace and liberty of France, and her people. And he thought a surer pledge could

could not be given of this, than the union of the two constituted powers, renewing on the 14th of July, round the altar of their country, the same resolution—*To live free, or die.*

He said, a great number of Frenchmen were collected from all the departments; and that they thought to double their force and courage, by celebrating the anniversary federation with the citizens of Paris, before their departure for the frontiers. He then expressed his desire of going into the midst of his subjects, thus assembled, to receive their oaths, and thus to prove to the evil disposed, who sought to ruin the country, by dividing the King from his people, that they were animated by one and the same spirit, that of the constitution: and that, if they were compelled to war, it was principally by internal peace that they wished to prepare and assure themselves of victory.

Having sent, as above, his sentiments to the assembly; he next caused a notification to be made to all the powers of Europe. In this he stated, that being informed that persons were still continuing to use his name, to propose negotiations with foreign courts, to make loans, and even levies of foreign troops, and being again desirous of consecrating in a solemn manner, his attachment to the constitution, which he had freely accepted, and sworn to defend, he disavowed all declarations, protestations, negotiations, with foreign courts, loans, levies of foreign troops, purchase of arms, warlike stores, and others, and generally all acts, public and private, made, in his name, by Louis Stanislaus, Charles Philip, Louis Joseph, and Louis Anthony Henry, French Princes, and by

other emigrants, rebels to the laws, and to their country.

He declared, that his own interests, and those of the people, of whom he was the hereditary representative, were for ever inseparable. That the government (the execution of which being confided to him) he would maintain in all its purity.

Firm in this resolution, he charged his minister of foreign affairs, to notify to all the powers, that, entirely devoted to the cause of the French people, he would use all the force, with which he was intrusted, against the enemies of France, whatever pretexts might be employed to countenance the armed assemblies of the emigrants, or to support them in their hostile preparations.

On the 6th of July, the King announced to the Assembly, that another enemy had been added to the confederation against French liberty. That the insidious conduct of the King of Prussia having long indicated hostile intentions against France, was now marching 52,000 men, to co-operate with the King of Hungary. About the same period, the Assembly received advices from Marshal Luckner, that the numbers of the enemy were such as to render it impossible for him to proceed farther into the Austrian territories, without the danger of being cut off from a communication with the army of M. La Fayette; that the Prussians and Austrians were bearing down upon him in two columns; that, in consequence of these circumstances, he had ordered his camp to be raised, and was himself retiring towards Valenciennes, and M. La Fayette towards Givet.

A subsequent dispatch announced the actual retreat of the armies; and that,

that, in breaking up the camp of Courtray, some of the enemy, having possession of the suburbs, had fired upon Field Marshal Jary. To prevent similar outrages, he set fire to the suburbs, and consumed several houses. This conduct of M. Jary was considered as disgraceful, and injurious to the cause of France. He was, therefore, dismissed from his command.

What induced the French Generals to abandon so hastily the Netherlands, was never completely explained. Soon after Marshal Luckner was appointed to the Northern army, it was thought that the plan and operations were left entirely to the discretion of the generals themselves; but it was afterwards insinuated, by some expressions which had fallen from M. Luckner himself, that they retreated only by the express order of the court. Had this been true, it would have been a just charge against the King, which nothing could have justified or extenuated. It would have proved a positive existence of a conspiracy in the court, fatally designed against the liberties of the nation. The fact, however, was never established upon competent evidence.

On the 6th of July, the council general of the department of Paris, after a long sitting, pronounced the suspension of M. Petion, from the office of Mayor; and of M. Manuel, the Procureur of the Commune. The Federates, about this period, arrived at Paris. Their considerable numbers evinced the agitation of the public mind.

The points on which the two parties differed, were, that of pure Democracy on the one part, and the institution of an Upper Chamber, similar to the British House of Peers, on the other. Such an institution, as a remnant of

aristocracy, was regarded by the French with almost as much abhorrence as absolute monarchy itself; while its establishment was considered as the great object with the court, to give permanence to the constitution, which was now perceived, by the true friends of civil liberty, to be in danger of annihilation. The violent party were determined to pursue their incessant attacks, until they saw the government wrecked on the rocks of their ambition. The real friends of liberty were misled, by the machinations of the Orleans Junto, to assist in dethroning the king; and did not see their error until either themselves, or their friends, were conducted to the scaffold.

The moderate party was still numerous. It was also imagined, that there were many who might secretly incline either to the Court, or the Republicans, who were yet so well disposed as to be willing to resign somewhat of their wishes to preserve peace and order. This caused the Assembly in general to be of opinion, that the common safety of the nation depended alone on their unanimity. In particular, on the 7th of July, when M. Brissot ascended the Tribune, to pronounce a discourse on the means of securing the state against all its enemies, M. Lamourette, the patriotic bishop of Lyons, requested to be heard for a few minutes. He stated the necessity of a cordial union of all the members of the legislature. On this alone depended the maintenance of the rights of the people, and the preservation of liberty. "There exist," said he, "two parties in the assembly; these parties accuse each other: the one, of wishing for a Republic; the other, of meditating the establishment of

of Two Chambers. Let us be united; we shall thus become formidable. Our union will be more efficient against our enemies, than all the cannon which guard our frontiers. Let us make a solemn sacrifice, of our passions and our prejudices, on the altar of our country; let us give a great example to Europe, and inspire our enemies with terror; there is nothing incompatible but vice and virtue. Let all who detest a Republic, and the Two Chambers, rise." The words were scarcely uttered, when the two sides rose, threw up their hats, and, by an instantaneous impulse, stretched forth their arms, and embraced each other. Loud applauses were heard from every part of the Hall. Signs of the utmost harmony prevailed. The two parties swore an immortal union, and took their seats promiscuously.

M. Emmery proposed immediately to carry the joyful intelligence, as minutes of the sitting, to the King. M. Bazier said, that the administrative Bodies should be ordered to communicate the event of this glorious moment to all the citizens. M. Camot said, that the judicial powers should be ordered likewise to redouble their vigilance and activity. Another member proposed, that the extract of the minutes should be sent to the eighty-three departments, and the army. These different propositions were decreed, and a deputation of twenty-four members, with the Bishop of Lyons at their head, immediately proceeded to the King; and the Administrative Bodies were charged to communicate it, without delay, to the citizens.

While the deputation was gone to the King, it was announced to the Assembly, that the directory of the

department of Paris had, as before stated, suspended M. Petion from his office of Mayor, for not having prevented the tumultuous proceedings of the 20th of June.

On the return of the deputation to the King, the Bishop of Lyons said, "Conformably to the order of the National Assembly, we waited on the King in his apartment. His Majesty having heard the extract from the minutes, answered, that it was impossible for him to receive news dearer to his heart, and that he yielded to his urgent desire of coming to testify to the Assembly, all the joy with which this union inspired him." The Bishop of Lyons had scarcely finished his information, when the approach of the King was announced. The King, attended by his ministers, entered the Hall, amid the loud and reiterated plaudits of the whole Assembly. Acclamations of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Liberty!" resounded from every quarter. His majesty, without the least ceremony, seated himself by the President, and thus addressed the Assembly.

"Gentlemen,

"The act the most affecting to me is, that of the union of all, for the safety of our country. I have long wished for this fortunate moment; my anxious desire is now accomplished. I come to declare to you, in person, that the Nation and the King are but one. If their exertions are directed to the same object, their united efforts will save France. Attachment to the constitution will unite all Frenchmen. Of this attachment the King will always set them the example."

Universal plaudits, with repeated shouts of "Vive le Roi!" followed immediately this patriotic declaration of royalty.

The President answered,

Sire,

"The memorable epoch that brings you into the midst of the delegates of the people, is a signal of joy to the friends of liberty, and of terror to its enemies. The harmony of the constituted powers will give the requisite energy to the French nation. She will be thus enabled to dissolve the league of tyrants, conspired against her independence and her constitution; and she already sees, in the candour of your proceedings, the omen of your successes."

The King said again, "I was sorry, Gentlemen, to be obliged to wait for a deputation, which considerably delayed my coming among you." This was followed by new bursts of joyful applause. The speech of the King, and the answer of the President, with an extract of the proceedings, were ordered to be printed.

Thus ended this memorable session! which was directed, but in vain, to restore harmony, tranquillity, and mutual confidence, between the king and his people. The bishop of Lyons was thought to have exerted these endeavours without any previous intimation or concert with any party whatever. The patriotic part of the Assembly may, however, be supposed to have zealously embraced so favourable an opportunity of demonstrating the purity of their intentions, in opposition to the more

factionous and desperate party. This mutual ardour, between the Royalists and the well-meaning citizens, seemed to promise the most happy events; but, unfortunately, the good effects were but momentary in their existence. Those who were fond of peace and order had, however, the means of disengaging themselves from the trammels of the more violent. To this circumstance may be attributed the apparent tranquillity of the day of confederation. The succeeding evils, that were meditated against the King, and his government, were, for the instant, deferred; and had the court acted with more discretion, and the Combined Powers with more temperance and integrity, the factionous party might have found, in this union of the real patriots with the government, their ambitious designs entirely frustrated. But the mal-contented, finding a coalition formed, which threatened their hopes with annihilation, becoming proportionably jealous, and determined to sever, by every means in their power, the bands of union between the executive government and the legislative; and as the court were filled with apprehensions of the designs meditating against them, relaxed in that confidence of their friends, who could only be their support, and thus exposed themselves to the artful designs of their real enemies. Those who sought every opportunity to excite distrust in the parties, now joined in apparent confidence and friendship, represented the reconciliation of the 7th of July, as an intended compromise relative to the affair of M. Petion and M. Manuel. This insinuation they supported by adverting to the following behaviour

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of the king: Considering their suspension arose from events, in which he was personally concerned, he thought it more agreeable to prudence to relinquish the exercise of his prerogative, in this instance, and to refer the decision of the subject to the National Assembly. The faction represented, that the affected magnanimity of the King was only an artful design to throw the odium of the decision, whatever it might be, on the legislature. By their influence and machinations, they caused the National Assembly to determine, that the executive Power could not be discharged from his duty of deciding upon the subject; and that the representation could only interfere in the case of an appeal. Here the Jacobins, to serve their purpose, obliged the King to exercise his prerogative, after having, in the instance of the army and the clergy, obliged him to relinquish this right of his royalty.— This action, which corresponded so much with his love of peace, and was so congenial to his disposition, he greatly lamented he was not suffered to adopt. It was, therefore, with the greatest reluctance, that he confirmed the suspension of the Mayor; and an appeal being made to the National Assembly, he was restored to his office. He and his friends, saw now clearly the designs of the desperate Junto.— They were determined to compel him to commit acts that should disgust his people, and to set aside those acts they had instigated, in order to acquire the praise and confidence he had forfeited.

On the same evening that the King announced his confirmation of Petion's suspension, he gave notice, that he had

appointed M. de Joly to the Home Department.

The favourable appearances of the 7th, were now rapidly vanishing. The odium of the suspension was now so completely attached to the King, that he lost the confidence of the Assembly. Such a clamour was raised against the agents of the Executive Power in the National Assembly, that all the ministers so lately appointed, except M. de Joly, resigned on the 10th. And their resignation being announced in the Assembly, was, by the mob in the galleries, most indecently applauded.

Addresses from the Jacobins, in different parts of the kingdom, were presented to the Assembly, in favour of the Mayor and M. Manuel. The Assembly, with their accustomed precipitancy, not only restored them, but pronounced them guiltless. M. Delfau conjured the Legislative Body to act with more dignity and discretion. He described, in most forcible terms, the disgraceful outrages of the 20th of June, in the Thuilleries. He accused M. Petion of encouraging sedition, and wanting respect for the hereditary representative of the nation. The galleries, that have been the chief promoters of the national calamities, having before abandoned all order and decency, now completed their outrage, by destroying the freedom of debate; for M. Delfau, having thus expressed his sentiments, narrowly escaped with his life from the Tribune.

Preparations were now making for the reception of all the Federates, from the different departments of the kingdom. They were expected to arrive in the capital, to celebrate the anniversary of the 14th of July, in the Champ de Mars. But while the king appeared most cordially to join in these
prepa-

preparations, and to evince the most ardent attachment to the constitution, rumours were industriously circulated, that he was secretly betraying the nation to the Emigrant Princes and the Combined Powers; and on the 9th of July, it was proposed, in the National Assembly, to declare the country in danger; and to appoint committees to enquire into the conduct of the Executive Power during the whole of the revolution. On the 10th, the National Assembly decreed the following to the people, on the dangers of their country:

“Citizens,

“your constitution restores the principles of eternal justice. A league of Kings is formed for its ruin. Their battalions are advancing. They are numerous, under rigorous discipline, and long practised in the art of war.—Feel you not a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer hordes of foreigners like a destructive torrent, to flow over your fields? Will you suffer them to ravage your harvests—to waste your country, by burning and other cruelties—in a word, to load yourselves with your chains, dyed in the blood of those you hold most dear?

“Our armies are not yet complete; an indiscreet security too soon restrained the ardour of patriotism. The levies of recruits ordered, have not so entirely succeeded, as was the hope of your representatives. Internal troubles, added to our difficult situation, cause our enemies to resign themselves to delusive hopes, which, to you, are an insult.

“Hasten, citizens; save liberty, and vindicate your glory!

“The National Assembly declares, that our country is in danger. Beware, however, of thinking, that this decla-

ration is caused by a terror unworthy of the Assembly, or of you. You have taken the oath, *to live free, or die.*—The Assembly knows that you will keep it, and swears to set you the example. But the question is not to brave death—We must conquer; and you can conquer if you abjure your hatreds—if you forget your political dissensions—if you unite in the common cause—if you watch, with indefatigable activity, your internal enemies—if you prevent all the disorders, and all the acts of violence to individuals, which they excite: if, securing, within the kingdom, the empire and laws, and answering, by well-ordered movements, the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers, and to our camps, with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and the profound sentiment of the duties of soldier-citizens.

“Frenchmen, four years in a struggle against despotism, we warn you of your dangers, to invite you to the efforts necessary to surmount them. We shew you the precipice. What glory will await you, when you shall have passed! The eyes of the nation are fixed upon you. Astonish them by the majestic display of your force, and of a grand character of union, respect for the law, for the chiefs, and for the constituted authorities.—Let your courage be unshaken, and soon will victory crown, with her palms, the altar of liberty. Soon will the nations, who are now armed against your constitution, be anxious to unite themselves with you by the ties of a sweet fraternity; soon consolidating, by a glorious peace, the basis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution. By preparing your own happiness, you will have

have prepared the happiness of posterity."

During the first week of July, the Federates arrived in Paris, in small companies. They were courted by both parties; but the Jacobins were the most solicitous for their assistance and attachment. The number, however, of the Federates, that were present on the 14th of July, did not exceed 1,400. This ceremony of celebrating the annual federation, was conducted with the greatest pomp, and without the least disturbance. The National assembly, on this occasion, sent 60 of its members, to attend the laying of the first stone of the column of Liberty, which had been decreed should be erected on the site of the Bastille. The concourse of people that assembled was stated to consist of 400,000. Before the ceremony of laying the first stone of the column of Liberty was finished, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horse, a party of troops of the line, 500 national volunteers, and the Swiss Guards. He was accompanied by the Queen, Madame Elizabeth, the Prince and Princess Royal, &c. The six ministers walked by the side of the King's coach.

The altar of Liberty was overshadowed by a palm tree. Near the altar a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of those who had fallen on the frontiers, in defence of their country. Between the altar and the Seine, a poplar, hung with escutcheons, and other remnants of heraldic folly, was planted. The priest, who performed mass at the grand altar, set on fire the poplar, alluding to the destruction of the feudal system.

Although the king was in general well received, and renewed his oaths

of fidelity to the constitution, yet the day was not suffered to pass without some degree of mortification to him.—Most alarming discontents soon appeared. Suspicion and distrust of the Executive Power universally prevailed. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly shouted—Let Petion live, Let the Jacobins live, Down with the Department, Down with the King's negative. The federative oath being renewed, the Royal Family returned, about six o'clock, to the Thuilleries. On this occasion, the Federates behaved with great order and loyalty. They appeared to join most cordially in the shouts of "Vive le Roi." Some of them were said to have even expressed their disapprobation of the faction.

To support and increase these discontents, it was not only said that the King secretly corresponded with the Emigrant Princes, and the cabinet of Vienna, but that the civil list, granted for the splendour of the hereditary representative of the nation, was variously employed to effect a counter-revolution. Had these assertions been true, the universal ferment, and extreme irritation which ensued, would have been justified. The violences that succeeded, were carried to the most fatal excesses. The deceitful calm, therefore, of federative celebration, only preceded the most outrageous tumults. Neither the reconciliation of the 7th, nor the restoration of Petion and Manuel, could secure the government from convulsion. The public were now convinced, the fatal contest was rapidly approaching to issue. The Republicans have themselves confessed, that the plan for abolishing royalty was determined, and settled so early as the 29th of June.—

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It may, therefore, naturally be supposed, that it was long before in agitation. To prevent this event, it must be allowed, that the aristocratic influence was not inactive. The plans of safety and preservation, pretended to the King and Queen, were innumerable; but, although the constitution was found, in some instances, impracticable, the King did not wish for its abolition. He, however, wished it to be reformed in that part which rendered him a mere cypher in the government. It was natural to expect that he wished to be something more than a dead letter in the constitution. His situation was such as rendered him a cypher, with an enormous weight of responsibility. He was appointed to a post of the greatest danger, without any dignity, authority, or advantage, that should attend such a station.

Petitions continued to pour from every department to the National Assembly. They accused the Executive Power of the most detestable treachery. Louis was declared to have forfeited his crown; and it was demanded, that he should be formally deposed, and that a National Convention should be summoned to deliberate on the state of the country.

One of the most serious evils to which the government, at this time, was exposed, seemed to be the frequent impeachment, and consequent change of ministers. It is a fact, almost peculiar to the annals of the French Revolution, that no less than 26 ministers moved, in the rapid succession of six months, across the stage of public affairs. A new administration was announced a few days after the day of renewing the federative oath. This ministry consisted of M.

de Joly, as minister of justice; M. St. Croix, for foreign affairs; M. Dubou-
rage, for the navy; M. D'Abancour, minister of war; M. Champion, for the home department; and M. Laroux de la Ville, for that of finance. To settle this arrangement, required some time; for the office of minister was considered, at this period, so much a post of danger, that the king was obliged to solicit many, before he found one daring enough to accept the appointment. Those who did, accepted the port-folios of office only in compliance with the most pressing entreaty.

Agreeably to a decree of the National Assembly, a proclamation was made on the 22d of July, in all the Sections of Paris, "That the country was in danger." From six in the morning until night, three guns were fired every hour from the Pont Neuf. Picturesque scaffolds, representing fortifications, were erected in different parts of the city. A tent was erected on each of them. These were decorated with national colours. In each of these tents were seated some officers, who were appointed to register the new levies for the frontiers, and the camp at Soissons. The proclamation was most solemnly made by the municipal officers on horseback. This ceremony so much affected the populace, that in a few days several thousands enrolled themselves.

In consequence of the above decree, that the country was in danger, the King, on the 20th of July, published the following proclamation, replete with the most patriotic sentiments:

"Citizens,

"Our country is in danger. The National Assembly has declared it. The law has assigned every one his proper

proper post. The king presses you to repair to it. The country, our common mother, calls upon all her children, and they will not surely be deaf to her voice. Your property and persons are at stake. The safety of what is dearest to you, your mothers, your wives, and your children, are in danger. Frenchmen, your constitution and your liberty, are at stake!

"It is no longer the time of deliberation and speeches, it is that of glorious actions. Europe is in league against you; unite yourselves to be able to repel their efforts. Legions of foes threaten the barriers of your empire. There you must march. Force must be opposed to force. It is subordination; it is confidence in your leaders, that you must oppose to the discipline and blind obedience which constitutes the strength of your enemies. It is the unalterable union of all good citizens, that we have to oppose to the union of powers in league against us. Your enemies are experienced in war, and inured in combats. You have, an advantage over them, the great interests of your own cause to defend. You have the passion for liberty, which exalts a man above himself, and transforms him into a hero; but the time is precious. Hasten to repair to your standards. Fly into the country, and to the frontiers; and remember that, when the state is in danger, every citizen is a soldier—and that the devoted service of the most generous is no longer a virtue, but a duty.

"All the cities in the empire will undoubtedly be ambitious of seeing their names inscribed in the list of the well deserving of their country. The whole kingdom will be overspread with citizens subject to the laws,

united in the indissoluble bands of concord; and by their attachment to a constitution, to which they have all taken a solemn oath of fidelity.

"Administrators, warriors, magistrates, citizens, this is the moment to extinguish, in a brotherly sentiment of reconciliation and peace, the dissensions and hatreds that have, until now, divided and weakened you. This is the moment to establish freedom on an eternal foundation, by establishing the empire of the laws; without which, all is confusion, disorder, and misery; all anarchial tyranny, a thousand times more intolerable than even that of despotism.

"The law places you all in a state of perpetual inspection. Avail yourselves of the privilege, in order to give energy to authority, and springs to government. Avail yourselves of it, for the re-establishment of good order, for the succour of France, which cannot succeed, unless all powers, all inclinations, all courage unite for its salvation. It is the king who calls to you—a King, proud of commanding a free people; who, in the name of the Liberty that he loves, and of the equality, which, like you, he is determined to maintain, conjures you to rally under the standard of the country; to assist him in giving force to the laws against the foes within and without: to swear with him to conquer, or to die, for the rights of the nation, and to bury them rather under the ruins of the empire, than to suffer its dignity to be insulted; or, that foreigners or rebels should give laws to France; or, by yielding to a disgraceful capitulation, tarnish the honour of the French name.

"Under these considerations, the King, participating in the solicitude
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of the National Assembly, who, by the act of the 11th of the present month, have declared the country to be in danger, thoroughly convinced that the moment in which the public liberty is menaced, is that in which it is most necessary to recal the citizens and magistrates to the exact observance of the laws which guarantee it; and especially the decree of the 8th instant, which ascertains the measure to be taken when the country is in danger; is anxious to recapitulate the duties which these different laws universally impose upon the French nation.

" Art. I. His majesty invites all citizens, who are able to bear arms, and such especially who have had the honour to serve their country, of what rank soever they might have been, to enlist themselves immediately, in order to make good the complement of the army of troops of the line.

" II. Invites all citizens who possess the requisite qualifications, and who are not yet enrolled in the National Guard, to enroll themselves forthwith.

" III. Enjoins all administrative bodies, and all the municipalities, to put the law of the 8th of this month, relating to the formation of the battalions of the National Guards, destined for the defence of the state, instantly in force.

" IV. Recommends to them to instruct the citizens in the particular duties which the present circumstances of things require at their hands to animate their zeal, and to excite them to rush forward, wherever the dangers of their country may call them.

" V. Recommends to them likewise to neglect nothing that would accelerate the armament and march of the troops;

and to do every thing in their power to further such purpose.

" VI. Exhorts the citizens, who shall obtain the honour of marching the first to the succour of their country, to subordination to their chiefs; to regularity of conduct in the service; to zeal worthy of the noble cause which they are called upon to defend; and to honour the French name, as much by their humanity towards their conquered enemies, as by their courage in combating against them.

" VII. Exhorts likewise the citizens, that remain for the defence of the internal parts of the kingdom, to give proofs of their patriotism, in performing personal service, in maintaining safety of citizens and property, the execution of justice, and the respect due to constituted authorities.

" VIII. Recals to the mind of all public officers, the obligation of residence, which the law imposes upon them, and which the perils of the state render more indispensable. Enjoins his commissaries of Tribunals, the Syndic solicitor generals of departments, and the Syndic solicitors of districts, to keep up, each in his particular station, the strict observance of this law, and to inform against all infractions made therein.

" IX. Recommends, lastly, to all administrators, and others public officers, both civil and military, to redouble their ardour and assiduity in the exercise of their functions; and to all citizens to remember, that it is only by making every sacrifice, and shewing an inviolable respect for the laws, that they can approve themselves worthy of liberty. Ordains, that the present proclamation be sent to the administrative and judiciary bodies,

bodies, printed, read, published, and advertised all over the kingdom.

"Done in the Council of State, the 20th of July, 1792, the fourth year of Liberty.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Countersigned) DE JOLY."

In the mean time the *Federates*, [So called from zeal to observe an annual celebration of the Federal oath] arrived from all parts, in considerable bodies; those from the southern provinces were the most ferocious, both in conduct and appearance; and, from the circumstance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of Marseilles the appellation of Marseillois was indiscriminately applied to this description of volunteers. They consisted chiefly of the lowest and most dissolute of the rabble from every quarter; many of them came immediately from the galleys, and were, in every respect, well calculated to fraternize with the *sans-culottes*, or the bare breeched mob of Paris.

From the first moment of their arrival, they manifested a savage and turbulent disposition. Innumerable instances are recorded, by the aristocratic writers, of their ferocity; although some may be fabulous, yet there are too many beyond the reach of contradiction. One of their first outrages was committed on the person of M. d'Espremenel, who had rendered himself so famous in the Constituent Assembly, as the Champion of Monarchy. Walking peaceably upon the terrace of the Feuillans, he was attacked by a party of these savages; and, after receiving some very dangerous wounds, was rescued at last from destruction by the courage and humanity of M. Jounneau, a member of the National Assembly, assisted

by four grenadiers of the National Guards.

Soon after the Marseillois were engaged in another riot, they wantonly attacked a party of the National Guards, who were dining peaceably together under the trees of the Champs Elisées. In this conflict, a grenadier of the National Guards was massacred; but the Marseillois were, at this period, of too much consequence, to be punished for this outrage, by the party in power.

M. la Fayette, at this time, chiefly excited the resentment of the Jacobins. The consistency of this respectable patriot, had greatly offended this factious junto. In vain had they assailed his integrity with the highest bribes, and the most splendid promises. His inflexible attachment to the party of the King, determining him to fall or stand by the constitution, caused these miscreants to meditate his downfall; and, the spirit which he evinced, in his late fruitless journey to Paris, caused them to exert themselves, to procure his immediate dismissal. The Jacobin Club had, therefore, occupied themselves, for some weeks, on the treason of M. la Fayette. The result was, a presentation of innumerable addresses to the Legislative Assembly against him.

The principal complaint against this patriotic character was, that of having quitted the army without leave; and the first motion in the Assembly, on this subject, imported, "That the minister of war should be interrogated, whether M. la Fayette had received an order from him, authorizing his journey to Paris, on the 28th of June." This motion, however, when put to the vote, was rejected by a considerable majority.

The Jacobins, thus disappointed, continued to cherish the expectations, that, by keeping alive the public resentment against him, the Assembly might in a little time, be found more propitious to their desires. The consideration of his petition was deferred, from day to day; and when it was discussed, the most violent debates ensued. In the mean time a new circumstance was produced, to inculcate the General. On the 21st of July, M. Lasource, after much intemperate language, pledged himself to prove, that M. la Fayette proposed to lead his troops to the capital, and that M. Bureaux de Puzy, had made the proposition to Marshal Luckner. To support this assertion, he appealed to the testimony of M. Brissot, Guadet, Gensonne, Lamarque, and Herault. He also demanded that Marshal Luckner should be cited, to give his evidence to the facts. This speech of Lasource, the mob in the gallery greatly applauded, while M. Dumouland, and every advocate in favour of the General, were actually hissed down by those disturbers of decency and order. To support the above allegation, the following certificate was laid on the table, and the further discussion was adjourned until Marshal Luckner should have explained himself on the subject. In the mean time, M. Bureaux de Puzy, and the other parties were summoned to the Bar.

"CERTIFICATE.

"Some members of the National Assembly, having had an opportunity of seeing M. the Marshal Luckner, on the evening of the 17th of July, at the house of the Bishop of Paris, and having asked him, if it were true, that it had been proposed to him, on the part of M. la Fayette, to march to

Paris, after the event of the 20th of June? M. the Marshal Luckner, answered in these terms:—"I do not deny it. It was M. Bureaux de Puzy, who has been, I think, three times President of the National Assembly. I replied to him, I shall never lead the army I command, but against our external enemies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what he pleases; but if he marches to Paris, I will march after him, and I will drub him. M. Bureaux de Puzy then said to me, but the life of the King is in danger. This is what he said to me, and they made me other proposals still more horrible." Such were the expressions of Marshal Luckner, which we heard, and which we attest.

(Signed) "Brissot, Guadet, Gensonne, Lasource, Lamarque, Delmas."

On the 29th of July, M. Bureaux de Puzy appeared at the Bar, and not only refuted, on his own testimony, this atrocious calumny, but produced actual copies of the letters, which he carried to Marshal Luckner. He also produced the Marshal's answers, and which regarded only the plan of the campaign. From these letters it appeared, that M. la Fayette had intimated to Marshal Luckner, his intention of proceeding alone to Paris, in consequence of the atrocities of the 20th of June; that the marshal had objected to it solely on account of the personal danger which he would incur by such a measure. M. de Puzy deposited, on the table, the private letters of the Generals, in which the sentiments of both were clearly revealed. They also evinced that the former professed himself in these terms—"Ever since I have breathed, I have lived only for the cause of liberty. I will defend it to my last sigh, against every

every species of tyranny." And that the latter, when he had received an intimation of an intended denunciation, wrote, in these terms, to M. la Fayette:—"I have been told they mean to denounce us. I wait for more information; but most certainly I will live in peace, or resign my commission." After this complete and satisfactory testimony, M. Guadet observed, that he should not wonder if certain persons prevailed on M. Luckner to recant. On the next day the following letter was received from M. la Fayette himself:

"Longwy, July 26, 4th Year of Liberty.

"The minister of the home department has signified to me, an act of the Legislative Body, of July 21, and the information signed by six of its members.

"Were I questioned respecting my principles, I should say, 'that a constant proclaimer and defender of the Rights of Man, and the Sovereignty of the People, I have every where, and always, resisted authorities which liberty disavowed, and which the national will had not delegated; and that I have every where, and always obeyed those, of which a free constitution had determined the forms and limits; but I am questioned respecting a fact—Did I propose to Marshal Luckner to march to Paris with our armies? to which I answer in four words, *it is not true.*'"

The letter of Marshal Luckner himself, was no less decisive against the testimony of six members of the Assembly. He denied, in strong terms, that ever any proposal was made to him, of marching to Paris, and lamented that a conversation should be

so unjustly construed. For it is evident these gentlemen must have misunderstood the conference. It was, indeed, something very singular, and, by no means favourable to their veracity, that they had suffered the Marshal to part from Paris, without citing him to the bar, or demanding such an extraordinary conversation to be explained. The decision upon the charges against M. la Fayette, was deferred until the 8th of August, when a long and tumultuous debate ensued. M. Jean de Brie, one of the most factious members of the Assembly, made the report, which concluded with a proposal for a decree of accusation. This was highly applauded by the disgraceful mob that infested the galleries. Vaublanc answered him in a most able and eloquent speech, which was hissed very vehemently by the gallery, and applauded by the majority of the members. At length, the motion for a decree of accusation was rejected, by 406, against 224 voices.

This decision proved the weakness and incompetency of the Assembly. It, however, preserved some share of decency in its character and proceedings; but the Jacobins had secured their party in the mob, who were completely devoted to them. By this support, they hoped to carry, by their force, the boldest measures. Innumerable addresses, presented to the legislature, contained the most insolent and outrageous abuse of the king and Royal Family. Even the constitution, they as well as the rest of the nation had so lately adored, was publicly reviled. The galleries never failed to testify their displeasure with their usual impudence and outrage. The signal for the resignation of the directory of the department

department was Petion being restored. Their only crime was endeavouring to restrain the fatal insanity of faction, and to support the constitution.

The proclamation the National Assembly made, on the 10th of July, had the effect of persuading the people to arm against what were deemed the open invaders of their country. They shewed their distrust of the cabinet of the Thuilleries, by accusing them of secretly acting in concert with those of Coblentz and Vienna.

Whether there actually existed or not a connection and correspondence between the hostile powers and the court of France; whether the league of Pilnitz and the inimical proceedings of Austria, were either planned by the royal party at home, or approved by the King, is, at present, involved in impenetrable obscurity. In France, the affirmative was so industriously propagated by the Jacobins, and so enforced with the most plausible arguments, that it prevails as a general opinion; but this opinion is supported on presumptive and not on positive evidence. The friends of Royalty have ever maintained contrary sentiments. They assert, that his personal influence with Leopold, actually prevented that monarch from engaging in hostilities, and that every effort was made as a sovereign and a brother, by the able and trusty agency of M. Bizot de St. Croix, to induce the Emigrant Princes to return to the bosom of their country.

Whatever conclusion posterity may draw, when possessed of better evidence than has ever yet been adduced, certain it is, that the premature interference of the combined courts accelerated the fall and massacre of the unfortunate Monarch. This furnished his enemies

with the greatest pretext for accusing him of a conspiracy against his people as a foundation for the Republican fabric they meant to raise on the destruction of him and the new constitution. It availed little to him whether he was really innocent of any traiterous design against his country or not, as it was believed by his subjects that he was conspiring against them and their liberties. This opinion was still more confirmed by the Emperor and the King of Prussia, positively asserting, in their proclamation, that "The King was not sincere in accepting the constitution." The imprudent manifesto, issued on the 25th of July, at Coblentz, by the Duke of Brunswick, insinuated the same fact, and, as well as that of the 27th of the same month, had the worst effect upon the irritated populace of Paris. It left no medium for the national decision: all who wished to preserve a government popular in any degree; all who conceived that limiting the supreme authority was a desirable attainment, were thrown, by these measures, into the hands of the avowed Republicans; they felt themselves compelled to espouse the fanatical madness of the fanatical party, or at once accede to the destruction of liberty, by the army of the Duke of Brunswick. This fatal alternative rendered it impossible to be the friend of order, and the friend of liberty.

The unfortunate Louis durst not present this declaration as an authentic paper to the Assembly. The very letter, which submitted it to the inspection of the Legislature, questioned its authenticity. Although the royal message was replete with the strongest, and, most probably, the most sincere expressions of patriotism, the proposal of printing it for the use of the departments,

ments, was rejected. The notoriety of the fact excited the insolent remark of M. Isnard, "that the King had asserted what was not true." This increased the vigour, influence and authority of the Republican party.

Before we proceed to state the particulars of the memorial, it is necessary to notice the proceedings in the assembly, a few days previous to the proclamation of the Duke of Brunswick's being sent to the Representatives.

On the 26th of July, M. Guadet, from the commission of twelve, presented the draught of an address to the King, as the last effort to bring him, as he pretended, to a just sense of his duty, by a consideration of his own and the public danger. This address represented the protection he had always given to the Emigrants, among whom were his relations and servants; that the seditious clergy, and all the conspirators against the State, boasted of acting under his direction; that the wives and children of the rebels composed his court; that his house was become a fortress, inaccessible to the people, and filled with persons who were enemies to liberty, or had basely betrayed it; that his ministers, who ought to be men of tried patriotism, were always men of suspected principles, or equivocal conduct; that he complained of his want of confidence, and had done nothing to remove their jealousy; that he reckoned on their divisions, but ought to recollect, that, when an empire is menaced by foreign enemies, all divisions will cease, except that between citizens and traitors; and, finally, that the people, who pardon so much, have never pardoned Kings an attempt to bring them under a foreign yoke.

This absurd address, equally false

and insulting, was opposed by one part of the Assembly, as an indecent accusation, unsupported by proof; and, by the other part, as nugatory. M. Brissot endeavoured to shew, that it was essential and preparatory to the other grand measures which the Assembly was called upon to adopt. It would prove, that the Assembly had tried every gentle means; its want of success, would convince the nation of the true disposition of the King, and gain its assent to a decree of forfeiture. It would not preclude other measures, and he proposed two, as equally urgent and important.

Were the King culpable, he must be tried and condemned, said he, but not with precipitation. Precipitation would alienate a great part of the nation, and, perhaps, take from the sentence the suffrage of the majority, without which the Assembly could not support itself. He moved, therefore, that the extraordinary commission would be discussed, in preference to all other business, to collect all the proofs of the King's having incurred the penalty of forfeiture, and report them to the Assembly. He next examined the different propositions lately agitated, for suspending the King, for appointing a Dictatorate, and for convoking the Primary assemblies, in order to take their opinion on reforming the constitution. Of each of these, he disapproved as highly dangerous; and proposed that an address to the people should be prepared, to warn them against believing, that any such were intended, or proper to be adopted. Both of these motions were agreed to, in preference to the address of Guadet.

On the 1st of August, the President said, he had received a printed paper, intituled, "The Declaration of his Serene

Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, commander of the combined armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of France." M. Belgarde moved, that it should be made into cartridges; and the Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The Duke of Brunswick's declaration was, "As their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, have intrusted me with the command of the combined Armies, assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two Sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

"After arbitrarily suppressing the rights, and invading the possessions of the German Princes, in Alsace and Lorrain; after having disturbed and overthrown, in the interior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the King and his august Family—those who have seized on the reins of Government, have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the Emperor, and the invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire, have been equally exposed to the same oppression, and many others have only avoided the danger by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party, and of their emissaries.

"His majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty, in

the bands of the strictest alliance; and as a preponderate member himself of the Germanic body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally, and of his co-estates. It is under this double relation, that he undertakes the defence of that Monarch, and of Germany.

"To these high interests is added another important object, and which both the Sovereigns have most cordially in view; which is to destroy that anarchy which prevails in the interior part of France, to prevent the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the King to his legitimate power, to liberty and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

"Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction, which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait, with impatience, the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprizes of their oppressors, his Majesty the Emperor, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return, without delay, into the paths of reason and justice, of order and peace. It is with this view, that I, the under-written, general commander in chief, do declare,

'I. That drawn into the present war, by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no object in view, than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

"II. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France; but they simply intend to deliver the King, the Queen, and the Royal

Royal Family, from their captivity; and to insure to his most Christian Majesty, that safety which is necessary for his making without danger, and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to insure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

"III. That the Combined Armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout France.

"IV. That the National guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns, and in the country, to provide for the safety and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible; that, on the contrary, such National Guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace.

"V. That the general officers, the subalterns, and the soldiers, of the regular French troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to their King, their legitimate Sovereign.

"VI. That the members of Departments, Districts, and Municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and estates, for their crimes; and all the conflagrations, all the murders, and the pillage they shall permit, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, at-

tempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions, until his most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or until further orders be given in his name.

"VII. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them in open country, or through half-open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be burnt. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their Majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; and their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws; and each, and all of them, shall be in full safety.

"VIII. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly, and without delay to the King, to set that Prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his, and to all royal persons, that inviolability and respect which are due by the laws of nature, and of nations, to sovereigns: their Imperial and Royal Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the National Assembly, of the Department, of the District, of the Municipality, and of the National Guards of Paris, Justices of the Peace, and others, whom it may concern; and their

their Imperial and Royal Majesties farther declare, on their faith and word, of Emperor and King, that, if the Palace of the Thuilleries be forced, or insulted; if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to the King, Queen, and the Royal Family; if they be not immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they will inflict on those, who shall deserve it, the most exemplary and ever memorable punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ their good offices, with his most Christian Majesty, to obtain for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

"Finally, their Majesties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France, except those which shall be derived from the King, when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the King, so long as his sacred person, and that of the Queen, and the Princes of the whole Royal Family, shall not be in full safety; and, with this view, their Imperial and Royal Majesties, invite and entreat his most Christian Majesty, to name a town in his Kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the Queen and Royal Family, under a

strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name; order such convocation as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order, and the regular administration of his kingdom.

"In fine, I declare and promise, in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be observed every where, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation, those well disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, or of manifest evil intentions.

"I, therefore, call upon, and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command; but rather to suffer them, every where, to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence, that circumstances may require.

"Given at general head quarters,
"at Coblenz, July 25, 1792.

(Signed)

"Charles Guillaume Ferdinand,

"Duc de Brunswick Lunenburg."

This was followed by another declaration, viz.—"The declaration I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated Quarters General, at Coblenz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their majesties, the Emperor and the King of Prussia, when they entrusted me with the command of the combined Armies. The liberty and safety of

of the sacred persons of the King, of the Queen, and of the Royal Family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration, to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments, should the least insult be offered to his most Christian Majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

"Without making the least alteration of the 8th article of the said declaration, of the 25th instant, I declare beside, that if, contrary to all expectations, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the King the Queen, or any other person of the Royal Family, should be carried away from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever, which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishment as those inflicted upon the inhabitants of Paris. The rout which will be taken by those who carry off the King and Royal Family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishment, justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes, for which there is no remission.

"All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the King and the Royal Family, to whatever place the factions may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his most Christian Majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation that

has been made him) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

"All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null, and without effect.

"Given at general head quarters, at
"Coblentz, July 27, 1792.

(Signed)

"Charles Guillaume Ferdinand,

"Duc de Brunswick Lunenburg."

On the 3d of August, the King sent the following letter to the National Assembly :

August 3, Fourth Year of Liberty.

"For several days, a paper has been circulated, intituled, "The Declaration of the Reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, Commander of the Combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor, and the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of France."

This paper exhibits nothing as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been transmitted by any of my ministers at the several courts of Germany, near our frontiers. The publication of it, however, seems to me to require a new declaration of my sentiments and my principles. France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us; but those who know of what value, in my eyes, are the blood and the fortune of the people, will credit my uneasiness and my grief.

I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace,

the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of kings. My former ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war, I felt how necessary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the National Assembly.

"When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of ensuring its success. My ministers received orders to concert measures with the committees of the National Assembly and with the generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions, the progress of the spirit of party, and, above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat? But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers. I shall take, in concert with the National Assembly, all means to turn the evils inseparable from war, to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

"I have accepted the constitution; the majority of the nation desired it; I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness, and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

"From that moment, I imposed it as a law upon myself, to be faithful to the constitution; and I gave orders to my ministers to make it the rule of my conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for ex-

perience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of my people; I have discharged that duty, and to have done so is enough for the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party: it is to the nation that I owe myself; I am one and the same with her; no interest shall separate me from her; she alone shall be listened to: I will maintain my national independence with my latest breath. Personal dangers, compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah! what are personal dangers to a King, from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people? There lies the real wound of my heart. The people will, perhaps, one day know how dear to me is their happiness, how much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest marks of its return!

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Undersigned) *Bigot St. Croix.*"

Several members required that the King's letter should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. On this motion, the previous question was called for.

M. Isnard having obtained, with difficulty, a hearing, said, that the King's letter was only a heap of falsehoods.

M. Thuriot said, that the King sent this letter, merely from knowing that the Municipality of Paris were going to demand his deposition.

The proposal of printing the letter was rejected.

The envoys of the commonalty of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared

appeared at the bar, and M. Petion demanded, in the name of the forty-eight sections, that the King should be excluded from the throne; and that the management of affairs, during the interregnum, should be entrusted to responsible ministers, until the election of a new King by a National Convention. He supported his petition by exhibiting a view of the King's conduct since the revolution. "He has always," said he, "shewn himself an enemy to the people, an enemy to the new laws, and an enemy to France."

This excited a violent agitation in the assembly. Several members desired to be heard. But the tumult rendered it impossible. The president ended the sitting without any vote passing upon the circumstance.

In the evening sitting, several members moved that the address, presented by M. Petion in the morning, from the forty-eight sections of Paris, should be printed, which was printed, and the following Tuesday was fixed by the Assembly, for determining the important question respecting the deposition of the King.

On the 7th of August, the king issued a long proclamation intended to dissipate the storm which in every part of the city now seemed ready to burst.

A petition had laid for eight days on the altar of the Champ de Mars, and was presented by a countless multitude, preceded by a pike crowned with the Jacobin ensign, the red woollen cap, with an inscription upon it, "*The Deposition of the King.*"

On the 8th, M. Jean Debrie reported from the extraordinary commission, on the charge against M. La Fayette,

and concluded with proposing a decree of accusation.

M. Pastoret said, that of fifteen members present, when the report was voted by the extraordinary commission, eight were for it and seven against it.

M. Vaublanc spoke with great effect in defence of La Fayette. On the question being put, a great majority appeared against the decree of accusation.

The minority insisted on a division, and the names were called over, when the numbers were,

For the accusation..... 224

Against it..... 406

Majority for La Fayette 182

On Tuesday, August the 9th, M. De Condorcet, in the name of the extraordinary commission, stated the various considerations connected with the grand question of

The King's Forfeiture.

"You have," said he, "referred to the extraordinary commission, a petition, presented in the name of the commonalty of Paris, respecting the forfeiture of the King, and, in so doing, you have entrusted to it the examination of one of those difficult and dangerous questions. The determination may have a great influence over the fate of the present generation, as well as over that of posterity. Your commission, therefore, would not have thought that they discharged their duty, had they not turned their attention to every thing that ought to precede this measure.

"The constitution, in no article, speaks of the forfeiture of the King, although

although it mentions several cases where he may be thought to have abdicated; but the accusation here is the violation of an oath, and the keeping up a correspondence with our enemies, of which you must have proofs, and then you will be able to pass judgment. Various occurrences may prevent ministers from discharging their functions. And it becomes necessary, should such circumstances happen, to devise some means of presenting the confidence of the people. If you think the public safety in danger, ought you not to remind the people of their rights and interests? Are you not of opinion that the nation ought to breathe for its wishes? Or ought you not, rather, to confine yourselves to giving the people instructions?

"If a national judgment is demanded, and if it be necessary to wait for it, would you leave to the executive power the exercise of its functions? Does not the imperious law of public safety impose on you, at present, the necessity of pursuing proper measures? Can these measures be sufficient? At any rate, your decision, whatever side of the question you adopt, will inflame the passions of the multitude, and the public tranquillity will, consequently, be endangered.

"You ought, therefore, to neglect nothing that may tend to preserve peace and harmony. You are fully sensible of the importance of the question. Besides other measures, it will be necessary to organize an executive power, which may be incapable of doing any hurt, and which may, at the same time, preserve the independence of the National Assembly. Whatever part you adopt, you will be

accused of having violated the constitution. You are forced to steer between the boundaries of your own powers and the violation of rights. You ought to confine yourselves within the limits of the law. Your committee will not present a complete plan of the measures to be pursued in such circumstances. We are completely sensible how pressing the dangers of the country are, but too much precipitation might ruin it; and measures badly combined might not be sufficient. You ought to run every risk to save your country; but remove from danger every thing you can. May this discussion enlighten the people whom evil minded persons endeavour to mislead. Your committee will take advantage of the lights that may result from it; they will, at present, recommend to you only one measure, which is, to publish an instruction to the people on the mode of exercising the right of sovereignty, in order that they may guard themselves against the errors into which they may be precipitated."

M. Petion now appeared at the bar. He said, he came to receive the decree which the Assembly had passed for preserving the public peace. Until the present moment it had been preserved; but a rumour having been spread that a plot was formed to carry off the King, the people, as if actuated by one spirit, had all bent their way towards the Thuilleries, to prevent his being carried away. For this purpose, a certain number of citizens, from each battalion of the national guard, were ordered to do duty at the palace. Two bodies were stationed, one at the Carouzel, and the other at the Place de Louis XV. He believed, therefore, that the person of the King was in safety. M. Petion concluded by recommending

commending to the Assembly to pursue lenient and persuasive measures with the enraged populace, as the most likely means of preventing excesses; for the people were armed, and ready to resist any coercive measures that might be adopted against them.

The assembly, considering the present dangerous situation of the capital, decreed, That until order be restored, there should be a permanent sitting. And, in compliance with repeated requisitions, the Assembly also determined to decide on the subject on the fatal 10th of August. The Assembly, however, exhibited some proofs of caution and temperance, which did not coincide with the designs of the impetuous Jacobins. The Federates had been detained on various pretences in the metropolis, and even if their stay could have been protracted, the leaders of the desperate party were doubtful whether peace could long have subsisted between them and the mob of Paris: the passions of the people were now inflamed; but the French being versatile, a change of opinion might have succeeded. In a few words, there can be little doubt, but that it was well understood that the people were to be excited by the Jacobin party, and that force and a mob were to effect what they despaired of from legally constituted powers. In proof of this assertion, many facts might be produced. To some foreigners, regular notice was given by the leaders of this party, to absent themselves from Paris on that day; and we know, from the best authority, that one of the most active in the conspiracy was heard to say, "If we cannot provoke the people to rise by the 10th, we are lost."

Such being the designs of the adverse party, the king was not unin-

formed of their proceedings; and as no alternative now appeared but to repel force by force, preparations were made to defend the Thuilleries. No hope of returning peace and harmony remained: for the dreadful Rubicon was now passed. The native gaiety of the French was superseded by the awful and solemn gloom of despondency, which overspread the palace. Loyalty and friendship were now to be severely tried. The question was not, who would conquer, but who would die in defending his sovereign? To increase the king's accumulated misfortunes, a small and firm band retained their attachment to the King, and, upon different motives, devoted themselves to his defence. Among these were some remnants of the ancient aristocracy, who made this last sacrifice to their principles, and whose errors, when united with such disinterested virtue, became respectable. Some were among those who united in the first efforts to meliorate the condition of their countrymen; but equally distant from anarchy and despotism, now dreaded the evils which impended on a total alteration of government: some were the personal friends of the fallen majesty of France; some from gratitude, some from prejudice; some pregnant with improbable hopes, and some, in the frenzy of despair, crowded round the tottering standard of royalty.

Among these brave and gallant men, none distinguished themselves more than the brave Swiss Guards. By repeated decrees of the Assembly, this body of troops had designedly been greatly reduced; and even on the 7th of August the king had been obliged to dismiss 300 of them. The departure of the whole from Paris had been indeed

indeed decreed; but the king, upon the plea of the arrangement of the Helvetic body, had deferred the execution of the decree. The number, therefore, that remained in the Thuilleries, previous to the 10th of August, was about 700. These were the strongest reliance of the court party for the defence of the palace. Besides the Swiss, there were about 1300 men formed of gentlemen and others, who repaired to the palace on this melancholy occasion. But as these were not considered sufficient, M. Maudat, commander of the national guards, and who was honestly and zealously attached to his king and the constitution, represented to the mayor the danger of the palace, and obtained a written order to defend the palace with all his force, and to repel the attack of any invaders. The detachment of M. Maudat is stated to have amounted to about 2,400 men, with twelve pieces of cannon; and added to these were the *Gendermerie a Cheval*, a body of cavalry, amounting to about 1000.

This force, well ordered and well arranged, it is thought, would have been sufficient to have repelled any attack, had there been any discretion, wisdom, or unanimity in the council of the Thuilleries. The temper and moderation some of the assembly had recently exhibited, was another source of confidence, which was still more increased by the indignation expressed by the most respectable inhabitants of Paris, relative to the outrages of the 20th of June. M. Vaublanc, and some other members, suspected of being attached to royalty, were pursued, ill treated, and in danger of being assassinated; they claimed the protection of the nation.

The Assembly being inclined to proceed with deliberation in the decision of the great question of the King's suspension, the rage of the populace was general excited. The mayor appeared at the bar, and alledged he could not be answerable for the peace of the city; he added, that it was greatly understood that the alarm-bell was to sound at midnight, and that the palace was to be assailed.

All was dismay and consternation in the Thuilleries. Some appearance of order was, however, preserved. On

Friday the Tenth of August 1792,

At one o'clock in the morning, the alarm-bell was rung, and the *generale* beat to arms all over the capital. The majority of all the sections voted, that in a time of insurrection, the council and municipality might impede the deliberations of the people. They declared that they were dissolved, M. Petion and M. Manuel excepted; the sixteen administrators of the police were preserved; the Etat Major of the national guard broke, and M. Santerre named Commandant General in his place.

At about eleven o'clock the mayor repaired to the palace, where he was detained, on account of the apprehensions for the royal family, until two or three o'clock in the morning. The police officers, and some of the new elected municipal officers, expressed their fears for the safety of the mayor. There is no proof that he was detained by force; but the disaffected, used the circumstance of his remaining there to circulate a report, injurious to the royal party, that he was either murdered or kept as an hostage. As the report, however, reached the Assembly, which sat all night, at two in the morning

morning a decree passed, ordering him to the bar. He immediately appeared, when he obtained leave to pursue his functions for the safety of the capital. In the mean time, M. Maudat, commander of the National Guards, was arrested, and ordered by the municipality to be committed to prison. Going down the stair-case of the Hotel de Ville, he was seized by the people, who beheaded him, and carried his head upon a pole through the city. M. Petion was afterwards, probably by his own desire, put under an amicable arrest, by his own party, at his house; being ashamed or afraid of appearing openly in so horrid an outrage on his sovereign and the constitution.

The final cause of M. Maudat being massacred, was to give a fatal blow, in his person, to the royal party. It being known that he was a determined supporter of the constitution, it was evident his presence would afford the strongest encouragement to the National Guards. The Republican party thought this would greatly contribute to retaining them in their duty; and as the order which he had received from the Mayor, was an additional authority in the minds of the soldiery and the people, it was determined to deprive the King of this essential support.—The creation of a new Municipality was unknown at the palace; and, under this delusion, a message was dispatched for his attendance at the Common Hall, pretending they had something of the utmost importance to communicate. M. Maudat, having obtained the sanction of the Assembly, was, at that time, occupied in assigning to the detachment of the National Guards their different posts; and, as if he had a pre-sentiment of their fatal

design, he hesitated to obey the order. A new message, more pressing than the former, was accordingly sent, and M. Rœderer, the Procureur Syndic, who has been, seemingly with justice, suspected of being a party in the plot, joined with two other municipal officers, who were present, in persuading him to obey the command of the constituted authorities. He left the palace about four o'clock in the morning, and suffered as before related.

The King had not closed his eyes during the whole of this eventful night; indeed, the only part of the family who retired to rest, was the royal infants. At six o'clock it was thought expedient that the King should review his troops. He accordingly proceeded to the Court Yards, where he was saluted with the acclamation of "Vive la Roi," from the Swiss, and it was echoed by the national guards. The artillery, however, and the battalion of *Croix Rouge*, shouted "Vive la Nation." From some of the more insolent and disaffected was hallooed "Vive Petion." The National Guards being deprived of their commander, and, consequently, being at that time governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery was contagious, and their unruly and indecent conduct, soon evinced how little was to be placed on their fidelity. The King had no sooner returned to his apartments, than the troops of the gentlemen who were in the Palace, formed themselves into companies of Life Guards; and, as most of them were trained to arms, they formed, in an admirable manner, for the protection of the interior of the Palace; and, animated by enthusiasm and despair, would have made a most gallant defence, had the King remain-

ed at their head. The King and Queen addressed the National Guards, in the most strong, pathetic, and persuasive terms. They were also penetrated with the enthusiasm of loyalty; an involuntary tear started into every eye; and, in language more expressive than words, every man appeared to profess his intentions of dying for monarchy and the constitution.

Posterity will, perhaps, condemn, and the unhappy monarch had soon reason to regret, the sudden resolution into which he was impelled by the timidity or treachery of M. Rœderer. At eight o'clock that officer entered the Council Chamber, where their Majesties were, at the head of the department. He requested to speak in private with the King and Queen.— Having obtained this audience, he proceeded to state the imminent danger which, at the moment, impended over their Majesties, and all their adherents. He assured them, that little or no dependence was to be placed upon the National Guards, for that the majority were totally corrupted.— That, instead of defending the palace, they would instantly join the assailants; that the number of the insurgents was such, that it was insanity to oppose; and intreated that they would repair to their only asylum, the National Assembly. The queen, whose penetration caused her to suspect a conspiracy, and whose spirit was generally more disposed to resistance than submission, opposed vehemently the suggestion of M. Rœderer, and exclaimed, “Sooner than I will remove, I will be nailed to the walls of the Palace.” But the habitual gentleness of the King induced him to comply. They strictly forbade their aristocratic friends to accompany them; and it was with grief and re-

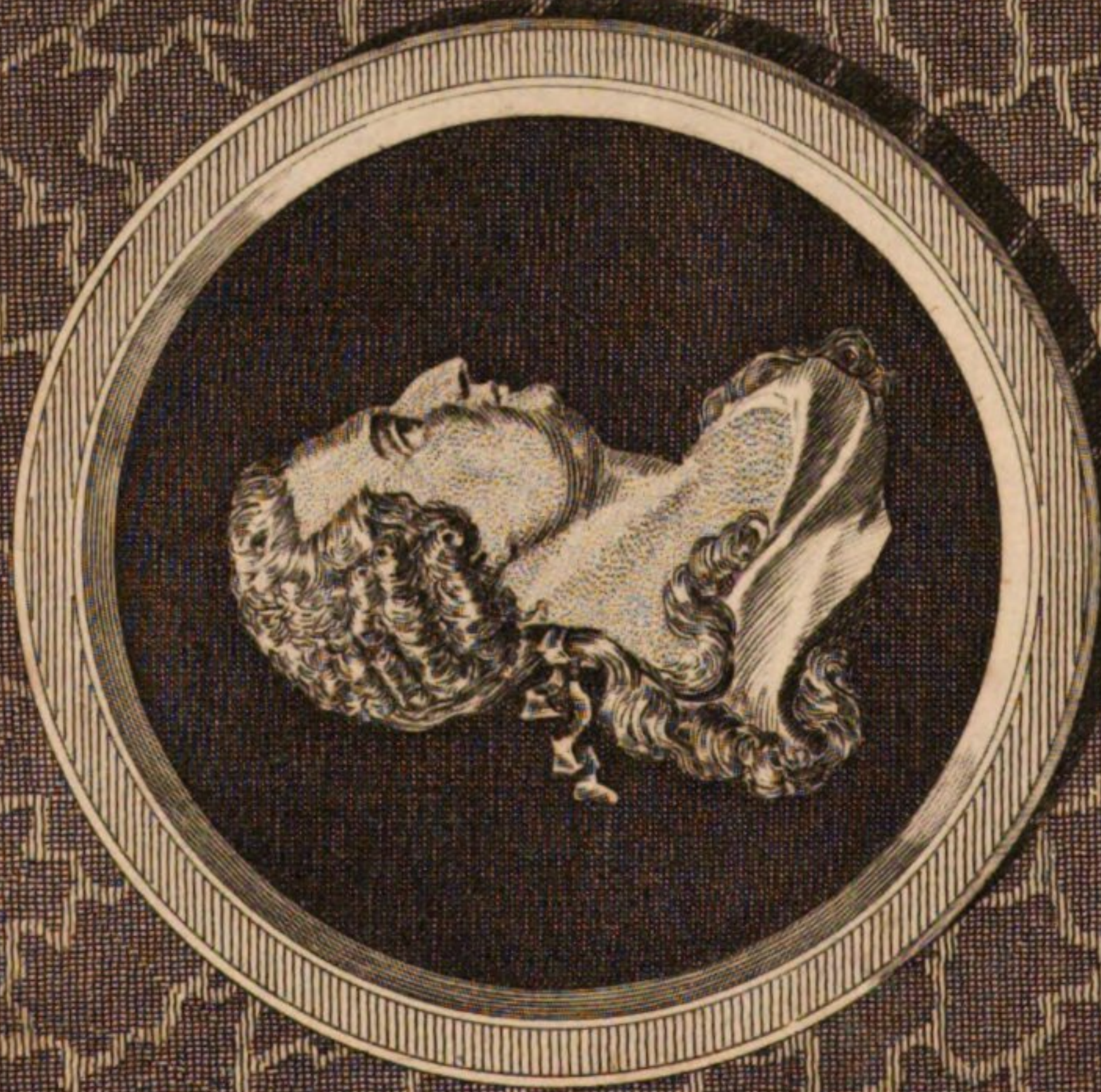
luctance they submitted to the command of their beloved master, to separate themselves from his person in the hour of danger and calamity.

But previous to the King's removal, a false patrol, about six o'clock, was stopped in the Champs Elysées. They were committed to the corps des garde des Feuillans, where, notwithstanding the interference of the National Assembly, they were seized by the people, who forced the guard at nine o'clock, and, after holding a summary trial, they condemned six of them to have their heads severed from their bodies, which was executed immediately.

The King, proceeding to the Assembly, met with no interruption in crossing the Thuilleries to the staircase leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but here he was detained a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled, with the grossest abuse, the most alarming threats against his royal person. The director of the department, with some difficulty, prevailed upon the multitude to recede. One of the most forward of the insurgents snatched the Dauphin out of the Queen's arms, and carried him to the Assembly.

At the moment their Majesties entered the Assembly, the legislature were engaged in a tumultuous debate on the motion for sending a deputation to conduct the King and Royal Family to the Hall. The King placed himself by the side of the President, and addressed the Assembly in these words:

“I am come here to prevent a great crime. Among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety.” The King and Queen were accompanied by their son and daughter, and the Princess



LOUIS THE XVI AND QUEEN

Pro duan et fculp

Princess Elizabeth. A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the Hall to introduce them. A singular debate ensued, almost immediately after the entrance of the Royal Family. It was observed by a member—that, according to the constitution, the deliberate functions of the Assembly were suspended by the presence of the King. It became, therefore, a matter of some embarrassment to know where to dispose of the unfortunate Monarch.—Some were for placing him at the bar, and others in the galleries. The King and his family then placed themselves on the bench destined to the ministry. But to this situation, there were still objections. It was, at length, observed, that they might be accommodated in a small box, about ten feet square, on the right hand of the President, separated by an iron grating, and which had been appropriated to the editor of a newspaper, at that time well known under the title of the *Logographe*, which has since been suppressed. In this confined situation the Royal Family spent fourteen hours, during a day of intense heat, exposed to instant danger, and loaded with indignities. The reports, which had been industriously circulated, of a plot formed within the palace, for the massacre of the citizens, had already caused the savage multitude to thirst for blood. In the course of the night, twenty-two persons had been arrested, and confined in the guard-house, under various suspicions, in the section of the *Feuillans*. Eleven of them confined in a separate apartment, had however, the good fortune to save themselves, by leaping out of a window into an

adjoining garden. For some time, the insurgents had been exceedingly clamorous in the court of the *Feuillans*, and demanded the sacrifice of the prisoners. About half past eight, a municipal officer ascended a bench, and exhorted them, with great humanity, to restrain their violence and cruelty. This respectable magistrate was soon silenced by a clamorous and horrid banditti; headed by a wretch, who, disgracing the name and form of a woman, a prostitute of the name of *Theorigne*, proceeded to the committee to demand their immediate slaughter; nine innocent persons were thus inhumanly murdered. Some of them fell by the hands of the infamous and execrable *Theorigne*. Among these was a M. Sulea, a man of letters and of great merit; his only crime was that of being attached to his King; and the Abbe Boyou, a dramatic writer. Their heads were immediately fixed on pikes, and carried, as trophies, round the city, to increase, had it been necessary, the cannibalism of the populace, and the fears and horrors of all honest men. It was a most unfortunate circumstance that the King, departing from his palace, did not leave distinct orders to those who remained, to capitulate. This would, most probably, have prevented much bloodshed. There is even some reason to think that the event might have proved more favourable to the King himself than it did.—The democratic party charged this neglect to the duplicity of the King, who, they alledged, wished to secure two chances to himself: the restoration of his former dignity, should the party within the palace prove victorious;

ous; at the worst, he expected to escape with his life by taking shelter in the National Assembly.

But this account of his motives, is one of those uncharitable insinuations, which, at such a crisis, the malignity of party usually invents; and the conduct of the King is more naturally to be attributed to that confusion and anxiety, which, at such a time, deprive the most collected mind of its functions. At this distance, we can reason with temperance and judgment; but how should we have acted, if placed in circumstances so extremely difficult and trying to human infirmity? To complete the public calamity, time was not allowed to remedy the omission; for before orders could be dispatched to this effect—before recollection had, perhaps, suggested to the King the necessity of forwarding such orders, it was too late. The Royal Family were scarcely seated in their box, when a dreadful cannonade shook the Assembly. Some members arose from their seats, and appeared disposed to seek, by flight, their personal safety. But the President called them to order, and desired them to recollect, that every man was at his post. The King informed the President, that he had left strict orders with the Swiss Guards not to fire upon the people.

It has been disputed, who were the first aggressors. This point appears difficult to ascertain, and of little importance when decided. We shall report the progress of this deplorable contest, as far as the materials we possess will enable us to proceed.

The number of the insurgents has been stated at about 20,000 effective men. The crowd of idle specta-

tors who followed them, partly from curiosity, and partly from plunder, is not to be estimated. The active rebels chiefly consisted of the lower class of the inhabitants of the suburbs, distinguished, as we before intimated, by the appellation of *Sans Culottes*, with some hundreds of the Marseillois, and other Federates, who were certainly the most daring, and contributed most to the success of the enterprize. They were marshalled in tolerable order under the command of a Prussian soldier of fortune, of the name of Weisterman. Some were armed with spears, others with musquets: they had thirty pieces of cannon.

The retreat of the King proved fatal to the defence of the palace. The gentlemen within formed themselves as well as they could; some were armed, and some unarmed, in military array. But having no longer in charge to defend the person of the King, they should have mixed with the National Guards, and kept up their spirits, by laying aside those distinctions which they knew were become so odious to the people.—The most loyal among the National Guards were dispirited by the loss of their commander, and disgusted by the flight of the King. Murmurs circulated among them. The purport of which was, that they were inevitably betrayed; and that with Aristocrats on one side, and the Swiss Guards on the other, they were between two fires. Even the Swiss Guards themselves were completely discouraged. Their commander in chief, Affray, was absent. M. Bachmann, second in command, and his adjutant, had accompanied the King to the National Assembly. The cap-

tains

tains were either not at their posts, or those who were, knew not what conduct to pursue.

About a quarter past nine, the gates of the Court Royal were forced open, and the mob rushed furiously in, headed by a party of Marseillois, whose leader drew them up into two square divisions, facing the palace. They brandished their spears, and levelled their pieces with menacing gestures, while the Swiss and National Guards from the windows, intreated them, by signs, to keep the peace, and withdraw. A few of the Sans-Culottes proceeded to the foot of the first stair-case, and, seizing the Swiss sentinel, and soon after five other of his countrymen, disarmed them, when the main body rushed in, and cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceless victims. Observing this outrage, the Swiss Guards drew up in order of battle, some on the stair-case, others on the steps facing the chapel door; and seeing no alternative but to stand on the defensive, fired on the murderers. At the same moment, the national officer, who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his pistol against the walls of the palace, provoked those who were in the windows to return the fire. The assailants then applied their matches to their cannon, and the engagement became general.

The contest was chiefly between the Marseillois and the Swiss Guards. The National Guards within the palace, knew not which party to espouse. A semblance of duty appeared either way to disarm them, and withheld them from active exertions. The gendarmes were in the same situation. A party of them, stationed near the coach houses, were, at one time, raked

by two fires from the Swiss Guards and the rebels, and lost twenty-five out of one hundred in this inglorious inactivity.

After a most gallant resistance of more than an hour, in which the Swiss Guards were frequently victorious in different parts, these brave men, from the want of ammunition, and being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti enraged, instead of being interested, by their gallantry and fidelity, pursued the fugitives with the rancour of savages, and the victory was converted into a massacre.

The National Guards, either from policy, or from that enthusiasm which is contagious, joined the populace in exterminating those whom, the instant before, they regarded as fellow-soldiers. All the Swiss Guards who were in the palace, were murdered, while many of them, who were upon their knees, implored for mercy. A small party (seventeen) having taken refuge in the vestry room of the chapel, and not having yet been engaged, imagined they might depend upon the clemency of the victors, if they surrendered themselves at discretion. But mercy not being the order of the day, they had no sooner laid down their arms, and shouted "Vive le Nation!" than they all shared the fate of the general slaughter. Another party attempting to escape through Marsau Court, eighty of them were killed, while the remainder secreted themselves in hay-lofts, and in other lurking places; some humane persons lending them clothes for disguise. A few were enabled to escape; but several of them died with hunger and fatigue.

The gentlemen who remained in the

the palace, proceeded, as well and as safely as they could, to the National Assembly. The only possible road was through the Queen's Gate. They rallied all the Swiss Guards they found in their way, and as many of the National Guards as still retained their fidelity. About five hundred was the number of the fugitives; but as only one person could pass through the gate at a time, they were exposed to a continual fire from a battalion, stationed at thirty yards distance. The red uniform of the Swiss Guards being most conspicuous, these devoted strangers continued to be the greatest sufferers. Of the remainder, some escaped by the gardens; and others, in small parties, effected their progress to different parts of the city; and dispersing, they were secreted and preserved by the humanity of some individuals. It is, however, a lamentable circumstance to add, that of this fine and gallant regiment of Swiss Guards, the whole number that survived the horrid massacre did not amount to two hundred, who were, by decree of the Assembly, placed under the protection of the State.

The defenceless victims, found in the palace, were all involved in one promiscuous massacre. The gentlemen ushers, the pages, those who were in the lowest and most servile offices, were slaughtered without discrimination. The Thuilleries was defiled with streams of blood running from the roof to the foundation. The shocking vindictive barbarities practised on the dead bodies of the Swiss Guards, would be too shocking to relate. A general pillage of the palace instantly succeeded the massacre. Some chests indeed, containing papers and assignats, and even some of the

royal plate, were taken from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the National Assembly. Three hundred Marseillois, and about 1000 citizens, fell in the contest. The pavilions of the palace, near the Place de Caroussel, were afterwards set on fire, as well as the Swiss barracks. The maids of honour in the palace were conducted to the section.

The resentment which the Swiss Guards had excited, was directed even to the porters of the coffee-houses and hotels, who were generally called *Swiss*, and several of them were murdered. M. Carl, lieutenant colonel of the Foot Gendermerie, was killed in the afternoon, as he was coming out of the Logographe Lodge, where the Royal Family were. M. de Hermigny, colonel of the Gendermerie, met a similar fate in the square before the Hotel de Ville.

Of the victims on this memorable day, none is to be more lamented than M. Clermont Tonnerre. It must be recollected, that no person had rendered more eminent services to the cause of liberty at the revolution than this unfortunate gentleman. And even when he ceased to act with the popular party, his opposition was always respectable and temperate. It would, perhaps, have been happy for France, if the maxims of moderation, which this great and good man inculcated, had been more carefully adopted even by the Constituent Assembly. He was undoubtedly the friend of liberty, which he thought could only be secured by prudence and moderation. His attachment to limited monarchy had rendered him odious to the populace. In the moment of delusion, his abilities marked him out to the demagogues for destruction. On the morning

ing of this day, he found his house surrounded by a mob, under the pretence that arms were secreted there. —At the same time, he received an order to appear before the committee of his section. Repairing to the committee, his house was searched, and his innocence acknowledged. Conscious of the rectitude of his own intention, he had the imprudence to venture to return through the mob, whose violence he restrained a considerable time by the charms of his eloquence. A servant whom he had dismissed for some offence, is said to have embraced this opportunity to gratify his revenge, by continuing to exasperate the fury of the multitude. It is to be lamented that his efforts were too successful.

While these dreadful and atrocious scenes were acting, the National Assembly still proceeded, in its own phrase—"To deliberate." But its deliberations were no longer free. They were overawed by a clamorous multitude in the galleries, and by troops of ruffians without, who threatened the lives of those who dared to think, speak, or act for themselves. The stoutest hearts were appalled, and in haste and confusion, a series of decrees were drawn up and passed, declaring the executive power suspended; the authority given by the constitution to Louis XVI. was, from that moment, revoked, and inviting the people to meet in Primary Assemblies, and to form a National Convention, which, by a subsequent decree, was appointed to meet on the 20th of the ensuing month, September.

The massacre was continued. About six in the evening, several of the Swiss at the barracks of Cour le Voye, were on their march to the capital, to assist

their companions: but they were put to flight by the people, who attacked them, and numbers were killed.

At night the town was illuminated, and the patrols being immense, no further mischief ensued. The King and the Royal Family remained at the house of the National Assembly, and at the house of M. Camus, the keeper of the records, the whole night.

On the following day, the ministers appointed by the King, the Assembly declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation. And a new Executive Council was appointed, consisting of M. Roland for the home department, M. Servant for that of war, M. Claviere for that of finance, M. Le Brun for foreign affairs, M. Danton minister of justice, and M. Mauge of the marine.

A decree of accusation was afterwards passed against M. d'Ablancourt, the late minister of war, for not having dismissed the Swiss Guards; and against M. La Porte, the late intendant of the civil list.

Some of the ministers, and Santerre, who was appointed commander in chief of the Parisian National Guards, took the oaths immediately upon their appointment.

It was proposed in the assembly, that to secure the lives of the Swiss soldiers who made the hall their sanctuary, they should be accompanied to the Hotel de Bourbon by the members of the Assembly. This was prevented by a number of the *Fédérés* from Marseilles, the very men who had put the Swiss to flight, appearing at the bar, saying, "The Swiss are no longer our enemies, we will escort them." They were conveyed accordingly to the Palais de Bourbon, protected by their conquerors.

Before we relate the fatal events that followed this extraordinary revolution of the 10th of August, it is requisite to take a short retrospect of some particular proceedings.

When M. Petion demanded the deposition of the King, he addressed the National Assembly as follows :

“ Legislators—It is at this moment when the country is in danger, that all her children should press around her. —Never was it threatened with a greater danger than at present. The commons of Paris have sent us to you. We bring into the sanctuary of the laws, the wishes of an immense city, full of respect for the representation of the nation, and confidence in their courage and patriotism. The citizens of Paris have not, for a moment, despaired of the public safety. But they think that to cure the disorders of France, you ought, without the delay of an instant, to attack them at the root. It is with heartfelt grief that they have found it necessary to commission us to appear before you this day, as accusers of the head of the executive power. The people know that they might, with justice, use against him the language of indignation. But expressions of danger become not men of strong minds. Compelled as we are to impeach Louis XVI. before you, and before all France, we will do it on one hand without asperity, and on the other, without weakly softening the charge ; for this betrays a pusillanimity unworthy of our character. This is not a time to listen to the voice of that long indulgence, which, however it may become a generous nation, never fails to encourage Kings, who commit perjury. When the salvation of the state is the question, even the fine feelings of the

nation, and the more amiable passions should be suspended.

“ We will not recal to your recollection the whole conduct of Louis XVI. from the first day of the revolution.—His bloody projects against the city of Paris ; his aversion to the main body of the people ; the National Assembly being insulted by his servants of the court, surrounded by armed men, wandering through a royal city, and unable to find an asylum but in a Tennis-court, are some of the acts and consequences of his national delinquency. We will not recal to your recollection, oaths frequently broken, protestations daily and hourly violated, until the moment when a perfidious flight opened the eyes, even of those citizens, who were most blinded by the fanaticism of slavery. We will not bring forth to view whatever the people were pleased to bury under the veil of pardon, which they granted him on that occasion. But to forgive, is not to forget. In vain we shall strive to forget all these crimes ; they will sully the page of history, and the memory of them will be handed to posterity. We feel, however, a duty incumbent upon us, to lay before you a concise enumeration of the acts done by the nation to Louis XVI. and to contrast them with the ingratitude of that prince. How many reasons might have been assigned for removing him from the throne, when the people asserted, by force, their sovereignty ? The memory of an imperious and all-devouring dynasty, which, for one King, had given us twenty tyrants. Hereditary despotism increasing, from reign to reign, with the misery of the people. The public finances completely destroyed by Louis XVI. and his two immediate predecessors ; infamous

famous treaties, for which the national honour was sacrificed; the eternal enemies of France becoming her allies and her masters. Such were the rights which Louis XVI. could plead to a constitutional sceptre. The National Assembly, faithful to its character, persuades the dictates of generosity, rather than those of Prudence. The despot of an enslaved soil, became the King of a free people. Having endeavoured to escape from France, that he might reign at Coblentz, he was placed again upon the throne, perhaps contrary to the wish of the nation, which ought to have been consulted.

"This great act of kindness to the King, was followed by a thousand others. Towards the close of the last Assembly, we saw the rights of the people weakened, to strengthen the power of the crown. The first officer of the public, made hereditary representative to the nation; a military household establishment, formed for the splendor of his throne; and his legal authority supported by a civil list, to which no other bounds were given than what his own pleasure dictated.

"Soon did we behold the kindness of the nation turned against herself. The power with which Louis XVI. was armed for the defence of liberty, he employed against her.

"Let us take a view of the internal parts of the kingdom. Wicked ministers are removed by the irresistible force of public contempt; yet these are the men whose removal he regrets. Their successors warned the nation, and the King, of the dangers surrounding the country. Louis XVI. dismissed them, because they shewed themselves to be honest citizens. The inviolability

of the King, and the perpetual change of ministers, eluded the laws, annexing responsibility to the agents of the executive power. A body of Life Guards, hostile to liberty, is dissolved in appearance, but they are still suffered to exist to reality.

"Forced to accuse Louis XVI. we shall do it without passion, and without artifice. We shall not retrace his whole conduct from the first instant of the revolution. His plans against the city of Paris, his attachment to the noblesse, the outrages offered to the Constituent Assembly by the valets of the court, when that body was surrounded by armed men, and forced to take refuge, in a Tennis-court. We refer not to his oaths, so frequently violated; we pass over all that has been covered by the pardon of the people; but it is proper the kindness of the nation to the King, and the ingratitude with which it has been repaid, should be noticed. Let us examine also what were the rights of Louis to the constitutional throne. The despotism of a dynasty, which, in 20 Kings, scarcely reckons a good Sovereign. The ruin of our finances, and the completion of treaties, burthensome to the nation; and these were his rights.

"Having endeavoured to leave France, to reign at Coblentz, he was replaced upon the throne, perhaps against the wish of the nation, which should have been consulted. From this moment, he has certainly forgot his duties. Treacherous ministers have been removed by the public contempt. He has testified to them his regrets. Patriotic ministers have been removed by him; and they carried with them the regret of the country. A guard

of conspirators has been apparently disbanded but exists in reality, since it continues to be paid by the King.

"Priests endeavour to arm children against their fathers in an interior war; without, the armies of the enemy menace our territory; and traitors, led by the brothers and relatives, are ready to enter the country. It is to avenge Louis XVI. that the execrable house of Austria would add another page to the history of its enormities; and having conceived the wish of Caligula, would, at one blow, cut off the heads of all good citizens.

"Flanders called us into her bosom, and our troops entered, but they were recalled by the orders of the King.

"The head of the executive power is the chief in the counter-revolution chain. He has separated his interests from those of the nation. We also separate ours from his. His conduct is a series of acts of disobedience to the constitution. While the King is at the head of the nation, we cannot be free. Louis XVI. invokes the constitution. We invoke it likewise, and demand his deposition. Having no confidence in his dynasty, we demand its exclusion. When the perjured and the slavish shall approach, they will find 10,000,000 of citizens ready to receive them."

The head of the executive power is the first link of the great chain of the counter-revolution. He seems to have had his share in the plots at Pilnitz; the existence of which he had so long delayed communicating to you. His name is every day found in opposition to the nation. It is a signal of discord between the people and their magistrates, between the soldiers and their generals. He has separated his in-

terest from that of the nation. Let us follow his example with regard to him. So far from being opposed by any act from the enemies, either abroad or at home, his conduct is one continued act of disobedience to the constitution. As long as we have such a King, liberty cannot take root among us.

"Feeling some little remains of indulgence, we could have wished it had been in our power to call upon you only to suspend the exercise of his authority, so long as the country is in danger; but the constitution stands in the way of such a wish. Louis XVI. is ever appealing to that constitution. We appeal to it also in our turn, and call upon you to declare, that he has forfeited the crown.

"This great measure being once adopted, as it is doubtful whether the nation can place any confidence in the reigning dynasty, we desire that ministers, really responsible, appointed by the National Assembly, but not of our own body, according to the law of the constitution, and chosen openly, not by ballot, may in the interior, exercise the functions of the executive power, until such time as the will of the people, our Sovereign and yours, shall have been legally declared in a National Convention, to be assembled as soon as the safety of the people will admit. In the mean time, let our enemies, be they who they may, go beyond our frontiers. Let the base and perjured quit the land of liberty. Let 300,000 slaves advance. They will find on their way, 10,000,000 of freemen, prepared for either death or victory, fighting for equality, for their houses, for their wives, and for their children. Let every one of us be a soldier in his turn;

turn; and if we must have the honour of dying for our country, let each of us, before he breathes his last, render his memory illustrious, by the death of a slave or a tyrant."

This speech was delivered, after it was spoken, in writing, to the President; but the Assembly came to no resolution upon it.

Soon after, M. Petion, who had been detained some time at the Tuilleries, as a kind of hostage, had appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, their hall was surrounded by an immense crowd of people. Some of whom called out, that the court had become the focus of a counter-revolution—that the palace was another Coblenz. If the people had, at last, resolved to punish their enemies, it was not until they had been forced to it. If they were determined to take into their own hands the vengeance of the law, it was because the law was slow in punishing those traitors who were constantly attempting to overthrow the constitution. That every law ought to be suspended, and give place to that supreme law, the safety of the people.

Day light appearing, the minister of justice entered the hall, imploring for the King that protection from the Assembly, which, from the outrageous conduct of the mob in the Tuilleries, he had no reason to expect from the affections of the people. While they were deliberating upon the most proper measures to be adopted in this alarming crisis, some municipal officers announced that a new provisional administration had been formed at the Common's Hall; that the people, assembled in different sections, had named commissioners

who, in virtue of their powers, had denominated themselves a general council of the community; that the municipality had been suspended during this temporary authority, of which Petion was the head.

These transactions having occurred, the dismal scene and atrocious massacre ensued we have before related.

The particulars of the decrees passed afterwards, to which we before alluded, are as follow: They were proposed by M. Verginaud, in the name of the extraordinary commission.

The National Assembly considering that the want of confidence in the executive power is the cause of all our evils; that this want of confidence has called forth, from all parts of the kingdom, a wish that the authority, entrusted by the constitution to Louis XVI. should be revoked; that the only means of reconciling what they owe to the safety of the people, with their own oath of not encreasing their own power, are to submit to the sovereign will of the nation, decree as follow:

1. "The French people are invited to form a National Convention. The committee will propose, to-morrow, a time and mode of this convention.

2. "The executive power is provisionally suspended until the National Convention shall have decreed the measures necessary to be pursued for preserving national independence.

3. "The civil list is suspended. The committee will point out the sum which the legislative body ought to allow for the subsistence of the Royal Family.

4. "The extraordinary commission shall present a plan for appointing a governor to the Prince Royal.

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5. "The King and Royal Family shall remain under the protection of the legislative body, until the department shall prepare apartments for them at the Luxemburg Palace.

6. "The King and Royal Family are under the safeguard of the law, and their protection is entrusted to the National Guard of Paris.

7. "All magistrates, officers, and soldiers, who shall quit their posts, shall be declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

8. "The department of Paris shall, this day, cause the present decree to be proclaimed.

9. "It shall, at the same time, be transmitted by extraordinary couriers to the eighty-three departments."

On Sunday the Assembly decreed, that search should be made to find out the widows and children of all the citizens, who perished in the affair of the 10th, in order that they might be indemnified in the same manner as the widows and children of the conquerors of the Bastile.

They likewise decreed, "I. That the hotel of the Minister of Justice, should be inhabited by the King.

"II. That he should be furnished with a guard, subordinate to the Mayor of Paris, and to the commandant of the National Guard, who shall be answerable for the safety of him and his family.

"III. That the sum of 500,000 livres should be allowed to pay his expences, until the meeting of the National Convention."

On Monday it was decreed, that, instead of the hotel of the Minister of Justice, the residence of the Royal Family should be in a house, called the Temple, as a place of greater security. In the mean time, the sta-

tues of all the Kings, not excepting that of Henry IV. the once great favourite of the French, were thrown down and destroyed; and some of the former ministers, and many other suspected persons, were arrested and imprisoned.

Nothing can give a greater idea of the misled spirit of the people at this awful crisis, than the following proclamation of the provisional magistracy of Paris, on the 10th of August.

"Citizens,

"The people, reduced to the alternative of death or slavery, have prevented the ruin of their country, by resuming, a second time, their rights. The sovereign has spoken; magistrates nominated by the majority of the sections have taken their seats at the common hall. This measure, rendered necessary by circumstances, will break all the threads of intrigue, it will throw light on the chain of treasons which had brought liberty into such imminent danger. The people will not, this time, have risen in vain. Magistrates, full of zeal, will second their efforts. They have connected their operations with those of your former magistrates who are most worthy of public confidence. Petion is still the chief of the commons; and Manual and Danton are at their posts. Citizens, Maudat is, at this moment, in irons, and the law will soon punish his treasons. Santerre is your commanding general.

(Signed) "Huguenin, President.

"Leonard Bourdon and Martin, Secretaries."

The following is the address of the National Assembly to the French, agreed on the 10th of August.

"For a long time the most eager inquietudes have agitated all the departments,

partments. The people have expected from its representatives alone the measure that might save them. This day the citizens of Paris have declared to the representative body, that their authority alone preserved the confidence of the people. The members of the National Assembly have individually sworn, in the name of the nation, to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at their posts. They will be faithful to their oath.

"The National Assembly is about to prepare those laws, which extraordinary circumstances have rendered necessary; and the citizens, in the name of the country, to provide that the rights of man shall be respected, and properties asserted. They invite them to assist in saving the public cause; and not to aggravate, by unhappy divisions, the calamities and dangers of the people."

When the King and his family left their asylum at the Feuillans, near the National Assembly, at three o'clock on Monday afternoon, the multitude surrounding the royal carriage was immense. The procession was stopped by the crowd at the Place Vendôme, that his Majesty, said the vehement Gorsas, might contemplate the fate of his tyrant ancestors in the overthrow of the equestrian statue of Louis XIV. A statue inaugurated on the 10th of August 1692, and overthrown on the 10th of August 1792. This proves, that the day of the deposition of the unfortunate Louis was fixed to be on the centenary of the above glorious honour being bestowed on Louis XIV.

It will shew the vile spirit of the day, and the unmanly cruelty, used by Gorsas to the fallen Monarch, if we follow the words of this vile

miscreant, in his conclusion of his account of this proceeding of removing the Royal Family to their new abode, "Oh! Louis XVI. thou hast forced Frenchmen to hate thee—thou hast shed their blood—thou hast coolly given orders for murder and carnage—thou art now unfortunate, and honest men pity thee. They wish that thy crimes would permit them to pardon thee." During the procession to the Temple, M. Petion had the insolence to warn the Queen against looking at the people with such confidence. "*De regarder le peuple avec moins d'assurance.*"

"You see," said she to him, "that the people are calm." "I know, Madam," said he, "that they are very much the contrary; and may, at this instant, be provoked by a glance."

The same day, the national Assembly published a declaration, written by M. Condorcet. It is entitled an Exposition of the Motives on which the French National Assembly have proclaimed the Convocation of the National Convention, and pronounced the suspension of the Executive Power in the hands of the King. It is as follows:

"The National Assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, an account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

"Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wish to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety requires, without usurping powers with which the people have not intrusted them.

"At the opening of the session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty

berty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing alarm into suspicious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens, that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

"A final league, formed among powerful Kings, menaced the liberty of France. They fancied they had a right to fix, to what a degree, the interests of their despotism permitted us to be free, and they flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people, and the independence of the French empire, prostrate before the arms of their slaves.

"Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

"The National Assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and the factious priests, by severe decrees; and the King employed, against those decrees, the suspensive refusal of sanction, which the constitution granted him. In the mean time, those emigrants, and those priests, were busily acting in the name of the King. It was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority, that the former had taken up arms; and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the King, his relations, his former body guards; and while the correspondence of these facts, with their conduct, authorized—nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be suspended with-

out being annihilated, shewed clearly how the Veto suspensive, according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the King the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

"From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy discontents that announced an impending storm, and suspicions of the Executive Power was displayed with energy.

"The National Assembly were not discouraged. Princes, who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the King was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, his silence, that had been kept too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish. Preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations, conducted by a weak or treacherous ministry, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare, or an insult. The league of the Kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity, and at the head of the league appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of France, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself.

"The National Assembly thought it necessary, for the safety of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare—whether he would be an ally or an enemy; and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the

the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her; treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of separating the King from the nation, and of representing a war against the French, as succours granted to his ally. The Emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it, he repeated the absurd charges against the assembly of the representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French ministry had long wearied the counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the King, and he had just signed a new league against France in favour of the authority of the King of the French.

"These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the King, had been concealed by the Ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of Monarchs, had shewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the King had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

"This apparent connivance between the Cabinet and the Thuilleries, and that of Vienna, struck every mind; the National Assembly thought it their duty to examine, with vigour, the conduct of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and a decree of accusation was the result of this enquiry. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the King's council was formed of patriot ministers.

"The successor of Leopold follow-

ed the course of his father. He thought proper to require, for the Princes formerly possessing fiefs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence, and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed without having recourse to arms.

"The king seemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently, without betraying a shameful weakness. He seemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy pretending to interest himself in his fate, and to desire his alliance for no purpose, but to sow the seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our strength and to stop or disconcert our motions; he proposed war by the unanimous advice of his councils, and war was decreed.

"By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing troops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening language, the King of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence, ruinous in their expences, exhausted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the departments, excited uneasiness, among the citizens, and thus fomented, in them, a perpetual trouble. Never did hostilities more justify war, and to declare was only to repel it.

"The National Assembly were unable to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated, all the

the preparations of defence had been neglected. Their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, or the secret councils of the King. But they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of royal authority; by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the King.

"Her armies were tortured with political divisions; discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as well as between the generals and ministry; attempts were made to transform into the instruments of a party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies destined for the French territories, and to maintain the national independence.

"Machinations of the priests becoming more active in the moment of war, made restraining laws indispensable—one was past.

"The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers, was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while, at the same time, it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their disquiets might have produced. The formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the King, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

"The constitution had granted to the King a guard of 1,800 men; and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation, or with terror; hatred of the constitution; and, above all, liberty and equality were the best titles for admittance.

"The Assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of a counter-revolution, of which too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation, by the King, bestowed praises on those very men whose dismissal from his service he had just pronounced, to those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

"The new ministers excited well-founded distrust; and as this distrust could not attach to them, it fell on the King himself.

"The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees, rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition, in which they solicited the recal of their patriotic ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees, in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the National Assembly, after the deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present it under the forms established by the laws; but, at the moment, when the municipal officers were coming to inform them, that their deputies, who had been at first refused, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed

rushed into the palace. The zeal of the Mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and patriotism gave him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the King, prevented all serious disorders, and few assemblages, so numerous, caused less disorder of any kind.

“The King had mounted the ensigns of liberty: he had done justice to the citizens, by declaring, that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them. The day of the federation was approaching. Citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired; but the ministers saw nothing in the events of the 10th of June, but a favourable occasion for sowing divisions between the inhabitants of Paris and those of the departments; between the people and the army; between the several portions of the National Guards; between the citizens who remained at their homes, and those who were flying to defend the state. The very next day, the King changed his language; a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies. One of their generals came in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victim. A considerable number of directors of departments, by unconstitutional resolutions, disclosed the plan they had formed long before, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives, between the National Assembly and their King. Justices of the peace commenced, in the very

palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve all the patriots whose vigilance and talents were the most dreaded.

“Already one of these justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterously concerted for finding, in the judicial order, the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority. Letters were sent from the minister for the home department, directing the employment of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris, the oath to fight for liberty, and it required all the activity of the National Assembly, and all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of their plan of disorganization, which might have enkindled the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished, in paternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too frequently in the National Assembly; and from this also the means of safety might have sprung. The prosecutions commenced by the King's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped. The virtuous Petion, punished by an unjust suspension for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the King; and it was possible, that this long series of faults and treasons might have fallen again entirely on those perfidious counsellors, to whom a confiding people had the long habit of attributing all the crimes of our Kings.

“The National Assembly then saw that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

“They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country. They instituted a commission charged to
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consider of, and prepare a plan of these means.

“The declaration that the country is in danger, called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts, and yet, in the midst of complaints incessantly repeated of the inaction of government; of the neglect and mismanagement of the preparations for war; of the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals; ministers unknown or suspected were seen to succeed each other rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity, the same principles.

“A declaration of the general of the enemy, which doomed to death all free men, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In this, the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the King of the French. Twenty-six millions of French were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family. Their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the King, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto, intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose it—and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

“Who then can be astonished that suspicions of the supreme head of the executive power, should inspire citizens with a desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence, at the disposal of a King, in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him whose interests were the pretexts of all our

troubles? These motives, common to all France, were joined particularly to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblenz forming the habitual society of the King and his family. Writers, paid by the civil list, endeavoured by base calumnies to render the Parisians odious, or suspected by the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow divisions between the poor citizens and the rich. The National Guard was agitated by perfidious manœuvres in order to form in it a party of royalists, and their audacity increased with their numbers.

“The constitution enjoined the King to give notice of approaching hostilities, to the National Assembly; and long solicitations were necessary to obtain from the ministry the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced abdication against the King, if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprizes undertaken in his name against the nation. And the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the King's name, and hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military household out of France. These facts were known for more than six months, before the King, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with the foreign powers might have prevented the success of these measures, and discharged the duty imposed upon him by the constitution. It was on such powerful motives, that numerous petitions were sent from a great number of the departments; this wish of several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the desire of all the commons, solicited the forfeiture of the King

King, on the suspension of the royal power; and the National Assembly could no longer shrink from the grand question.

"It was their duty not to decide but after a matured and well considered examination, after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But, all at once, the patience of the people was exhausted. They appeared united as one man of the same will. They marched to the King's residence, and the King came to seek an asylum among the representatives of the people, whose seats, he knew, that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris with the citizens of the departments, would always render to him an inviolable asylum.

"The National Guards had been charged with defending the residence which the King had abandoned. But with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. With painful surprize, the people had long seen Swiss battalions sharing the guard of the King, although the constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been seen that this direct violation of the law constantly obtruded on every eye, would sooner or later cause great misfortunes. The National Assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, decisive motions made by individual members, and referred to committees, had apprized the King several months before of the necessity of dismissing, from about his person, men, whom every where else the French regarded as friends and brothers; but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional King, in direct opposition to the constitution, without suspecting they had become the instrument of the enemies of their liberty.

"A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the minister, demanded changes in that decree. The National Assembly consented to these changes. A part of the soldiers was to remain near, but without performing any duty that might renew disquiets. Their acts were contrary to the National Assembly; contrary to the law, that, on the 10th, they were employed on a service, from which, on every motive of humanity and prudence, they ought to have resisted. They received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace. When unequivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted, at the instant when a deputation of the National Assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms, to speak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage, then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those of whom they had long been the victims.

"In the midst of these disasters, the National Assembly took the oath of maintaining equality and liberty, or die at their post. They took the oath to serve France, and they sought for the means. They saw but one, which was that of the securing the supreme will of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their unalienable rights of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognized, and which could not be subject to any restraint. The public interests required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a National Convention, formed of representatives invested by them with

unlimited powers. It required no less that the members of this Convention should be elected in an uniform manner in each department, and according to the regular mode. But the National Assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that Assembly held all the powers they possessed. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulations traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for the elections, were respecting the establishment of new forms—even supposing them to be a source of delay, perhaps for divisions.

They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing, or being elected, established by the former laws; because these laws, which are so many restrictions on the exercise of the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to a National Convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of the active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of law. The only conditions required, are those which nature has prescribed—such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory for which the rights of citizenship are exercised; of having attained the age, of which men are held by the laws of nations, of which they make a part, to be in a condition of exercising their personal rights; finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

“But to assemble new representatives of the people, requires time; and although the National Assembly

have made, as short as possible, the periods of the operations, which the Convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, had the exercise of the powers conferred upon the King by the constitution, been left to him; the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives the only means of saving France and liberty.

“In pronouncing these necessary suspensions, the Assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the King; when the terms at which this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived, that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary. This, however, would be absurd to leave the power in hands which could no longer use it freely and beneficially. In the present instance, then these conditions are as evidently united, as in the case provided for the constitution in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has directed. We have obeyed it, far from having infringed it contrary to our oaths.

“The Constitution provided against all accumulations of powers, which, being dangerous, might change into tyrants, those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also that this danger supported a large exercise of this extraordinary power, and

and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all cases, in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases, it has so rigorously prescribed.

“The National Assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law, on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

“When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he, to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary a new law should put the choice in other hands. The Assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given to electors who belonged to the whole nation; and because they alone had that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious or personal views: they decreed, that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attended their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

“Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its ven-

geance 26,000,000 of freemen. Within six weeks, a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce our divisions. Woe to the man who, listening during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself only to the common defence; who shall not see that, at the moment when the sovereign will is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz, and their accomplices!

“It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when foreign armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss, in a peaceable assembly, the rights of liberty. But that which would appear rash among any other people, seems to us not above the courage and patriotism of the French; and, undoubtedly, we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy of forgetting every other interest but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to that of the love of your country.

“Citizens, it is for you to judge, if your representatives have exercised for your good, the powers you have confided in them. If they have acted according to your wishes, in using their powers, which neither they nor you could foresee would be necessary.

“We have discharged our duty in seizing, with courage, on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post at which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, in quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully. Whatever judgments our contemporaries, or posterity, may pass on us, we shall not have to dread that of our

our own consciences. To whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a weaker conduct would have caused to flow. We shall be spared remorse at least, nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed) "Gaudet, President."

While the National Assembly were thus occupied, the new municipal body of Paris resolved, that the Place des Victoires should, in future, be called the Place de la Victoire Nationale; and that a pyramid should be erected in it, inscribed with the names of all the citizens who fell on the 10th of August, 1792, in defence of liberty. The sections of Marseilles and Paris came to a formal resolution, that the King should never be mentioned by **them** but by the title of the Traitor Louis XVI.

They also issued a proclamation, requiring all persons within their jurisdiction, to pull down, or deface, all images or signs of Kings and Traitors, particularly of La Fayette.

In the mean time, no pains were omitted to procure proofs of the treachery of the court, in corresponding with the enemies of the country, and to excite all the citizens of the nation to unite in arms, in order effectually to oppose the combination of despots. On the day that the King was removed to the Temple, it was decreed, that all brass statues, and the brass ornaments in the churches. &c. throughout the empire, should be converted into cannon.

The phrenzy of the populace did not subside, for some days, after the storming of the palace. It assumed

indeed, not the formidable aspect of a general insurrection, but it was no less savage and dreadful in its effects. Several atrocious assassinations were committed; and, among others, the respectable and virtuous Rochefaucault, fell a sacrifice to his attachment to the King and constitution. After having, with the rest of the department, been concerned in the suspension of Petion and Manuel, he found it no longer safe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own estate; but the blood hounds carefully traced his steps, and he was scarcely arrived before he was assassinated. His own tenants either aided in the murder, or, at least, looked on with criminal stupefaction.

The absurd rage of the democratic mob, on the days succeeding the 10th of August, was not confined to the living objects of their resentment; but with a barbarity, which has rendered proverbial the northern ravagers of Europe, they demolished every vestige of art that had the remotest relation to Monarchy or Aristocracy: even the statue of Henry IV. so long the idol of the patriotic party, was broken into pieces, merely because it was the statue of a King. The busts of M. M. Neckar, La Fayette, Mirabeau, and all the leading members of the constitutional party, were also sought out, with a ridiculous assiduity, and demolished.

On the night of the 12th, the Assembly, apprehensive of a formidable opposition from the army of La Fayette, dispatched three commissioners of their own body, to counteract the movements of that general. M. La Fayette, however, by a singular accident, was previously apprised of the events of the 10th.

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He had sent M. Darblais, one of his staff officers, with dispatches to the war minister. M. Darblais, on the morning of the 11th, had advanced almost within sight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the National Guards, who apprised him of his danger, and advised him to change horses, and return with all possible speed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found M. La Fayette, who, after stating the facts to the magistrates of that town, advised them, in duty to the King and the Constitution, to arrest the commissioners; who accordingly, on their arrival there, were seized and detained in prison from the 14th to the 20th.

In the mean time, M. La Fayette returned to the camp, and immediately distributed, among the battalions, the following letter:

“Citizen Soldiers,

“It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward. The constitution you swore to maintain, is no more; a banditti, from Marseilles, and a troop of factious men, besieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the National and Swiss Guards made a vigorous resistance, but for want of ammunition, they were obliged to surrender.

“General d’Affry, his aid-de-camp, and his whole family were murdered.

“The King, Queen, and all the Royal family, escaped to the National Assembly; the factious ran thither, holding a sword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the legislative body to supersede the King, which was done for the sake of saving his life.

“Citizens, you are no longer represented; the National Assembly are in a state of slavery; your armies are

without leaders; Petion reigns; the savage Danton, and his satellites, are masters. Thus, soldiers, it is your province to examine, whether you will restore the hereditary representative to the throne, or submit to the disgrace of having a Petion for your King.”

The general, at the first moments when this communication to the soldiery was made, found their dispositions not unfavourable to the cause of the constitution; but he soon discovered, that fidelity was only to be expected from a small circle of friends. Apprehensive, therefore, that in the spirit of revolt, which his army manifested, his life would be attempted by some assassin, or that he would as certainly put it into the hands of his adversaries; on the 19th of August he left the camp, in the night, accompanied only by his staff and a few servants. They took the route of Rochfort, in Liege, which, being a neutral country, they hoped to pass unmolested; but an Austrian general, of the name of Harancourt, being stationed there with an advanced party, arrested the fugitives, contrary to the law of nations, and sent them prisoners to Namur.—We are sorry to add, that these unfortunate exiles have been detained the victims of tyranny, and confined in a noisome dungeon, for no other crime, or rather under no other pretext, than that of having been members of the National Assembly of France.

The fate of this brave and disinterested patriot, is not calculated to exalt our opinions of human nature; on the one hand, we behold him abandoned by the people, for whom he had made so many sacrifices; on the

the other, oppressed by a combination of kings, while his attachment to the cause of monarchy is the source of his calamity. That M. La Fayette is a character without a blemish, would be too bold an assertion to be made by any human being. His error was the error of a young and ingenuous mind, which, in its ardent zeal for the liberty and happiness of his fellow creatures, did not permit him to distinguish what was practicable from what was merely speculative and visionary. A more temperate and mature judgment would perhaps have led him to oppose that fatal degradation of the executive power which proved the ruin of authority, of government, and order in France; but in this he was no more guilty than the rest of the constituent assembly; and though in his judgment he may have erred, in his principles we must allow him to have been always consistent. Faithful to his oath, to his King, to his engagements, he was among the first to oppose the seditious designs of the Jacobin Club, and among the most distinguished of those who contended for the maintenance of order and civil obedience.

General Arthur Dillon, influenced by the council, and perhaps by the character and example of M. La Fayette, seemed at first inclined to imitate his conduct; but by the orders which he published to his army, on the 13th, he excited so strong a suspicion against him, that a decree was actually passed for his suspension. He however, was so fortunate as to retract in time, and upon the arrival of the commissioners of the Assembly at Valenciennes, he found means so completely to conciliate their esteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinstated in his full authority.

Dumourier, who had assumed the command at Maulde, saw from the first, the party which it was necessary to embrace, and anticipated the wishes of the Assembly, by applauding the new revolution, even before the arrival of their commissioners; by this fortunate event, he regained the entire confidence of the Republicans, which he had lost by his continuance in the ministry; and in consequence was afterwards appointed to succeed M. La Fayette in his command.

Marshal Luckner took the same decided part. In his letter to the Assembly, he even insinuated that it was the treachery of the court which had compelled him to retreat in the midst of victory from the Netherlands, and, added, that now the king was deposed, he hoped he would not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Austrian territories.

Generals Biron, Montesquieu, Kellerman, and Custine, all submitted to the authority of the Assembly, and of the Provisional Council of State, and took the Republican oaths, as well as the soldiers of their respective armies.

On Sunday, August the 19th, information was given at the General Assembly of the Communes, of a correspondence having been carried on between the King and M. La Fayette, in which two ladies of the household, Mademoiselles Lamballe and De Tourzel, were concerned. These ladies were accordingly arrested and interrogated separately by the treasurer of the commons. Their answers being equivocal, they were sent to prison. On Monday morning some other ladies, attendants of the Queen, were arrested. M. Narbonne was also arrested, as he was attempting to pass the barriers of Paris. Previously to this, M. de la
Porte,

Porte, intendant of the civil list, and M. de Lessart and M. de Montmorin, formerly ministers for foreign affairs, were arrested on an accusation of leze nation.

Though the force of La Fayette had been trifling in comparison with that of his adversaries, as it did not exceed 20,000 men, still he had contrived to keep the Austrians and Prussians in check, and they had made but little progress towards the subjugation of France. The confusion, however, which the transactions we have just narrated had produced, encouraged the combined armies to advance, and the first conquest they achieved was that of Longwy. On the 21st of August, general Clairfait presented himself, with an army of 60,000 men, before that fortress. The siege lasted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magistrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had insisted on a surrender, and that he had only complied with their requisition: on the other hand, it was suspected, and not without some ground, that nothing less than treachery in a commander, could compel a garrison of 3500 men well appointed, in a place strongly fortified, and defended with seventy-one pieces of cannon, and excellent casements, to surrender upon so short a siege. Upon further enquiry, these suspicions were confirmed; M. Lavergne, the governor, was ordered to be tried by a court martial; and a decree of the Assembly was passed, that whenever it should be retaken, the houses of the citizens should be razed to the ground, and the magistrates prosecuted for high treason.

On the 23d of August, the national Assembly decreed, that all the priests, who had not taken the civic oath, should be prosecuted out of the kingdom.

One of the sections of Paris presented a petition for the suppression of the high national court, and the transferring of the state prisoners from Orleans to Paris. The petitioners concluded with representing, that if their prayer was not granted, they must be under the necessity of enforcing it by an insurrection. To this the president replied, "Neither threats nor dangers can divert us from the grand interests of the nation, which now engage our attention. The National Convention alone has power to suppress the high court! Expect its decisions with patience and submission. As for us, we will die at our posts, if that be necessary, but we will not be intimidated into a breach of our duty." The Assembly ordered this answer to be printed.

The next day the assembly decreed, that the title of French Citizens should be granted to such foreign writers and philosophers as have honoured the French revolution. They decreed also, on the 25th, that if the refractory priests did not quit the kingdom in fifteen days, they shall be transported to Guiana, in South America.

Upon a proposal made by M. Raoul, member of the commission of money, the Assembly decreed a coinage of three and five sous pieces. This money, instead of the effigy of the King, was to bear on it a bust of Liberty, represented by the head of a woman, with flowing hair; the legend is to be Liberty! Equality! And instead of the date of the reign, to be inscribed with the æra of Liberty. On the

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the reverse a crown of oak, with the value of the coin expressed in the centre.

As the sitting was going to rise, an extraordinary courier arrived, with intelligence that the town of Verdun had been taken by an army of 80,000 men, commanded by the King of Prussia in person.

M. La Porte was tried, and on Thursday executed; as was also M. Durosot, the editor of the Paris Gazette. He was convicted of having kept up a correspondence with the emigrants; that he transmitted large sums of money to them; that he kept a proscription list; and that he had on the 8th drawn out a plan which was to be executed on the 10th.

The important event of the suspension of the King, had determined the British cabinet to recal Earl Gower. This was communicated in the following official notice to the provisional executive council of France:

"In the absence of Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas declares, that his Britannic Majesty is afflicted with the deepest grief for the events which have lately taken place at Paris, both on account of the interest which he takes in every thing which concerns their Most Christian Majesties, and of his desire to see the kingdom of France tranquil and happy. As it appears that the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from the hands of the King, his Britannic Majesty is of opinion, that his ambassador has no occasion for remaining any longer at Paris; this step being proper to manifest his intention of remaining neutral, as to what concerns the internal government of France. He is commissioned to express his Britannic Majesty's

solicitude and anxiety for the fate of their Most Christian Majesties. He expects that their persons will be protected from every kind of violence; the commission of which would excite universal indignation throughout Europe."

To this notification the following answer was sent:

"The provisional executive council sees with regret the decision of the British cabinet to recal an ambassador, whose presence always attested the favourable disposition of a free and generous nation, and who had never been the organ but of amicable expressions and benevolent sentiments; but if there be any thing that can diminish this regret, it is the renewal of the assurances given by England to the French nation of its determined neutrality.

"This assurance appears to be the result of the intention wisely reflected upon, and formerly explained by his Britannic Majesty, of not concerning himself with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France. Such a declaration cannot be surprising on the part of an enlightened and dignified people, who were the first to acknowledge and establish the principle of national sovereignty, which subjugating the expression of every particular will and arbitrary caprice to the empire of the law, was the first that gave an example of subjugating even kings themselves to this salutary yoke, and which, in fine, could not too dearly purchase, after violent storms and long convulsions, that liberty to which it owes so much of its glory and prosperity.

"The principle of national sovereignty, unalienable from the people, is about to be manifested in an illustrious

illustrious manner in the National Convention, the convocation of which has been decreed by the legislative power, and which, without a doubt, will fix all parties in its interests. The French nation have reason to hope, that, in this decisive moment, the British cabinet will not depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality, that it has shewn to the present time.

"In this implicit confidence, founded upon facts, the undersigned renews to his Excellency Earl Gower, in the name of the provisional executive council, the assurance which he has before had the honour of giving, *viva voce*, that the commercial connections between the two nations, and their affairs in general, shall be followed, on the part of the French nation, with the same justice, and even loyalty, hitherto observed. The council likewise flatter themselves, that this reciprocity will be held intire on the part of the British government, and that, on this footing, nothing will be able to alter the good understanding subsisting between the two nations.

(Signed)

LE BRUN,

"Minister of foreign affairs."

On Sunday, August 26th, M. Gaudet proposed, in the name of the extraordinary commission, that the title of French Citizen should be conferred on the following persons, who had rendered themselves illustrious by their love of liberty, viz. Thomas Paine, Dr. Priestley, De la Pau, Wilberforce, Washington, Clarkson, Williams, Maddington, Hamilton, Richard Feldebert, Malachowski, Pelatowski, Poniatowski, and Mackintosh. France declares that they are now her children, since

they are those of liberty. This was decreed.

M. Jean de Brie presented the following proposal for destroying the kings and generals who are now fighting against the liberties of France. He requested permission to raise a body of 1200 volunteers, who shall bind themselves by an oath to go and attack individually and collectively, and by every possible means, the kings and generals now at war with France. These tyrannicides to be called *les douze cens*. The twelve hundred to be armed with poignards and pistols. This plan was decreed, and the Assembly were going to settle the pay of these desperadoes, when Mess. Verniaux, Masurier, and Sers, requested that it might be sent to a committee for re-consideration, as such a measure would induce the enemy to make reprisals, and consequently give rise to a war of the most horrible kind. After a long debate, the plan was referred to a committee.

The funeral ceremony, in honour of the brave citizens who fell on the 10th of August was celebrated in the garden of the Thuilleries. The National Assembly, the legislative bodies, the tribunals, and a vast concourse of people attended. M. Chenier delivered an oration in honour of their virtue and patriotism, and the whole was accompanied with solemn music.

The capture of Verdun almost immediately succeeded that of Longwy. It was summoned by the duke of Brunswick on the 31st of August; nor did the example of the punishment to be inflicted on Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehension. As Longwy, therefore, was lost by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced

by the cowardice of the citizens. Distrustful of the incivism of the officers, after the affair of Longwy, the Assembly, by a decree, vested power in the municipality to controul the deliberations of the council of war. M. Beaurepeare, the governor, was desirous of defending the town to the last moment; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was imminent danger that the soldiers would be attacked by an enemy within and without. The governor, therefore, after much opposition, finding himself completely out-voted, drew a pistol, and shot himself dead upon the spot. The consequence was, that the garrison capitulated, and the Prussians entered on the 2d of September.

Sunday, the 2d of September, was a very fatal day. The news of the approach of the Duke of Brunswick's army to Verdun, had no sooner reached Paris, than the provisional commission published the following arret:

"1. The barriers shall be immediately shut.

"2. All the horses, fit for the service of those who are to go to the frontiers, shall be instantly seized.

"3. All citizens shall hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

"4. Citizens who, on account of their age and infirmities, are not able instantly to march, shall deposit their arms at the sections, to be given to such citizens as can arm themselves, and who may be desirous to march to the frontiers.

"5. All suspected persons, and those who are so cowardly as to refuse to march, shall be instantly disarmed.

"6. Twenty-four Commissioners shall immediately proceed to the ar-

mies, to announce to them their resolutions; and the neighbouring departments, to invite the citizens to join their brethren at Paris, to march in a body to meet the enemy.

"7. The military commission shall meet permanently; they shall meet in the commons house, in the hall heretofore De la Reine.

"8. The alarm guns shall be instantly fired, and the generale shall be beat in all the sections, to announce to the citizens the danger of their country.

"9. The National Assembly, and the provisional executive powers, shall be informed of the decree.

"10. The members of the general council shall immediately repair to their respective sections; announce there the dispositions to be made by the present decree; and point with energy to their fellow citizens, the imminent dangers of their country, and the treachery with which they are surrounded or threatened. They shall represent to them, in the most forcible manner, that their liberty is in danger, and the French territories invaded. They shall likewise represent to them that the intention of our enemies is to reduce us again to the most ignominious slavery; that we ought, rather than submit to it, to bury ourselves under the ruins of our country, and not to give up our towns until they shall have been converted to heaps of ashes.

"11. The present decree shall be immediately printed, published, and pasted up.

(Signed)

"HUGUENIN, President.

"TALLIEN, Vice President."

This placard was published in the forenoon, and at two o'clock the dreadful tocsin (alarm-bell) sound all over Paris.

Paris. This alarm, which ever produces an instantaneous movement, filled the streets of the metropolis. To arms, citizens! To arms! was the general cry. The enemy is at hand. Every garrison has fallen! Every garrison has betrayed us! We are in the hands of traitors!

In this paroxysm of desperation, the news came, that a body of 4000 French, which had been detached by Dumourier, for the reinforcement of Verdun, had, by treachery also, been led into an ambuscade, and cut into pieces. This raised the fury of the populace to its height. We have no one to trust to, they exclaimed. We are to be butchered like sheep; and shall we not turn upon our hunters? We must face them; but shall we, on quitting our wives, and children, leave them to the traitors who are now in prison? Can we go with confidence to meet the enemy, and leave traitors in existence behind us? A l'Abbaye! aux Carmes! Let us cut the throat of every traitor! Such was the horrid proposition, made in the assembly of the Federates, in the hall of the Jacobins!

Such were the exclamations of the forces that crowded the streets.—The people flew to the convent of the Carmelites, where the refractory priests of Paris were confined, and about one hundred and thirty-seven unfortunate priests were massacred. From this they hurried to the prison of the Abbaye, where every man and woman, confined under suspicion of crimes against the nation were also murdered. The names of all the victims cannot be ascertained. Madame Lambelle, M. Montmorin, and others to the number of hundreds, fell under the pikes of the raging populace. In vain did the As-

sembly interpose its power. Montmorin was slaughtered between two of the commissioners that they had sent to stem their fury. Nearly about the same period, a decree was passed against M. la Fayette, declaring him guilty of high treason. M. Barnave, M. Alexander Lameth, and some others of the Constituent Assembly, were committed to prison, on the charge of a counter-revolution, which, however, appeared to be founded merely on a vague mention of their names as friends to the King, in some papers which were said to have been found in ransacking the Thuilleries.

The plea in favour of republican government is, that it is a government which is equally calculated to afford protection to all classes of people—that it admits of no oppression, because all have equal rights, and all are interested in the preservation of them. The practice of republicans, in all ages, has been very inconsistent with these professions; but in no instance has the inconsistency been more glaring than in the conduct of the republicans of France. Whatever apologies may be urged for the savage fury of an irritated people, on such an occasion as the storming of the Bastile or the Thuilleries, there can be none for the blood that streamed from the scaffolds—there can be none for the condemning, in a cool and deliberate manner, to death, with the forms indeed, but without the substance of justice, upon evidence the most vague and incorrect, honourable men, whose only crime was that of having served the fallen Monarch with fidelity. M. Delassart, the friend and confidant of Neckar, was beheaded at Orleans, on a futile charge that he knew of the convention of Pilnitz for a considerable time before he communicated

municated it to the Assembly. M. Dangremont, the late pay master of the King's guards, suffered at Paris, on the 1st of September, on evidence equally frivolous. M. la Porte, intendant of the civil list, was executed at the same time, for no other crime than that of distributing money to certain writers in favour of monarchy. M. Durofoy, and some others of less note, were also evidently sacrificed to the temporary delusion and prejudices of the people.

M. Roland, the minister for the home department (a man not less distinguished for his virtues than his talents) was not wanting in his endeavours to these atrocious proscriptions. "I acknowledge," said he, in a letter to the National Assembly, "that revolutions are not brought about according to ordinary rules, but I know also, that the power which occasions them, ought soon to repair under the shelter of the law, unless a complete dissolution be intended. The rage of the people, and the movement of an insurrection, may be compared to a torrent, which overturns obstacles that no other force could destroy; but which by its overflowing, will carry ravage and devastation to a great distance from its banks, unless it soon returns to its proper channel. Without the events of the 10th of August, we should have been ruined; the court, prepared for a long time before, waited only for a favourable moment to fill up the measure of its treachery; to hoist over Paris the standard of death; and to reign over it by terror. The feelings of the people, always just and ready, when their opinion has not been corrupted, anticipated the epoch marked out for

their destruction, and rendered it fatal to the conspirators.

"From the nature of things, and of the human heart, victory leads to some excesses. The sea, agitated by a violent storm, continues its roaring, even after the tempest has subsided; but every thing has its bound, or ought at length to be restrained.

"If disorganization become habitual; if men, fired with zeal, but destitute of prudence or knowledge, pretend to interfere daily in the administration, and impede its operations; if, by the support of some popular favour obtained by great ardour, and supported by loquacity, they disseminate mistrust, multiply accusations, excite the fury of the populace, and dictate proscriptions, the government is only a shadow, a non-entity; and the honest man, posted at the helm of affairs, ought to retire when he can no longer direct it; for he is not placed there to be a statue, but to act."

After expatiating, at some length, on the necessity of unanimity, and of implicit confidence in the executive power, M. Roland thus proceeds:—"Yesterday (the second of September) was a day, over the events of which it would be, perhaps, proper to draw a veil. I know that the people, in their vengeance, assumed a certain appearance of justice; they did not take as victims all those who presented themselves to their fury; they directed against those whom they thought had been too long saved from the sword of justice; and whom, from the dangerous state of circumstances, they were persuaded they ought to sacrifice without delay. But I know it is easy for villains and traitors to abuse this effervescence, and that it ought to be checked.

We

We ought to declare to all France, that the executive power could neither foresee nor prevent these excesses. I know it is the duty of the executive power to put an end to them, or to consider itself as annihilated. I know also that this declaration will expose me to the fury of some emissaries.—Well, let them take my life, I wish not to preserve it but to support liberty and equality. Should they be violated or destroyed, either by the reign of foreign despots, or the errors of a deluded people, I shall have lived long enough, but until my latest breath I will discharge my duty: to do this is the summit of my ambition, and no power on earth can take it from me.”

On Thursday, September 21, the National Convention having met, for the first time, in the Thuilleries, the Legislative Assembly were now, in course, to terminate their labours and to consign over the fate of the suspended King, and of the empire at large, to the deliberations of the Convention. Accordingly, in the sitting of Friday the 21st, M. Francois rose, and observed, that the National Assembly ought to terminate its operations by an act of respect to the National Convention. He, therefore, proposed that an address should be presented to the new Constituent Body. “As soon as it shall be organized,” said he, “our functions will cease; we will then repair to the national edifice in the Thuilleries, to serve it as a first guard, and we will bow before the sovereignty of the people, whom they are going to represent. He then produced the following address, which was unanimously ordered:

“TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

“Representatives of the Nation,

“The members who composed the National Legislative Assembly, informed that the National Convention is constituted, have terminated their functions. They have agreed, at the same time, that their last act, as a body, should be to wait upon you in the national edifice of the Thuilleries; to offer to conduct you, themselves, to the place of your sitting; to congratulate themselves for having deposited in our hands the reins of authority, and to set the first example of bowing before the majesty of that people whom you represent.

“We ought, indeed, to felicitate ourselves in a particular manner, for the happiness we enjoy of seeing you assembled, because it was in obedience to our voice, that the nation chose you; and because in yielding to our invitation, all the primary assemblies of France have unanimously sanctioned those extraordinary measures which we thought ourselves obliged to pursue to save twenty-four millions of men from the perfidy of one.

“The difficult circumstances in which we have been, since the memorable epoch of the 10th of August, would have doubtless required those resources, and that plenitude of power which you alone now possess. We have provisionally done every thing that the urgent interests of the people required, without encroaching upon the authority which was not delegated to us. In short, representatives, you are arrived, invested with the unlimited confidence of a great and generous nation: commissioned by it to let its external enemies hear the voice of its

its independence; authorized to enchain at home the monster of anarchy; in a situation to remove all obstacles, and to make every head, without distinction, bend under the protecting and avenging sword of the law. No pretences are any longer left for confusion; no objects for division. It is now the nation, that wishes for liberty and equality, and has appointed you to establish them upon a foundation which never can be shaken.

“Discharge, representatives, your important duties; realize the promises which we have made in your name; and may the French people soon be indebted to you for three gifts, the first and the most valuable that Heaven can bestow upon mankind, Liberty! Laws! Peace!—Liberty, without which the French people no longer live. Laws, which form the most solid basis of Liberty; and Peace, which is the only object, and the only end of war. Liberty! Laws! Peace! these three words were inscribed by the Greeks on the walls of the temple of Delphos. You will imprint them with indelible characters on the whole surface of the territories of France; and each of us, when we return to our respective departments, will every where inspire confidence in your wisdom; respect for the existing laws, in expectation of those which are about to proceed from your tutelary authority; submission to the free and popular government which you are about to establish; and the most sincere wishes for maintaining, among all parts of this extended empire, that unity, of which your august assembly will ever be the common center and bond of connection.”

After this address was read and approved, a deputation from the Na-

tional Convention having entered the Hall, their spokesman said,

The National Convention has sent us to inform you, that they are constituted, and that they are going to repair hither to commence their sitting.

M. Francois, who was in the chair, informed the deputation, that the National Legislative Assembly had just decreed, that they should proceed in a body to the Thuilleries, to serve as a guard to the Convention. All the members immediately rose up; and thus terminated the proceedings of the Second National Assembly of France.

The Assembly lost no time in putting in force, with the utmost rigour, the projected decrees against the refractory clergy. On the 19th of August, the decree for transporting from the kingdom such of the priests as had not taken the civic oath, was revived in the Assembly and passed by acclamation. The distress and misery which many worthy individuals suffered in consequence of this decree, cannot be sufficiently deplored. Many of those victims of conscience were hurried from their connections and their friends, and landed, almost naked and penniless, on a foreign shore; some were committed to prison, there to remain until a mode of conveyance out of the kingdom should be found; some were massacred by the populace soon after they were arrested; and no inconsiderable number were reserved for the melancholy catastrophe, to which we shall have speedily to advert.

It will remain, to the latest ages, a monument of British hospitality, and British liberality, that several thousands of these unhappy fugitives were received in England, and supported for nearly twelve months, by voluntary subscriptions;

subscription; that all parties joined in the promotion of this truly christian undertaking; that no prejudices, religious or political, could stifle the voice of humanity, or eradicate from the hearts of Britons that generous philanthropy which has always been characteristic of the nation.

Of the atrocities which we have now to relate, the origin and causes are involved in obscurity. By the one party, they are charged upon a wicked and sanguinary faction; and by the other, that is, the faction to whom they are charged, they are represented as the instantaneous effort of popular resentment. We shall state the facts, as far as they are known, and leave the reader to form his own conclusions.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Prussians, spread an instantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and even the Assembly itself partook of the contagion. The rumour was, that the enemy intended to leave the fortified places behind them, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports, that the Duke of Brunswick was within a few hours march of the capital. At this disastrous moment, suspicion lodged in every heart, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man who, from a low origin, with only the advantage of a tolerable education, for he was bred a physician, had raised himself by his abilities and his boldness, to the situation of minister of justice, and who certainly projected the plan of dismissing the old municipality on the night of the 9th of August, stood forth in the Assembly on this memorable emergency. He observed, that there were more than 80,000 stand of fire arms in Paris, in the hands of private

persons: with these he proposed to equip a volunteer army, who, instead of waiting for the approach of the enemy, should sally forth to meet the danger. Six commissioners from the Assembly, he proposed to send to the sections, to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from those horses which were kept for pleasure. This plan was instantly adopted, and a decree was passed, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented by age, to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by another for the disarming of all suspected persons.

We have had but little occasion, since the termination of the Constituent Assembly, of which he was a member, to mention M. Robespierre. He had, however, since that period, occupied the station of public accuser, and at the time of which we are now treating, was at the head of the Jacobin fraternity, and had been chosen, as well as Marat (a Prussian, who existed by writing libels on the government, and by publishing a scandalous journal,) a member of the New Commune, on the night of the 9th of August. These two men were intimately connected with Danton, the minister of justice, and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful massacre, which we have now to relate, have been ascribed. Since the affair of the 10th of August, Petion had lost ground with the populace, and Robespierre had proportionably risen in their esteem. His sanguinary and unfeeling temper was more suited to their habitual and savage cruelty; and as he was illiterate himself, his eloquence was of that species which is best adapted for vulgar apprehension.

sion. In the Jacobin-club, this man had been unremittingly clamorous for the trial of the state prisoners, and by his endeavours to satiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

Whether from a concerted plan to produce a general massacre, in which, it is said, many of the members of the assembly were to be included; or whether it was simply intended to excite the ardour of the people to the defence of the country, is yet undetermined; but certainly the mode pursued by the commune, on the 2d of September, was pregnant with danger to the tranquillity of the city. Instead of ordering the enrolments of volunteers to be made in their respective sections, with order and quietness, they commanded the alarm guns to be fired at two o'clock; the tocsin, or alarm bell, to be sounded; the country to be proclaimed in danger; and they summoned the populace to meet in the Champ de Mars, whence they pretended they were to march in a body to meet the approaching enemy.

The alarm guns were fired, the tocsin did sound; but it was not the knell of the Prussians, but of the unhappy prisoners confined in the goals of Paris.

The anarchy which succeeded the 10th of August, was not soon composed. On the 17th of September, a band of ruffians broke into the Garde Meuble, and robbed it of an immense quantity of jewels and other valuable effects, which have never yet been recovered.

The Convention having met, to the number of upwards of two hundred, on Thursday the 21st of September, proceeded the next day, to notify their meeting, as before ob-

served, to the National Assembly. After having received the address of that Assembly, and being escorted by them to their hall, they entered immediately upon the great business of the nation. The first subject of discussion was a proposition made by M. Manuel, that their President should be called President of France; that he should reside in the National Palace; that he should be preceded by the badges of the law; and, that when he entered the hall, the people should always honour the National Sovereignty by immediately rising up. This was rejected, on the ground, that it was very absurd in those, who had so strongly exclaimed against kings and nobles, to wish the representatives of the French people, elected by them to form a free and happy constitution, to sanction new distinctions. After this they passed the following decrees:—

I. The National Convention declare, that there can be no constitution but that which is accepted by the people. They declare also, that persons and property are under the protection of the laws, that they will afterwards consult the mode which the French people, at large, shall pursue to manifest their opinion respecting that constitution which shall be presented to them.

II. Those laws which have not been abrogated, and those powers which have not been suspended, shall be provisionally preserved and supported.

III. The taxes actually existing, shall be collected as formerly.

The Convention was about to terminate the sitting, when M. d'Herbois cried out, "There is one declaration which ought not to be deferred,

ferred, even until the evening—it is, the eternal abolition of royalty in France.”

The Deputies all rose up and demanded, that it might be put to the vote. M. Baziere exclaimed against the enthusiasm which had taken possession of their minds, and requested, that a question of such magnitude should be debated with that calmness and dignity becoming the representatives of a great people. Various plans were then offered, and the Convention, at length, passed the following decree:

The National Convention decree, “That Royalty is abolished in France.”

This decree was followed by loud applause and the exclamations of—*Vive la Nation*; and the minutes of this sitting were ordered to be sent by expresses to all the departments, and the armies, and to be proclaimed the next morning in Paris.

In the evening sitting, M. Condorcet was elected Vice President. The next day, the Convention decreed:

I. That all public acts should be dated the first year of the Republic.

II. That the seal of the country shall be changed, and have for the legend, French Republic.

III. That the National Seal shall represent a woman sitting on a bundle of arms, and holding a pike in her hand, with the cap of liberty upon it, and upon the exergue, the words—Archives of the French Republic.

IV. That no petitioners shall be admitted to the bar until the evening sittings.

The following motions were then made;

I. That all Citizens of the Repub-

lic, without distinction, are eligible to vacant places.

II. All the members of administration and of judiciary bodies, now in the exercise of their functions, shall be changed.

In the debates that followed, Mr. Thomas Paine, (M. Goupilleau, jun. acting as his interpreter) said, that the renewal of judges ought not to be made in a partial manner; that mature deliberation was necessary in a measure of this magnitude; and he moved, “That a committee be appointed to examine minutely into the business, and to present the result of their observations to the Convention.” M. Chaffey said, that the important office of a Judge ought not to be entrusted to ignorant men. In answer to this, M. Danton observed, that the people certainly had the means of knowing those among their fellow-citizens, who, by their probity and knowledge, were qualified to discharge important functions. The Convention at length decreed, That all Judges may be chosen without distinction from among the citizens.

On Sunday, the 23d, it was decreed, That General Montesquieu, commander of the army in the South, should be dismissed, he having been accused of misrepresenting, by exaggeration, the forces of the King of Sardinia. Three commissioners were also ordered to be sent to the South, to examine the state of the frontiers in that part of the Republic.

On Monday the Convention decreed,

I. The French Republic no longer acknowledge Princes.

II. The National Convention, in consequence, suppresses all their establishment. (*assanages*.)

The next day, a debate took place, of which M. Robespierre was accused in aiming at the office of Dictator, and M. Marat was charged with having posted up bills exciting the people to bloodshed and slaughter. Some discussion likewise took place respecting the nature of the French Republic. The Convention passed to the order of the day, after a unanimous declaration that, "The French Republic is one and indivisible." It is to be observed here, that Robespierre and Marat, with M. Chabet, are the persons supposed to have instigated the said massacres.

On Wednesday, September 26, the Minister of War sent to the Convention a letter from General Montesquieu, announcing the success of his operations in Savoy. "I thank you," said the general, in the conclusion of his letter, "for having given me this opportunity of refuting a calumny—It is thus that I choose to silence my private enemies." The reading of this letter was interrupted by repeated plaudits; and the Convention decreed, That the execution of the decree respecting the dismissal of the General should be suspended.

The minister for foreign affairs read the following deliberation of the national executive council.

The Generals of the army of the North and Center having made known to the executive council, that overtures were presented to them on the part of the King of Prussia, which announced his desire of entering into a negociation; the council resolved, that it should be declared in answer, That the French Republic would listen to no proposals until the Prussian troops

had entirely evacuated the territories of France. [Loud Applauses.]

On Thursday the Convention decreed, That in the formula of oaths, the word republic shall be used instead of nation.

The Convention received from Marshal Luckner, (who, though appointed Generalissimo of the French armies, and stationed as such at Châlons, was at Paris,) a letter in vindication of his conduct. This was referred to the military committee.

The same day, the minister of war sent to the Convention General Montesquieu's account of the reduction of Savoy, and requested that the civic feast should be celebrated on the occasion, and that the hymn of the Federates of Marseilles should be solemnly sung in the Place de la Revolution. This was decreed, and the consideration of what should be done respecting the government of Savoy (in pursuance of the avowed principle of the French, not to make any conquests, nor to infringe on the sovereignty of any people) was referred to the diplomatic committee and the committee of war.

M. Rabaud then read the following letter from Dr. Priestley on the electoral assembly of the department of l'Orme, which had elected him as their deputy to the National Assembly.

"September 21st, 1792, Fourth year of Liberty.

"SIR,

"I have just received, and consider as a very distinguishing honour, the invitation of your department to sit in the approaching National Convention of France. Such an office is certainly, at this time, of the utmost importance on the theatre of the world, as the peace

peace and happiness, not only of your country, but of all Europe, and perhaps, of the whole human race, are very particularly interested in every thing which may be decided in that assembly; but my imperfect knowledge of your language, local circumstances, and the important duties of my present situation, prevent me from accepting your invitation. Besides, my studies having been previously directed towards philosophy and theology, and not particularly toward legislation, little could be expected from me in respect to that science; but in every case in which my abilities will permit me to advance an opinion, of any weight, it shall always be at their service, through the medium of my friend and correspondent, Francois, who is also chosen a member of the Constituent Assembly. As a minister of religion, the object of my most ardent desire is your happiness. I sincerely pray, that the Supreme Being, the father and friend of mankind, whose providence directs all events, may destroy the machinations of your enemies, and put an end to the troubles with which you are now agitated; and may he give you a speedy and happy establishment of your affairs.

"I offer up this prayer both as a Frenchman and an Englishman, since we have, at length, made the happy discovery, so long kept a secret, only by the ambition of courts, that France and England, neighbouring nations, have an equal interest in being friends with each other.

"J. PRIESTLEY."

The same deputy also read two other letters from Dr. Priestley. The one was a request to the National Convention to permit him to decline the honour of sitting among them. The

other was an answer to a letter he sent him by M. Roland, informing him of his election. In this letter he congratulates the minister on his great talents and activity: and above all, on his conduct during the strong moments of the French Revolution. He exhorted him to continue his exertions against the internal enemies of the state, while his brave countrymen were fighting upon the frontiers in defence of liberty. These letters were much applauded, and ordered to be inscribed in the minutes; and, in answer to his letter addressed to the Assembly, the President was charged to inform him, that the Convention, would receive with pleasure, any reflections which he might be pleased to transmit to them.

The Convention then decreed, That all the silver plate found in the churches, and in the houses of the emigrants, should be sent to the mint. They likewise decreed, That none of the ministers of the state could be chosen from among the deputies to the Convention.

On Saturday, September 29th, the Convention decreed, That the committee of the Constitution should consist of twelve persons, and that it should be dissolved as soon as it had drawn up its plan. It was likewise agreed, that the plan of the constitution, when drawn up, should not be discussed until at least two months after it should be presented to the Convention, in order that it might be examined by all the liberal minded and enlightened men in Europe.

The same day, the President of the Convention received a letter from M. Roland. This minister, adverting to the ascendancy which it was apprehended that the commons of Paris wished

wished to have over the Convention, thus proceeds: "Paris, doubtless, has done great service to liberty; for this reason we must not permit perverse or blinded men to stifle or enchain it there in the name of the people whom they deceive.

"For this reason, Paris ought to reduce itself to the eighty-third part of its influence; for influence, more extensive, might excite fears, and nothing would be more hurtful to Paris than discontent or mistrust in the departments. It is because Paris has been of great service to liberty, that we ought to ensure to it the enjoyment of liberty, by a perfect equilibrium, and by the strongest union of all the parts of the empire. For this reason, we ought to suffer no deputation, however numerous it may be, to aim at any kind of ascendancy over the Convention; for the best laws only can result from wise and mature deliberation, and this cannot take place but where perfect independence and the greatest freedom of opinion prevail. For this reason, the Convention must have an armed force, not belonging to Paris, or any other city, but to the whole republic, and cannot, without absurdity, without inconvenience, and without inexpressible misfortunes, be subject to any of its parts. These are truths which must be told, because they concern the safety, peace, and prosperity of France."

He noticed then an attempt to ridicule him for the influence which it was supposed his wife had over him. "I consider myself," said he, "extremely happy to think that my enemies were reduced to the necessity of ridiculing the union of virtues which prevail in my family. I have enemies,

and I must have, for I am fully convinced that there can be no patriotism without morality. I am suspicious, therefore, of the civism of whomsoever is accused of wanting morality; and I must be feared or detested by all who are in that class. It is always numerous in the time of revolutions, and it is from it that all those excesses proceed which disfigure them.

"Land left dry after a flood continues some time to be infested with those insects which remain uncovered; but they soon perish. In the same manner, the vices and passions, nourished by despotism, survive it, and appear, for a moment, to stain newborn liberty. But its powerful warmth, like that of a meridian sun, purifies, animates, and every where diffuses life and happiness.

"Such is the revolution which I propose; we still want a revolution of manners. I flatter myself that I shall even be of some service in that. I reject no part of the task imposed on the ministry of a people who are free, and who have adopted the purest principles of republicanism."

This letter was much applauded, and ordered to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments.

The advances of the combined armies, since the 10th of August, had been rapid and formidable. On the 30th of that month, general Dumourier called a council at Sedan of all the general officers who were in that district; M. Dillon having been ordered from Valenciennes on purpose to assist at it. He explained the distressed state of the French army, and observed, that after taking possession of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether or not they would undertake

undertake the siege of Montmedy. The Prussian army amounted to full 55,000 chosen men, Clairfayt with 16,000, had taken post at Chiers, to the right of the Prussians, and a second column of Austrians, commanded by Prince Hohenloe, advanced to their support, and were followed by the Hessians and Emigrants, whose numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable.

In this council, it was determined that the French were by much too weak to attempt to face so immense a force, or to prevent it from passing the Meuse, which was fordable in sixty-nine places from Verdun to Stenay. In the mean time General Dumourier had dispatched General Galbaud with two battalions of infantry to support Verdun; but from what has been already related, our readers will have anticipated the event, which was, that the attempt proved entirely fruitless.

On the 31st, the Austrians took possession of Stenay, after a slight skirmish with the vanguard, commanded by General Dillon, which consisted only of five battalions of infantry, and fourteen squadrons of light horse; the national guard of Stenay retreated and joined General Dillon, who took post at Mouzon, close to the army by the commander in chief.

The whole of Dumourier's force, at this time, was scarcely equal to the single division commanded by General Clairfayt, who must have been ignorant of his weakness, or he would scarcely have neglected to attack him. With this small army, the only resource to the French generals appeared to be to bury themselves in the thick forest of Argonne. On the 3d of September, Dumourier fell back

to Grand Pre; the General Galbaud, not being able to throw himself into Verdun, had taken post on the side of Biesme, in a strong position.

In this critical situation, the genius of the French commander rose superior to circumstances; and so far from being discouraged by the inferior force of his army, he determined still farther to weaken it.

He saw the infinite importance of the pass in the Forest of Argonne, on the side of Biesme, where General Galbaud was stationed, and on the 4th dispatched General Dillon, with a strong detachment, to take possession of it. General Galbaud, on the moment of Dillon's approach, had abandoned the pass in utter despair, and on his arrival immediately resumed it. On this circumstance the whole fate of the campaign afterwards depended, and the pass of Biesme was the Thermopylæ of France.

The space which, with a force so inconsiderable, was occupied by the French generals Dumourier and Dillon, is supposed to have extended to thirty miles; their chief hope rested on the reinforcements which they expected to receive, and their object was to maintain their posts until these succours should arrive. On the 14th of September, the pass at Grand Pre was attacked. A panic seized the whole of Dumourier's army, and he was obliged to retreat towards St. Menehould; the Austrians, however, in this action lost Prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed, with a number of men. On the 17th, General Dillon was attacked in his post at Biesme, but the enemy were repulsed, with little loss on the part of the French. The Prussians next advanced towards Chalons, and encamped

camped on the height of La Lune; but Dumourier, in the mean time, had received a reinforcement from Pont sur Sambre; General Bournonville had also raised the camp at Maulde, and joined the army with 13,000 men; and Kellerman, with the Southern army, soon after arrived.

On the 20th of September, the French were enabled to arrest the victorious progress of their adversaries. On that day General Kellerman, whose division consisted of not more than 16,000 men, was attacked by a body of troops greatly superior both in number and discipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the skill of their adversaries. The Duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussians, attempted, repeatedly to surround Kellerman, but Dumourier constantly presented and frustrated his manœuvres. Kellerman sustained the attack for fourteen hours, and retained his post until ten o'clock at night, and then took another position to the right of the enemy, who suffered him quietly to make this movement, though it was not completed until the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmness and order which was displayed on this occasion by Kellerman's line. The artillery of the enemy made not the smallest impression upon it. On the same day, General Dillon was again attacked at Biesme, but having posted, under the cover of the wood, a long file of musqueteers to gall their flanks on their approach, the enemy, after a smart discharge of their howitzers, which, however, did not wound a single man, precipitately retreated.

The advantage resulting to the French from the events of this day

were incredible. It lessened their apprehensions of the enemy, and gave them a confidence in themselves. It proved to them also the advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place some reliance upon their generals, with which their armies in the beginning of the campaign had been affected.

The French army were, notwithstanding, still in a situation of great delicacy and danger. The Austrians and Prussians were still nearly thrice their number. Clermont and Varennes were both in the hands of the enemy; at Grand Pre the Prussians had established their hospital, and their camp on the heights of La Lune was impregnable. Thus on three sides, to the east, north, and west, the French were completely hemmed in, and to the south the roads were almost impassable. The inclemency of the season, and the barrenness of the country, saved the army of the republic at this period from the swords of their enemies.

The pass which General Dillon had seized, and had occupied ever since, proved an insurmountable obstacle to the Duke of Brunswick's penetrating by the nearest route to Paris; and finding it impossible to dislodge the French, he determined to make the circuit of the Forest by Varennes and Grand Pre, a circuit of about fifty miles. The length of this march, and the great inclemency of the season, laid the foundation of that fatal disease, which afterwards proved more destructive than the swords of the French. To complete their misfortunes, the rivers were so swollen, that their supplies were almost entirely stopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which

which the soldiers very imprudently endeavoured to supply by the unripe grapes of Champagne.

From this last circumstance, it appears the Prussian army was now in the province of Champagne, a plain country, where the horse of the Austrians and them could act with advantage, having reduced the strong places in their rear. It is stated above, that their combined force was thrice the number of the French, whom they had driven out of the thick forest of Argonne; their rout to Paris was but a few days march, and yet unaccountable as it may seem, the Duke of Brunswick proposed an armistice on the 24th, for twenty-four hours first; which was extended for some days, in the course of which, Dumourier kept parties in motion until they occupied the rear of the Prussians, and endangered the cutting off their supplies. An emigrant of some consequence attempted to overhear something at a conference, but was ordered by a Prussian general to keep at a distance; and in all the attacks that had taken place, the Emigrant corps were designedly kept out of action, although they were most eager to engage, and might have done signal services; most of them having been bred soldiers, and many being officers of tried merit in the service.

This unaccountable truce demanded by the Prussian general, has been ascribed to a bribe given by the French to the king of Prussia's mistress; but it is with more reason supposed, and even affirmed, that a letter was sent as from the captive king, importing that if the Prussians would withdraw, his liberty, and that of the Royal Family, would be restored; otherwise they would instantly be massacred. Some bribes from

the French might accompany this proposal, to palliate the shame of that retreat, which commenced immediately on breaking off the truce; but the Prussians were neither attacked nor harassed in it, nor did one of the fortresses they had taken stand out, but were evacuated as the French advanced to recover them.

The conferences, therefore, between the generals, from whom so much was expected, ended only in the retreat of the Prussians, who were soon after followed by the armies of Austria and Hesse Cassel. The first post abandoned by the Prussians, was the pass of the Grand Pre: this was on the 30th of September. On the 1st of October, Clermont was also evacuated; and the Prussians decamped from their strong and fortified position on the heights of La Lune, where the French found upwards of 300 horses, half eaten. The retreat of the enemy was slow, encumbered as they were with sick, and wasted with want and fatigue. Their rout lay towards Verdun. It has been insinuated, that, more than once, general Dumourier might have interrupted their progress, and even possibly might have made prisoners both the king and the general; and it has, from the same circumstance been surmised, that a secret treaty existed between the generals. It must, however, be remembered, that the French army was still inferior in number to the enemy; and the general was perhaps, impressed with the consideration of how much he must risk by a defeat at this important crisis.

Great preparations were making in Paris against the approach of the invading army; and so confident were the enemies of the revolution of its success, that a report which had been circulated

circulated in the Austrian Netherlands, of the entire capture of the French army under Dumourier, was almost universally believed in that country, and England: but it soon appeared, that, on entering France, the duke of Brunswick had expected, according to the repeated assurances of the emigrants, to be joined by the inhabitants of the country as he passed, and even by great numbers of the French soldiery; at least, that the latter, from the unskillfulness of their generals, and their own want of discipline, would be unable to make head against him. In all these respects however, he was disappointed. The weather, moreover was extremely unfavourable; sickness prevailed in his camp; his convoys of provisions were frequently cut off; and he found himself in the desert plain of Champagne, exposed to all the miseries of famine. This situation produced the truce and negociation mentioned in our account of the proceedings of the convention. In fine, this formidable army, on the 29th of September, began a retreat, in which they were harassed by the French general Bournonville, who took from them, at different times, a great number of prisoners, waggons, &c. The Prussians at last effected their retreat to Verdun; and it was supposed would there make a stand. On the 12th of October, however, general Dillon sent the following summons to the Prussian commandant.

“Camp of Regret, Oct. 10.

“General Dillon, commander of a French army now encamped under Verdun, proposes to the commandant of his Prussian Majesty in the town and citadel of Verdun, to deliver up

that place to him, and to evacuate it immediately, or in the course of a day. On these conditions, the general assures him, that he will not impede the retreat of the Prussian troops, and that he will even protect the removal of such sick as are in a condition to be transported. He informs the commandant, that if he accept this proposal, which tends to prevent the useless shedding of blood, he will avoid a close siege, which will otherwise be commenced this day. I send this to you by lieutenant colonel Chinitz, my aide-de-camp, whom I have ordered to bring back your answer.

(Signed)

“DILLON.”

Answer of the Prussian general Coubire.

“Verdun, Oct. 11.

“I am ordered by the king to inform you, in answer to your summons, that to-morrow morning, the 12th current, you will be in possession of the gate of Secours, which shall be occupied jointly by the troops of the king and the French troops: that Verdun shall be completely evacuated on the 14th; and that the sick, who are in a condition to be removed, shall follow in carriages of the country, which shall be paid for. On these articles, I am authorized to a capitulation, &c.”

The evacuation of Verdun accordingly took place at the time agreed.

On the 17th of October, general Valence, who commanded a division of Kellerman's army, forced the post of Pillon. The same day, the duke of Brunswick and general Kalkreuth, sent a trumpet, with an aide-de-camp, to request an interview with general Kellerman, as they were desirous of an

an accommodation, &c. That officer answered, "that he would not enter into any conference while the Prussian army was in the territories of the Republic, and that the surrender of Longwy was a preliminary article, without which he would form no engagement." The duke of Brunswick then offered to evacuate Longwy, on the 26th; but the French general insisting upon the surrender of that place on the 22d, it was agreed on, according to the following capitulation:

"Camp at Martin Fontaine,
Oct. 18, 1792.

"His Majesty the king of Prussia, being resolved to evacuate the town and fortress of Longwy, the present capitulation has been agreed upon between the undersigned citizen Francois Cyrus Valence, lieutenant-general of the armies of the Republic, and count de Kalkreuth, lieutenant-general of his Majesty the king of Prussia, fully authorized for that purpose.

"I. The gate, called Port de France, of the fortress of Longwy, shall be put into possession of the French troops on the 22d instant, and the town shall be totally evacuated in twenty-four hours after.

"II. All the artillery and magazines shall be put in the same state in which they were when the town surrendered, and delivered to an officer, appointed by general Kellerman to receive them.

"III. The same regulations shall be observed respecting the sick as were agreed upon at the evacuation of Verdun.

"IV. General Kalkreuth shall send an officer, to be present when the troops quit the place, in order to pre-

vent any accident after they have passed the gate De Borgogue.

"V. Should any unforeseen event accidentally happen, it shall make no change in the preceding article of this capitulation. The guilty shall be punished, and the capitulation shall be executed.

"VI. To give more authenticity to the present capitulation, it shall be sealed with the seal of the French people, and that of his Majesty the king of Prussia.

(Signed)

"C. Valence, general of the armies of the French Republic.

"Count de Kalkreuth, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of Prussia."

In consequence of this capitulation, the surrender of Longwy took place; and, an almost immediate consequence, the entire evacuation of France by the combined invading armies.

A serious cause of blame, which has been laid to the charge of the king of Prussia and the duke of Brunswick, is the cruel distinction which they made in their cartel for the exchange of prisoners, between their native soldiers and the emigrants. By the exception of these brave, though perhaps mistaken men, several of them were actually given up to slaughter; and whatever right the French might have to consider them as rebels, still the king of Prussia had accepted them as soldiers, and they were under his protection.

The re-capture of Longwy followed that of Verdun, on the 22d of October, on which day it was taken possession of by general Valence, though, in fact, the capitulation was signed on the 18th. The Prussian army immediately evacuated the territories of
France,

France, and the country was solemnly proclaimed to be no longer in danger. General Dumourier had, for some time, been absent from the army; his active mind was occupied with still bolder projects, in the execution of which we shall have speedily to follow him.

It has been urged by some, that the armies of Austria and Prussia were kept to their arms by the strict discipline of the cane and the scourge: on the other side, it has been urged, that whole districts in France have been driven to the slaughter by the requisitions. Now, there is an essential difference in the strict discipline kept up in a military corps already established, and the cruelty exercised in the latter case; and it is remarkable that these new requisitions have been pushed on upon desperate attacks, and forced to rally by cannon in their rear, till such an impression has been made upon strong posts as might enable troops of the line to force them at the push of the bayonet.

In the South, the invasion expected from the king of Sardinia, was anticipated by the French general Montesquieu, who made a successful irruption into Savoy, and received the submission of the inhabitants; for the Piedmontese troops retired before him, and left the whole country in his possession. In the Mediterranean, general Anselm and admiral Truguet sailed from Toulon, and made a successful attempt on Nice, Villa Franca, and on the other places belonging to the king of Sardinia, while general Custine penetrated into the empire, took the city of Spire, with 3000 Austrians; removed or destroyed their vast magazines; and laid the bishop, the chapter, and other great bodies, under contributi-

ons. The city of Worms was likewise laid under contribution; the elector of Treves fled from Coblenz to Bonn, in the electorate of Cologne; his example was followed by many other petty princes; and universal consternation pervaded all the higher orders, in the different states of the empire on the French side of the Rhine. The French generals every where declared, that they made war against *despots*, not against the *people*, whom they wished to consider as brethren and friends. [*In Savoy, general Montesquieu published the following singular proclamation:—"In the name of the French nation, war against Despots—Peace and Liberty to the People."*—Their soldiers, in general, observed the strictest discipline. Some exceptions, however, occurred: a captain and thirty men began to pillage a house at Spire; but the French general made a terrible example of them, they were all instantly shot.

This part of the campaign being of considerable importance, it is necessary to detail more fully the particulars of the proceedings.

The sieges of Thionville and Lisle are conspicuous circumstances in the history of this campaign. The former is a small but strong fortress, and was entrusted to the command of general Felix Wimpfen, whose reply to the summons of the Austrian general was, "You may destroy the fortress, and not leave one stone upon another, but you cannot burn the ramparts." It resisted during the whole campaign, and held in check a force which was said to amount to 28,000 men, and which, in several successful sallies, the besieged were frequently harassed and distressed. The town was relieved by

by the general retreat of the enemy, and the victorious garrison received every honour and applause.

The city of Lisle was threatened early in September, and on the 23d, the electors of the department of the North, who were assembled there, transmitted a public act to the legislative body, in which they swore, that they would be buried under the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their post. As the possession of this city was considered by the Austrians as of the utmost importance to their views, no expence was spared to effect its reduction. On the 29th, the duke of Saxe Teschen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna to this important command, summoned the town to surrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The answer of the council general of the commons was at once modest and spirited.—

“We have just renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at our post. We will not perjure ourselves.” On that very day the Austrian batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed, for upwards of a week, to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower class of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was evidently, that by distressing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous and seditious, and induced to rise upon the magistrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. In this the enemy was disappointed; for, on the contrary, inspired with a degree of uncommon heroism, these very citizens caused the keys of the city to be carried into the great square, and hung up on the tree of liberty; and, at the same time, passed a resolution,

that whoever presumed to remove them for the purpose of delivering up the city, should be punished with instant death. This spirited resolution of the citizens of Lisle, was supported by (what should always accompany true patriotism) order and discipline. They formed themselves into several companies, to each of which was assigned its proper functions and station.—

Every precaution was taken to prevent mischievous effects from the bombardment, and a number of women and children were constantly employed in knocking out the fuses to prevent the explosion. This city, however, was soon reduced to a heap of ruins, and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their residence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which they formed into a kind of casemates, by the immensity of rubbish heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almost all destroyed; but the valour, patriotism, and virtue of the inhabitants, increased with their distress; and as soon as a family was driven from its habitation, by the devastations of the artillery, it was hospitably incorporated with another.— To the 6th of October at noon, the firing was incessant, shells, red-hot balls, and every instrument of destruction, was showered upon the devoted city. The princess Christina, sister to the duke of Saxe Teschen, with her whole court, attended to view the brilliant spectacle, and in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conquest. It is even said, that the princess herself applied the match to some of the engines of destruction.—

The garrison being too small to waste its force in sallies, nothing was of that kind attempted; but its courage and indefatigable exertions were beyond encomium.

encomium. Marshal Ruall, the commander, deserves to be recorded with every mark of respect. It is computed that the Austrian batteries fired upwards of 30,000 red-hot balls, and 6000 bombs, upon the city, exclusive of the fire of the finest battering train that ever appeared in the field; but, however, the loss of lives was not very great. The whole loss of both garrison and people did not exceed 500, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Austrians had flattered themselves with being able to maintain this post, should they have succeeded in their plan for its reduction, although the combined armies had retreated; but finding themselves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the 7th and 8th of October, they began to break up their camp, and the siege was raised.

The arms of France, at this period, were victorious in every quarter.—The king of Sardinia had long been regarded as hostile to the revolution, from his having afforded an asylum and assistance to the emigrants. He had acceded to the treaty of Pilnitz, had arrested the French ambassador upon the frontiers, had increased his armaments in Savoy, and filled the fortress of Montmelian with troops; and after the massacre of the 10th of August, he had held a congress of the foreign ministers, to deliberate on a plan for invading France. Being by these acts convinced of his abhorrence of their atrocious measures, the National Assembly, on the 16th of September, declared war against the king of Sardinia: and about the 20th, general Montesquieu entered the territories of Savoy. He describes his march as “a triumph.” He was every where received with joy, and

troops flocked to his standard from all parts. And so disaffected were the Genevese to their own government, that as soon as the above general passed the boundary, a deputation from Cambray waited on him; and on the 21st, he proceeded with a detachment to take possession of the city. The municipality waited for him at the gate, in their dress of ceremony, to deliver up the keys; and testified, in warm terms, the esteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the Hotel de Ville, he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them to an entertainment he had prepared for the purpose. As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the custody of their own guards; a circumstance which was received with every expression of satisfaction by the citizens. The whole country of Savoy submitted without resistance.

With another body of troops, General Anselm, who had been bred an ecclesiastic, but quitted the profession for that of arms, crossed the Var, and on the 29th of September, being supported by admiral Truguet, with nine sail of the line, took possession of Nice, the fortress of Montalban, and Villa Franca, and indeed the whole country of Nice submitted. General Anselm, on his first arrival, was extremely popular amongst the Piedmontese, who appeared disposed, most cordially, to unite with the French republic.

From the imprudence of the general, or the want of discipline in the soldiers, or both, the grossest excesses were soon after committed. These people, so anxious to unite with the French, were most severely punished for their misplaced confidence. So great

great were the oppressions and cruelties, that the convention, in order to vindicate their own conduct, dismissed Anselm from his command, and committed him to prison.

The following instance of severity, committed by admiral Truguet, he attempted to justify by the laws of war, and pretending that he had received the grossest provocation.

On the 23d of October, the admiral arrived in the harbour of Oneglia; and having prepared a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to an union with the French nation, he sent it by captain Duchayla, under a flag of truce, to be presented to the magistrates.—The admiral followed the boat, which proceeded with the flag of truce alone, and ordered the other vessels to keep at a distance from the shore. The people appeared, at first, to receive the demonstrations of friendship; but at the moment captain Duchayla was preparing to address them at a small distance, they assailed him with a shower of musquetry, by which the aid-de-camp of marshal Labouliere, who accompanied Duchayla, two midshipmen, and four seamen, were killed; and the captain himself, and adjutant Lacouverseine, wounded.

The magistrates affected to excuse themselves; but their apology not proving satisfactory to the admiral, he prepared to take an ample and indeed a cruel revenge. As soon as the boat was out of danger, he ordered his squadron to drop their anchors, and cannonade the town. At the same time it was attacked by land by marshal Labouliere; and being taken by storm, was surrendered to a general plunder, and afterwards set on fire in different places.

To conclude our narrative of the operations of the southern armies, it will be necessary to revert to general Montesquieu, and to relate his transactions with the republic of Geneva. The conquest of Savoy, by the French, spread an instant alarm over the neighbouring states, and the aristocratic faction in Geneva, in particular, felt no inconsiderable portion of uneasiness. From the other Swiss cantons this party demanded a garrison of 1600, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears some reason to suspect, that the executive council of France were not indisposed to take possession of this flourishing republic; and with or without reason, (for the affair has never been satisfactorily explained,) pretended to be offended by the admission of the Swiss garrison.—Montesquieu by their orders, presented himself before the city. The aristocracy became immediately alarmed; they extended the olive-branch to the French general, and the dispute was terminated with apparent equity; on the one side, by the dismissal of the Swiss garrison: and, on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic.

The democratic party in Paris could not easily forgive this concession in their general. Montesquieu was suspected, and even accused of having received a bribe; and soon after, various charges of peculation being exhibited against him, to save himself from destruction, or at least from the humiliation and risk of a trial, he left the army, and escaped into Switzerland.

The

The conquests of Custine, in the circle of the Upper Rhine, were not less brilliant than those of his colleagues. It was with considerable difficulty, from the badness of the roads, and the quantity of rain, that he could collect his army at Landau, by the 20th of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spire, and found the enemy, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms, a ravine before them, and their left extended among some gardens, surrounded by thick hedges. In this position the general did not hesitate to attack them, and soon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having tried, for a short time, to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardour of his troops, general Custine proposed to cut them down with axes, and the proposal was eagerly received by the soldiers. The gates were speedily demolished, and the French rushed into the town with their usual impetuosity; but the enemy, who had taken possession of all the adjacent houses, commenced a heavy and destructive fire upon them, almost as soon as they entered. Fortunately general Custine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the column some howitzers and eight pounders, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in some degree disordered at the first by the violence of the discharge of musquetry, &c. from the houses. The Austrians had, however, no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately retreated, and left Custine master of the city. The French, on this occasion, took upwards of 3000 pri-

soners, besides a great quantity of cannon, howitzers, &c.

The capture of Worms, by M. Neuvigner, with a detachment from Custine's army, immediately succeeded that of Spire; and the movements of the French were so rapid, that the enemy had not found it possible to remove their stores; an immense quantity of every kind was found in this place. M. Custine laid the bishop, the chapter, and the magistrates under a heavy contribution. The loss of the Austrians in men was also considerable.

On the 19th of October, in the midst of heavy rain, general Custine, by forced marches, arrived before Mentz. The state of the fortresses, he reports, was previously well known to him; and the garrison amounted to 6000 men. On the 20th, the summoned the governor to surrender; who answered, "that he meant to defend the town, but requested until the 21st to consider." In the meantime, the garrison never ceased their fire; but to end it, M. Custine again wrote to the governor; a capitulation was agreed upon; the chief article of which was, that the garrison should not serve in the war for the space of one year; and on the 21st, the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

Frankfort fell into the hands of this victorious commander on the 23d of October. In consequence of the protection and assistance which this city had granted to the emigrants, M. Custine thought proper to impose on the magistrates a fine of 1,500,000 florins; but, on their representation, he was afterwards induced to remit the 500,000.

The

The successive capture of three places, of such considerable strength and importance, in so short a space of time, is almost without example in the history of military affairs. The enlarged and ardent ambition of the general would have penetrated to Coblenz, that noted receptacle of the enemies of the French liberty. In this daring project he complained, that he had been disappointed by the tardiness and inactivity of Kellerman. He wished that general to pass the Sarre and the Moselle, directly to Treves and Coblenz, and to leave a small party to watch the motions of the Prussians in their retreat. Kellerman, however, vindicated himself by stating, that after Dumourier left him, he had no more than 15,000 men under his command, and Valence not more than 14,000. The Prussians amounted to upwards of 55,000; and, consequently, General Kellerman was neither able to penetrate such a body, nor did he think it safe to leave the French territory again open to their incursions.

The general, disappointed in this favourite measure, still proceeded to extend his conquests in the dominions of the Prince of Hesse. By the union of the Prussians with the Hessians and Austrians, however, a check was put to their career before the termination of the campaign. On the 2d of December, the Prussians appeared before Frankfort, the gates of which were opened to them by the populace. Most of the French garrison, to the amount of 1,300, were massacred; and several, who had been taken prisoners, were sent the next day to Mentz, with their hands cut off. This action was committed by Hessians, in the disguise of peasants. After the

surrender of the city, a smart action took place between the two armies, in which that of the Prussians amounted to 50,000, and Custine's to only 23,000. The French, however, maintained their ground from one o'clock until three, when they retired to a wood, whence they were able to annoy their adversaries, and to keep them in check. It may not be improper to add, that this is the only considerable reverse of fortune General Custine experienced, and that he long maintained his ground at Mentz, which endured a blockade of several months.

Perhaps the whole history of mankind scarcely includes a picture so striking, of the surprising effects resulting from the enthusiasm of liberty, as the state of France at this moment presented. By whatever means that enthusiasm is excited, whether by the artful designs of an ambitious faction, or the virtuous integrity of genuine patriotism, people are equally sincere and zealous when once persuaded they are engaged in the cause of freedom.

From the period when the siege of Lisle was raised, the Austrians had continued to retire before the victorious French. They determined, however, within their own territories, to make a serious defence. Their scattered forces they began immediately to collect. The first resistance Dumourier experienced was at the village of Bossu, which is situated about a league from the celebrated post of Gemappe. The general represents the enemy to have been, at this place, in an excellent position; but they were unable to withstand the excellence of the French artillery, and the ardour of the dragoons. The Austrians

were

were in number from 8 to 10,000, and they had 150 killed, and 200 taken prisoners. The French lost only 20. This action happened on the 4th of November, and the Austrians so little expected any attack at that time, that the officers had just prepared a very splendid entertainment, of which the French just arrived in time to take possession.

From Bossu, Dumourier proceeded early the next morning towards Mons, and soon came in sight of the enemy, strongly posted on the heights of Gemappe. Their right was covered by the village of that name, and by the river; and their left by thick woods. Three rows of fortifications were observed, one above another, like the seats of an amphitheatre. Upon these were mounted 100 pieces of cannon. The general trusted therefore to his artillery in this engagement. The advantage of the ground was so infinitely in favour of the enemy, that he must otherwise have been defeated. Here the enthusiasm of the French character proved an auxiliary to the skill of the general. The army, composed principally of young men, had been long ambitious of a close engagement. The general secretly favoured their design; and he restrained it, only with the hope of encreasing it.

The French passed the night within sight of their adversaries. At seven in the morning of the 6th, a very heavy cannonade, on both sides, commenced, and continued until ten, without much effect on the part of the French, which confirmed the general in his sentiments as to the mode most proper to pursue. Going along the bottom of the line, the troops testified their utmost impatience to

charge the enemy with their bayonets. The general, however, contented himself with ordering Col. Thuvenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carrignon, which was necessary to enable him to assail Gemappe, and, at the same time, approaching the batteries to produce greater effect.

At noon the French General determined on a close attack. The number of the French who formed, for this purpose, amounted to about 30,000, and the Austrians were computed to have been at least 20,000; 3000 of whom were cavalry. The right wing of the French, consisting of the vanguard, was commanded by Generals Bournonville and Dampiere; and the centre by Generals Egalité, Statenhoofe, Desperets, and Drouet. The infantry formed almost instantaneously, and the general presenting himself in the front of the line, the music, by a signal previously appointed, began to play the celebrated Marseillois song. The soldiers, thus encouraged, rushed impetuously with shouts of "Vive la Nation," and joining in the chorus of their favourite tune. The first line of redoubts was instantly carried. The cavalry of the enemy, however, advancing at this crisis with a view of flanking the French, the general dispatched young Egalité to repel this attack, and supported him most opportunely by a detachment of chasseurs and hussars. At the same moment disorder appearing in Bournonville's cavalry, General Dumourier rallied them himself, while the left wing, consisting chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, had obtained possession of Gemappe, and the center carried the second line of redoubts. After a short resistance on the heights, the enemy, at

at about two o'clock, retreated with the utmost disorder and precipitation to Mons.

In this engagement, the French experienced the most obstinate resistance from the Hungarians, through whose ranks they could only force their way by cutting down their opponents. The loss of both parties in this action has been differently estimated. It must have been great from the field being so obstinately contested. That of the Austrians, it has, however, been since generally acknowledged, exceeded that of the French. This might be caused by the former having given way in the early part of the contest. But Dumourier, most probably, over-rated in his account their loss in the killed and wounded, when he stated it at 4000, while he estimated his own at only 900.

The business of this day inspired the Austrians with the same respectable opinion of French valour that was entertained previously, and acknowledged by the Duke of Brunswick. Some signal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité, acquired much reputation, and such was the enthusiasm of all ranks, that Baptiste, Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons, and two battalions of national guards, who had been repulsed. The victory was decisive as to the fate of the Netherlands. The general instantly summoned the city of Mons, which on the succeeding morning surrendered, and was taken possession of by general Bournonville. The following is the letter Dumourier sent to the Convention on his capture of Mons:

"I cannot bestow," says he, "too high praises on the valour of our troops

in the contest, and their humanity after the battle, the most terrible in the memory of man; 40,000 French have forced 28,000 Austrians, entrenched in the woods and mountains, defended by 40 redoubts, 20 heavy pieces of cannon, a great number of field pieces and howitzers. All the preceding engagements, for five days together, had been in our favour; but the battle of Gemappe decided all; it was one of the most general ever fought; all the points of the enemy, line and flanks, were attacked at once: all the bodies of the army were in action, and every individual fought personally. After a most obstinate resistance, the French nation triumphed, as well as every where else, by their two strongest means, their artillery and their swords.

"It was impossible, that a battle so disputed, and so gloriously, should not have been attended with a considerable loss of men. I cannot yet procure an exact account; but I reckon the number of killed 300, and that of our wounded to be 600.

"The loss of the enemy, between the 3d and 7th, but especially on the 6th, amounts to more than 1,500 prisoners and deserters, and more than 4,000 killed and wounded. We have taken nine pieces of cannon, besides a large quantity of ammunition. Prisoners and deserters are brought in every moment. The inhabitants have received us as deliverers and brethren. The Austrian army retired in the greatest disorder. I shall lose no time in pursuing them."

From Mons, Dumourier proceeded to Brussels, which he entered on the 14th of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjoining to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to

about 10,000 men, commanded by the prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a stand; but it was probably only intended to favour the retreat of the governors and civil authority from Brussels. After a contest of six hours, in the course of which, the French general asserts, a number of the enemy were killed, the Austrians followed their main army, and the general entered Brussels in triumph. The behaviour of Dumourier was at first particularly politic. He affected a moderation equal in every respect to his military excellence. He informed the citizens, that it was his intention carefully to abstain from interfering in the internal government of the country. A provisional legislative assembly was chosen, among whom were the duc d'Ursal, Baron Walkiers, and other distinguished patriots. It would have been happy for France, as well as the Netherlands, if the same system of moderation had continued to prevail.

It is a singular fact, that general Dumourier had promised the French ministry, that he would keep his Christmas at Brussels. This assertion, which was really founded on an actual knowledge of the state of the enemy, but was, at the moment, regarded as the extravagant boast of a vain-glorious man, was more than realized; for he anticipated, by five weeks, the promised performance of his engagement.

While these affairs were transacting, Tournay, Malines, Ghent, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a faint resistance by the Austrian general Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence. Ostend was entered by the French fleet on the 15th of November. The citadels of Ant-

werp and Namur resisted for a short time, but the former capitulated on the 28th of November, to general Miranda: and the latter on the 2d of December to general Valence. In a word, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands (Luxemburg only excepted) were subjected to the victorious arms of the French before the conclusion of the year.

On the 18th of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teschen, conveying a proposal on the part of general Clairfait, for the suspension of arms during the remainder of the season. To have acceded to this proposal, and to have disbanded a part of the army, and put the rest into winter quarters, would have been wise conduct in the French; and was that, which there is reason to think, the inclinations of the general would have induced him to have pursued. His answer, however, was verbal, as follows:

"I can only send general Clairfait's letter to the executive council of the Republic; and, in the mean time, shall continue the operations of the campaign."

The active genius of Dumourier followed up his successes, and pursued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the 21st of November, he proceeded with an advanced guard, of 5,000 men to Tirlemont, where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of 3 or 4,000 men on the heights of Camptich. He attacked, with his irresistible artillery, which was reinforced by 5,000 men, but undertook nothing.

On the 22d, at break of day, the whole of the Austrians decamped from Tirlemont,

Tirlemont, after having lost in this action not less than 400 men. General Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont; and, on the 27th, overtook again, almost at the gates of Liege, the rear guard of the Imperialists, amounting to 12,000 men, commanded by general Staray. The French drove them from six villages successively, and at last from an entrenchment. The conflict lasted ten hours, in which general Staray was killed. The Austrians had, besides the loss of their commander, an immense train of artillery taken, 5 or 600 men killed and wounded, and an innumerable number of prisoners and deserters, possessed by the enemy. On the following day, Dumourier entered Liege.

On this wonderfully rapid career, Dumourier sent the following letters to the Convention:

His first was respecting the flag of truce he received relative to a suspension of hostilities. It was dated,

“Brussels, Nov. 18.

“I have just received a flag of truce from the duke of Saxe Teschen, with the subjoined proposals:

“I replied verbally, that being the general of a Republic, I was subjected to orders still stricter than the general, who could make proposals to me on the part of a court, or a prince, at the head of a government; that I regretted as much as the Austrian generals, the devastation of the fields, and the sufferings of both armies, during so disagreeable a season; but that notwithstanding my private sentiments in that respect, I could only send his letter to the executive power of the Republic, and that I should continue the operations of the campaign.

“I beg, citizen minister, you will

give an account to the National Convention, of my verbal answer to that proposal: which proves, that the Austrians find themselves extremely weak. The capture of the large magazines of Mecklin, completes the victory of Gemappe, of which it is the result. I hope that of Antwerp will soon take from them all military resources for another campaign.

(Signed) “DUMOURIER.”

On the 22d of November, this general sent intelligence of his having taken Tirlemont and Namur. Of the capture of Liege, he sent the following:

“Liege, Nov. 28.

“Citizen Minister,

“The army which I commanded had an engagement yesterday, which lasted ten hours, with the rear guard of the Imperialists, consisting of 12,000 men. We drove them from six villages successively; and lastly, from an entrenchment. They had a stronger and more numerous train of artillery than in the preceding engagements: their defence, therefore, was better supported, and more vigorous, and they consequently lost more men. They regret, above all, the death of general Staray.

They had 37 waggons filled with wounded, besides their dead and deserters. Deserters come in to us continually. We had, on our part, exactly 3 killed and 14 wounded. This disproportion will appear to you astonishing; but nothing can equal the address and vivacity of our artillery. The infantry marched with a rapidity and order which was almost inconceivable. Our cavalry, infinitely inferior to that of the enemy, charged theirs with great vigour, and destroyed a whole body of hussars.

“What

"What is most remarkable in this army respecting bravery, is the constancy shewed by the men in enduring the rigour of the climate, in marching over furrows, frozen and covered with snow, in terminating their march, and a combat of ten hours, by remaining under arms during the night, without shewing any other sensations than those of joy, and renewing the battle next morning.

"Our entrance into Liege afforded us a real recompence. The people, lively, sensible, and dignified, received us with that republican fraternity, which our example, and our victories, will soon propagate throughout all Europe. This nation, truly worthy of liberty, is a second French nation; and I hope to see it, in a few days, organized like ours. Uniforms, as well as arms, begin to appear; and, I doubt not, but that it will furnish a body of 10,000 troops, to join our victorious arms, in order to carry liberty to the Rhine."

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary character; a career, perhaps, unexampled in modern history, and which was only arrested by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. The first victories of this able general and acute politician, were scarcely announced, before he was publicly slandered and abused in the Convention, by the unprincipled faction of Marat and Robespierre. Under the influence of this party, the war minister, Pache, is supposed to have acted, and every criminal means was practised to distress and harass the general and his soldiers. While immense sums were voted by the Convention, the army was destitute of every necessary of life. Unprovided with mattresses, coverlids, or even straw,

to repose on, these brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to sleep on the wet ground; and some of them, to avoid the evils consequent from such a situation, actually lashed themselves to trees, and slept standing. The soldiers were almost literally naked, without coats, without shoes, and their arms were destroyed for want of cloaks to cover them from the wet. The consequence was, that numbers of them perished, and still greater numbers deserted, and returned home. The general's own words are strong; but, upon the best authority, we can warrant the truth of them. "To retard and crush my successes," says he, "the minister Pache, supported by the criminal faction, to whom all the evils are to be ascribed, suffered the victorious army to want every thing, and succeeded in disbanding it by famine and nakedness. The consequence was, that more than 15,000 men were in the hospitals, more than 25,000 deserted, through misery and disgust, and upwards of 10,000 horses died of hunger!"

From this statement, it will be easy to account for the subsequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders. This, however, is a portion of history which will be inserted in this volume: in the course of which, we flatter ourselves we shall be able to present the public with some original information concerning the fate of Europe, and particularly concerning the origin of the present war, which will elucidate some of the present political paradoxes, and will expose the motives and conduct of some who are least suspected.

While such was the criminal neglect of the armies of the republic, the infatuated Convention was amusing

ing itself with a petty and ignoble triumph over their fallen sovereign: and instead of uniting, with firmness and patriotism, against the combination which threatened the extinction of their liberties, they were only active to dispute, and persevered to distress. During the stay of general Dumourier at Brussels, he earnestly (through M. Noille, then resident in London) solicited an alliance with Great-Britain. On what grounds this proposal was rejected, we have as yet no competent information; but whatever was the motive, it can never be sufficiently lamented, by the friends of liberty and humanity, that so noble an effort, to prevent the effusion of human blood, to ensure the peace of Europe, and the liberty and happiness of France, proved abortive. Had the negociation of Dumourier been attended with success, the amiable and unfortunate Louis would have now been alive, and his family released from that state of humiliation and captivity in which they supported a miserable existence. Instead of been involved in a war, Great-Britain would have continued to enjoy her commerce and prosperity uninterrupted, and would have been in reality the arbitress of Europe; a situation which will now be necessarily, but unworthily, occupied by Russia, whose wary and cautious conduct in the war evinces, unequivocally, a design of profiting by the distresses of those powers who are more forward in this singular crusade.

Having mentioned the Convention, it may be necessary to recur to its proceedings. While the foregoing important affairs were transacted, on Friday, October the 19th, M. Barrere, deputed from the committee of the constitution, after a short report, pro-

posed the following decree, which was adopted:

“The National Convention invites all the friends of liberty and equality, to present to them, in any language whatever, every information that they may think necessary, to assist their committee, in forming a good constitution for the French Republic.”

The commissioners of the forty-eight Sections appeared at the bar, and one of them addressed the Convention as follows:

“We have come to tell you incontestible truths, and to remind you of sacred principles. A proposal has been made to you, that you should assimilate yourselves to tyrants, by having a guard around you.” (Loud clamours.

A member moved, that the formation of this guard should be instantly decreed.

A violent tumult ensued, and the commissioners of the hall not being able to make themselves heard, lifted up their heads, and shewed the ensigns of their authority. Silence being thus restored, the orator proceeded:

“The sections of Paris declare to you, by us, that they will consider this project as audacious, and the execution of it as dangerous, because contrary to the essence of a republican constitution. Wait, legislators! until the people have sanctioned the law, and until you have learned, by their example, to bend submissively before it. If you should persist in executing this plan, consult history.”

The President—“The Convention will always receive advice, but never orders from any one.”

The commissioners of the sections of Paris, were admitted to the honours of the sitting, but the Convention passed

passed to the order of the day upon their petition.

The committee appointed to draw up an address to the volunteers, the period of whose service expires on the 1st of December, presented the following:

"The National Convention to the French armies."

"The law allows you to retire—the cry of your country forbids you. Did the Romans abandon their gates, while Porsenna was still at the gates of Rome? Have the enemy repassed the Rhine? Is the French blood, with which they have dyed the land of liberty, yet avenged? Are their ravages and their barbarity punished? Have they acknowledged the majesty of the republic, and the sovereignty of the people?"

"Soldiers, this is the term of your service; and to say so, is enough for the brave defenders of their country."

"The National Convention confines itself to recommending to you the honour of France, the interest of the republic, and your own glory."

A letter from the minister of the Interior, informed the Assembly, that the enemy had left behind them, on the land of liberty, relics that might be highly dangerous; these were the carcasses of unfortunate soldiers, which lay in heaps on the plains of Champagne. They infected the atmosphere, the rivers, the fountains, and might spread, wherever they went, the most morbid affliction. "A free government," the minister observed, "should attend to the calls of humanity." He therefore proposed, that the Assembly should send two commissioners, experienced in chemistry, to the spot, in order to concert proper measures for

preventing the mischief that might arise from this putridity. This was immediately decreed.

On Saturday, the following letter, from general Custine, was read in the Assembly:

"Eldesheim, Oct. 16th.

"Citizen President,

"I have just now learnt, by one of my correspondents, a man who, by his great address and intrigue, has been able to penetrate into the secrets of courts; that 19,000 Russians are marching into Germany, in order to support there the cause of the emigrants and sovereigns; and that, in case France, superior to its enemies, should be able to establish its constitution, these Russians are to be immediately followed by a numerous army, for the purpose of seizing on Silesia, to serve as an indemnity to the Emperor Francis. Such are the vast designs of the romantic sovereign of the north!"

"I have known them for a long time; and am certain that they all tend to humble the house of Brandenburg. I procured a knowledge of their plans, by surprise, from prince Potemkin and Joseph II. I informed William Frederick of them on his accession to the throne. He will doubtless, remember a conversation I had with him in the gallery of Charlottenburgh, some days after his coronation. He is at present saving those armies which are destined to maintain his power. He preferred the counsels of fools who ruined France, and who wished to annihilate it, to the measures I proposed to him at that epoch, and to those which my son proposed to him afterwards."

"Let the publication of this intelligence,

ligence, which I warrant, inform him of the fate that awaits him.

"Assure the Convention, citizen President, that I am animated with a desire to spread the glory of the French name to the remotest corners of the earth."

In leaving the operations of the war for the present, to take a retrospect of the proceedings of the Convention, we find the rage of republicanism was carried to an unexampled excess of wanton and insulting power. With a puerility disgraceful to a great nation, the innocent and indiscriminating titles of Monsieur and Madame were abolished, and the awkward phraseology of Citizen substituted in their stead. The crosses of St. Louis, which had been given to the knights of that order, were ordered to be surrendered to the state, not as patriotic donations, but as a restitution. The sudden dissolution of the judicial boards was a more serious measure, and appeared so dangerous and rash to all persons in the least accustomed to order and government, that even Thomas Paine, who, by his adversaries, has been termed an anarchist in principle, deprecated the hasty adoption of the decree, and intreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, instead of releasing the nation at once, though for a short period, from the salutary restraints of law.

The conquest of Savoy afforded a temptation, which the Convention was not possessed of wisdom or fortitude to resist. Contrary to all their former professions of a disinterested zeal for the liberties of mankind, this injudicious and feeble Assembly converted it into an 84th department; and thus, by one false step, lost the confidence of Europe, and afforded a precedent for

future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberties and independence of France. The decree which renounced conquest, and which limited the operations of war to the simple principle of self-defence, was worthy of an enlightened age, and an enlightened people, and will be ever recorded to the honour of that body which enacted so just and politic a law. To depart from that principle, degraded a free people to the level of despotic states, and was at once the fullest proof of the dishonesty or the weakness of the National Convention.

The incapacity of the Convention, even to conduct the common business of a nation, was also soon evinced by their ungrateful and unworthy treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might be fairly said, had forfeited their confidence, by adopting and avowing principles diametrically opposite to those on which they thought proper to found the new edifice of government; but against Luckner there was no specific charge, yet Luckner was denounced as an enemy to the country; the most atrocious falsehoods were asserted concerning him, and finally, he was dismissed the service. General Dillon had agreed to an armistice with the prince of Hesse, at a crisis when these incompetent legislators (the majority of whom were totally ignorant of the art of war, and could not be acquainted with the particular situation of M. Dillon) chose to suppose that he might have made prisoners of the Hessians; for this he was denounced and accused, though he afterwards had sufficient address to obtain a reversal of the decree. General Montesquieu was one day dismissed from his command, and the next day he was reinstated in it;

it; in a word, such has been their absurd conduct, that they scarcely left the republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer whom they could trust. Great care ought to be observed in investing an individual with the chief command; but, when it is entrusted to him, a considerable share of confidence should always accompany it. No man will risk his life, his happiness, and his reputation without the prospect of a brilliant reward; and if, after the most meritorious services, a military character is to experience nothing but ingratitude and detraction, his views will soon be turned in an opposite direction to that of patriotism; they will soon be directed to self-preservation and private emolument, and he will think rather of securing a comfortable retreat, than of exposing himself in a conflict, where he has every thing to lose and nothing to gain.

The Convention was scarcely assembled, when its peace was disturbed by the appearance of factions, the most disastrous to the country. On the 26th of September, Lasource denounced Robespierre and Marat, as aspiring to the dictatorship, and they were at the same time charged, and upon apparently good grounds, with being the authors of the horrid massacre on the 2d and 3d of September. It should be mentioned, to the honour of the Convention, that a committee was appointed to enquire into the facts relative to the massacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Parisian mob deterred them from prosecuting the enquiry so strictly as justice demanded.

The minister of justice, Danton, gave in his resignation on being elected a member of the Convention. Roland

requested permission to do the same, but retained his office for some time longer, at the request of the Convention. The statement of the finances, by the minister Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the various departments, and, with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries: the war minister, Servan, soon after resigned, and was succeeded by Pache.

It would be an abuse of time to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to register decrees too insignificant to be remembered. Those which were enacted against the emigrants are of more importance. On the 9th of October it was decreed, "That all emigrants taken in arms, should be put to death, twenty-four hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all foreigners, who since the 14th of July 1789, had quitted the service of France, and entered into that of the enemy, should be considered as armed emigrants." The severity of this decree was however exceeded by that of the 12th of November, which extended the penalties of death, to what they termed reputed emigrants, or those not immediately engaged in hostilities.

By a further decree of the 27th, those unfortunate emigrants, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the bosom of their country, were ordered to depart in twenty-four hours, and the penalty of death was awarded against such as should fail instantly to obey. Whatever apologies may be urged, from the peculiar and critical situation of France, in favour of those decrees, they will scarcely be such as completely to satisfy the friends of freedom. The professors of liberty, like

like the martyrs of christianity, should be rather prepared to suffer than commit injustice: they should never permit a principle to be violated; and, as their only object, their only plea, is the happiness of mankind; that happiness should not be invaded in a single instance, if possible, by themselves. The enemies of Gallic liberty have forced a construction upon this conduct which we should be sorry to admit, and have not scrupled to assert, that the property of the emigrants was the bait that seduced the Convention to adopt too extensive a definition of the offence. No—Let us rather hope that the decree is the result of hasty resentment and temporary alarm. That a more enlightened legislature will, in a time when this alarm no longer exists, reduce its rigour, and receive with tenderness those inoffensive exiles, whose apprehensions, or whose principles, removed them from their country, but whose offences are merely of a negative nature.

Another decree it is necessary to notice, as it has excited more attention than almost any other proceeding of the National Convention, and has, perhaps, made them more enemies in foreign countries than any measure which they could have adopted. We allude to the decree of fraternity of the 19th of November. The circumstance in which this imprudent resolution originated, was an insurrection in the bailiwick of Darmstadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, at that period at war with the French nation. The people, headed by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the district, had declared their wish to be united to France, and solicited her protection against their former master. To have acceded to this re-

quest, would have been acting agreeably to the law and practice of nations: but with their usual enthusiasm, and without deliberation, the Convention, or rather the galleries, passed by acclamation a decree in the following terms:

“The National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty, and they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals, to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering, in the sause of liberty.”

A hasty error is not easily explained, and it was scarcely possible to maintain a shadow of consistency, and yet to explain this decree, in such a manner as not to give offence to the neutral powers. The attempts to explain it were, if possible, more awkward and absurd than the decree itself; they served only to shew that the Convention were, in reality, ashamed of their own act, but had not the manliness to extricate themselves from the difficulty by a direct repeal.

That almost every government (and despotic governments more particularly) do actually take advantage of the disquietudes and insurrections of the people in other states, in plain terms, do fraternize them, is a truth that cannot be denied; but it is only the circumstances of the case that can determine a free state in the adoption of such a measure. A general law upon the subject, was therefore the grossest of absurdities, and was liable to be, as in fact it has been, misconstrued. It was no less than a dereliction of their own principles, a folly of the most enormous kind; while the French people were suffering from the unjust

principles of foreign nations presuming to regulate its domestic concerns, to countenance the interference by its own example.

Notwithstanding the dissolution of all regular government, since the 10th of August, the country of France was in general more tranquil than could be expected in a season of anarchy. Happily the greatest atrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; we cannot, however, omit mentioning, that in some instances the soldiery conducted themselves in a disorderly and ferocious manner. On the 9th of October, the first division of the National gendarmerie arrived at Cambray; and they were scarcely arrived before they proceeded to the prisons, and set at liberty all who were confined except Canone D'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery: the 2d division, however, who arrived on the 10th, cut off his head. The officers of the 2d battalion of volunteers, who were in garrison in the citadel, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent a communication of the soldiers of the gendarmerie, but the second lieutenant Besambre, who was one of the most active in endeavouring to confine them to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. He was accused by his own soldiers to the gendarmerie, who dragged him along the esplanade and after stabbing him in several places, cut off his head, as well as that of a captain Le Gross, of the 6th squadron of cavalry. A general insurrection immediately succeeded, nor was it quelled without the most strenuous exertions, in the course of which the mayor incurred the most imminent danger.

In the National Convention, on Sunday, October 21, a deputation from the

federates of Marseilles presented the following address:

"We have come from the shores of the Mediterranean to assist Paris. We have learned, that we have no other enemies than secret emissaries, and men ambitious of becoming tribunes and dictators. You belong to the 83 departments—you consequently belong to us, and military service near you is our right. We well know that some men tell the Parisians, that this is an injury to them, as if it could be an injury to them to acknowledge us as their brethren. They have said also, that the guard which you propose, may become a pretorian guard. We reply only in a few words—We shall soon form a part of it. (Applauded.)

"The sons of Marseilles are obedient to the laws; they hate dictators as they do kings, and you may depend upon them for the execution of your decrees."

Guadet, the president, replied, "If the Convention should ever have occasion to surround itself with an armed force, the brave Marseillois, who have combated despotism, and overthrown it, would be reckoned among the most zealous defenders of laws, purely republican.

On Wednesday, October 24th, citizen Lasource, in a very able report from the Diplomatic Committee, proposed, as a complete answer to all the calumnies, that the French were actuated by the rage of conquest and thirst of dominion, to decree, that their generals should be forbidden to take possession in the name of the nation; and order, on entering any country, to proclaim, that the French nation declares the people released from the yoke of tyrants, and free to give themselves any provisional or permanent form

form of government they may think proper, under the protection of the arms of the republic. Ordered to be printed.

A letter was read from the commissioners of the army of the centre, informing the Convention, that the army of the republic had entered Longwy on the 22d of October, and that general Kellerman had ordered three salutes of artillery to be fired in all the places under his command, to announce that the enemy had entirely evacuated the territories of the republic.

On Thursday, October the 25th, the town of Port Louis requested it might be permitted to change its name to that of Port de la Liberte. The Convention granted their request, and ordered the committee of legislation to present a plan of a law for changing the names of all those cities, and other places, that might tend to preserve any remembrance of the ancient form of government.

Citizen Barbaroux, formally denounced a decree of the commons of Paris, dated October 19, which ordered that the pretended petition of the 48 sections of that city should be printed, and sent to the 44,000 municipalities of France, and to that of Chambery in particular. He asked, by what right the commons of Paris thus took the liberty to waste the fruit of the citizens, in circulating a petition which had been justly reprobated, in the most solemn manner, by the Convention? He appealed to that law which forbids the commons to incur any extraordinary expences, without being authorized by the directories of the departments. He concluded with moving, that the Convention should annul this illegal decree, which tended only to effect a coalition between the

municipalities, and to establish a federative system of government, condemned by that decree which declares the unity and the indivisibility of the republic. In short, to raise an authority superior to that of the Convention, and invest it with unlimited powers.

The same member also moved, that the members of the commons of Paris should be made responsible for the expences which they might incur. After some debate these motions were carried by a great majority.

On Friday, October the 26th, a letter was read from general Custine, in which that officer announced the capture of the city of Mentz, on the 21st instant. Speaking of the capitulation, the general said "I refused to consent that the troops should have entire liberty, and required that these, and even those of the emperor, should not, for a whole year, serve against the French republic, or its allies. I could require nothing more, as the fortress was yet entire. I even thought it my duty, for the glory of the republic, not to insist upon harsher terms, as they might have caused us to be considered ferocious warriors, thirsting after blood and plunder.

"This useful conquest is owing to the idea inspired by the capture of Spire, of the valour of the French soldiers who attacked it, and of the order prevailing among our troops, which excites in Germany the most profound respect for the arms of the Republic. I should think myself very happy if the opinion, which long experience has given an old soldier, could be fully transferred into those I command; for to spare the blood, even of enemies, would be to me, amid the horrors of war, the sweetest enjoyment. On the fear testified by the Austrians,

Austrians, and their desire to quit the place, from a dread of being massacred, as their officers made them believe, I consented to their departing before the arrival of the French troops."

A letter from the commissioners of the army in the North, stated, that the enemy had evacuated Orchies, St. Amand, Marchiennes, and the environs, where they had committed every kind of excess. They had forced the French farmers to carry their grain to Mons and Tournay, and to take up arms to accompany their baggage. "When Europe," added the commissioners, "shall be informed of the atrocities to which they abandoned themselves, the French will be avenged by the general execration of Europe. Punishment, however, awaits them. A large French army will soon enter Brabant. Dumourier, and other generals of the Republic, worthy of the cause they defend, are concerting a plan for the campaign; and events, which we have seen, give us reason to hope for the happiest successes."

On Saturday, October the 27th, a member remarked, that the Assembly passed decrees of accusation against traitors to their country, but they forgot the principal one, Louis XVI.

This was the awful signal given for the fate, which too evidently was predetermined, should deprive him of his existence as well as his crown.

Mailhe observed, "I have been directed by the committee of legislation to present their report. Its opinion is, that there should be the greatest solemnity in this process—not for the satisfaction of the Convention—not for that of France; for in France we are sufficiently acquainted with his treasons, but for the conviction of all Europe,

which, less enlightened in these matters, would condemn us if we did not make his guilt appear sufficiently manifest. If the English were calumniated, it was not for sending Charles I. to the scaffold, but for having judged and condemned him with too great precipitation, and without even following the regular forms. I shall be able to present my final report about the next week."

Merlin—"It appears to me, that the minister of justice, not enjoining the public accuser of the criminal tribunal of Paris to denounce the crimes of the ci-devant Queen, has failed in his duty." This received the applause of the Convention.

Thomas Paine, through the medium of the President, presented to the Convention the sentiments of congratulation from his department, the Pas de Calais, on the abolition of royalty. He expressed his surprise, "that they had to congratulate one another on the abolition of a phantom."

Rhuel observed, that John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*, wrote a defence of the trial of Charles Stuart. "You will find," said he, "arguments in it very applicable to the case of Louis XVI."

A letter from the commissioners of the army of the Pyrennees, was read. It contained the following passage: "The spirit of liberty manifests itself, and our only enemies to be feared are in our own country. They are those men who are endeavouring to draw us into anarchy, and perhaps to produce Kings again, or perhaps Dictators. Legislators, let our colleagues be just and severe towards those traitors, and France will be free."

Buzot stated, "Your committee is charged to present to you, a project of a law

a law against those men who provoke the people to murder. We shall not tell you, that it is time to recal, within these walls, the peaceful citizens, whom terror had caused to flee, and whose expences turned to the profit of the poor, but we will tell you that it is time to stop those wretched men who are agitated by guilt. The perfidious friends of the people ever held the same language. Cromwell also followed the same road. From anarchy, he led the people to the protectorate; and from the protectorate, to royalty. We must take measures against ourselves. Is it amidst crimes and assassinations we can meditate wisely? No. The resort of the assassins cannot be the country of free men. Twenty-five millions of men expect their happiness from you. A terrible revolutionary law is necessary to procure us tranquillity and happiness.

"Your committee present you the following decree:—He who designedly invites the people to murder, either by words, writings, or by bills, posted against the wall, shall be subject to twelve years imprisonment; and if a murder shall ensue, the author of the writing shall be condemned to death."

The Assembly adjourned to the following Monday the discussion of this law.

Jensonnet, after a long speech, in which he explained, with much energy and acuteness, the necessity of giving a great example of disinterestedness, of removing all suspicion of the Convention, and of establishing the future constitution, by removing all personal views of interest, moved, "that no member of the Convention should, for ten years, accept of any public office.

"Kings," said he, "ascribe the revolution to a handful of factious men, and accuse them of having overthrown royalty, merely to share its spoils. Our answer to this calumny shall be, We are excluded for ten years, from holding any public office."

Garran observed, "I maintain that this proposal infringes upon the rights of the people, who are allowed to choose, without restriction, all public officers."

Osselin—"I am of opinion, that this exclusion should not extend further than six years."

Mailhe contended, "that the exclusion ought to be for life."

After a very long debate, the motion of Jensonnet was adopted, with the amendment proposed by Osselin, for six years instead of ten.

On Sunday, October the 28th, on reading over the minutes of the former sitting, several members demanded the repeal of the above decree.

The Convention passed to the order of the day.

A letter from general Custine, dated October the 25th, was read. This informed the Convention, that he had taken the city of Frankfort on the Maine, and had levied a contribution of 2,000,000 of florins on the magistrates; but he had, however consented to reduce the demand to 1,500,000. He added, "I am at present employed in supplying provisions to this interesting conquest made by the Republic. The strength of Mentz, I will venture to say, is equal to that of Landau. The frontiers of Germany shall be uncovered, and the banks of the Rhine shall be sheltered, which may be easily accomplished, and which I am now endeavouring to effect. Nothing can take from our arms this fortress, the key

key which commands the Rhine, and the mouth of the Maine. We have already reckoned 165 pieces of artillery; but there are a great many more, and an immense quantity of powder, cast-iron bullets, and arms.

"I was well informed of the state of the place by spies, whom I had sent there; and will not, therefore, hesitate to say, from the courage and determination of the men whom I command, that if it had not capitulated, it would have been taken the same night, as appears from the disposition made for its defence, with which I was perfectly well acquainted.

"What pleasure has it given me to spare the blood of my fellow citizens! I shall always find great happiness in paying attention to the same object. I have no right to dispose of any but my own; and which I shall shed, with satisfaction, if it can secure the liberty of mankind.

"I have the honour of transmitting to you a copy of the proclamation I issued in that city. I expect the greatest effect from it, and I am going to send it to Worms and to Spire. The moment is arrived for giving an effectual blow to the enemies of the liberty of the people; and a republican ought not to relax his activity after a little success. He ought not to cease to strike, until no more enemies remain to be conquered. I shall have the honour of soon sending to the Convention a plan of the city of Mentz. The system, as appears from the ruins of the advanced works, is one of the finest that could be devised. The galleries are all arched."

To this letter was added the following proclamation, by general Custine, dated at Mentz and addressed to the citizens of Frankfort:

"When the French resolved to make war, they were provoked to it by the unjust aggression of despots. Of those men, educated in prejudices, which persuaded them that the nations of the earth existed in it only to gratify their vain glory; and the money of those nations of the earth was only to glut their passions of avarice and luxury.

"The representatives of the French people, the whole nation will always distinguish, in their justice, every people so unfortunate as to be compelled to bow their necks under the despotic yoke of those unjust men. A nation that has been the first to give to all others the example of resuming their rights, offers you fraternity and liberty.

"A spontaneous wish ought to decide your fate; and if you prefer slavery to the blessings that are offered to you, you will leave treaties to pronounce what despot shall restore you your chains. I shall maintain the old taxes. I shall exact contributions only of those men, who, having made the whole weight of the public charges fall upon you, took care to free themselves from sharing any of your burthens.

"I shall cause all the constituted authorities to be respected. I shall support them until the period when a free declaration shall make known the will of the people of Mentz.

"I am going to put this city into the most formidable state of defence; and, although it has been circulated among you, that I mean to abandon it, I swear to defend it, even against all the efforts of our united enemies. May it become the bulwark of the liberty of every people of the German empire; may the principles of eternal truth issue from its bosom; may their evidence

evidence strike all men bent under the yoke of servitude. For myself, valuing only the honourable title of French citizen, I have abjured all distinctions invented by pride. The sole ambition of a wise man should be to live in the memory of his fellow-citizens.

(Signed)

CUSTINE."

The council of justice, and the administrative bodies of Nice, informed the Convention, "that all the citizens were now French, having taken the civic oath, and declared their free wish to be united to France. The citizens solicited also the rank of Marshal of France for general Anselm."

Gensonne observed, "that it was a question, Whether or not the Republic ought to suffer any title to exist, which was not connected with service?" The Convention adjourned its consideration until a future day.

Lacroix moved, "that the Convention should determine what was to be considered as a sufficient proof of the wish of any people to unite themselves with France."

This question involving a matter of great importance, it was referred to the diplomatic committee.

On Monday October the 29th, a member complained of the decree which deprived the members of the right of serving the republic in any office, for six years, after the termination of the Convention. He considered this decree as an infringement on his right as a citizen. This caused a warm debate, which was, at last, interrupted by the reading of a memorial from the minister of the home department, in answer to a decree, enjoining him to give an account, in three days, of the state of Paris, of the objects which impeded the execu-

tion of the laws in that city, and of the means which ought to be pursued to remove them.

In this memorial, after entering into a minute detail, the minister gave a short view of Paris, in the following expressive words:

"A wise, but too feeble department; commons active, but despotic; a people excellent, but deceived; confusion of powers; public force of little consequence, from its being badly commanded."

Roland thought that the National Convention, by delaying too long to pursue vigorous measures, had caused all the disorders which had prevailed and were prevailing in Paris. He also stated, that some desperate men wished to renew the horrid scenes of the 2d and 3d of September. This observation occasioned some severe animadversions on Robespierre and Marat: the former, as aiming at the dictatorship; and the latter, as exciting the people to massacre and pillage. But the further consideration of these accusations was adjourned.

On Wednesday October the 31st, the following articles were decreed:

"On the day of the publication of this decree at Paris, and every where else, on the day of its reception, of which the administrative and municipal bodies are bound to give notice, the municipalities shall put under the hand of the nation the title deeds and property, both real and personal, belonging to absent citizens, except persons in public employments, and citizen soldiers at their post, merchants notoriously absent on account of their business, and those who having places of residence out of their respective departments, shall have proved their residence in the republic since that period,

period, and according to the form fixed by the ninth article of the law of April the 8th, and that of the 13th of September preceding.

"Seals shall be put upon the moveable title deeds and effects of all descriptions, belonging to persons specified in the preceding article, by a commissioner of the directory of the district at Paris, by a commissioner appointed by the department, the whole in presence of two commissioners of the municipality of the place. A responsible guardian for the preservation of the seals shall be chosen; but no relation, domestic, or agent, of the said Emigrants.

"The commissioners shall enter in their minutes, all remonstrances or oppressions that may be made, which are not, however, to retard or suspend the operations ordained by this decree.

"The wives, children, fathers, and mothers of the Emigrants, shall preserve, in their proper dwellings, the moveables in constant use, linen and clothes for their own use only, which shall be left them, with an inventory provisionally, until their rights or the aids which they may be entitled to claim, be liquidated and regulated."

On Thursday, November the 1st, a letter was read from the minister of war, that he had addressed to the National Convention a decree of the executive council, dated October the 24th; an address from general Dumourier to his army; and a manifesto from the same to the Belgians.

Decree of the Executive Council.

"The council, deliberating upon the situation of the republic respecting the war which it has undertaken, and considering that the French soldiers will, in vain, have been lavish of

their blood, should the armies of the enemy who have retired to the countries bordering upon France, resume strength to attempt a new invasion, decree—

"That the French armies shall not quit their arms, nor enter into winter quarters, until the enemies of the republic are driven beyond the Rhine." This was received with loud and repeated applauses.

General Dumourier's address to his army was next read. He informed his soldiers, that he was going to conduct them into the beautiful and fertile Belgian provinces, to deliver them from the oppressions of tyrants. He exhorted them to treat their prisoners with mildness and fraternity; and to behave in the same manner towards the inhabitants, unless they took up arms, which he did not suppose they would.

General Dumourier's Manifesto to the Belgians.

"Brave Belgian Nation,

"You raised, before we did, the standard of liberty, but, deceived by some of your fellow-citizens, in whom you placed confidence, misled by the perfidious insinuations of courts to which you addressed yourselves, or which intermeddled in your affairs, merely to throw you into confusion, to embarrass your despot, and to deliver you over afterwards to his vengeance; made a victim to the insidious and cruel policy of all the courts of Europe, and particularly of that of France, which considered our liberty as the last blow given to despotism, which it wishes to re-establish over us. You had not only received no effectual assistance from your neighbours in France, but you were even abandoned and betrayed by them when they

they entered your provinces. It was necessary that France should triumph over despotism, by pulling down royalty; it was necessary that it should establish itself into a republic; that it should triumph over the satellites of despots; that their numerous armies should vanish before the legions of freemen; that they should be pursued to their own territories before you could have a perfect knowledge of the French Republic, and of its armies, which it sends to your relief.

"We shall immediately enter your territories. We enter them to assist you to plant the tree of liberty; and will not, in any respect, interfere with that constitution you may wish to adopt.

"Provided you establish the sovereignty of the people, and renounce living under any despots whatever, we will become your brethren, your friends, and your supporters. We will respect your property, and your laws; and the most rigid discipline shall prevail in the French armies.

"We enter your provinces to pursue the barbarous Austrians, who have committed in the departments the most horrid atrocities. Our armies, while they are just, shall be severe, in order to avenge the violence and excesses of despotism. You also have injuries, crimes, and acts of violence, to avenge. Unite yourselves to us, that we may not confound the Belgians with the Germans, in case you should, through apathy, suffer them to be masters of your cities, which we shall be obliged to bombard and burn, in order to destroy that horrid and barbarous horde, whom you may ever expel if you join your armies to ours.

"Belgians, we are brethren. Our cause is the same. You have given so

many proofs of your impatience under the yoke, that we cannot entertain the least apprehension of being obliged to treat you as enemies.

(Signed) "DUMOURIER, &c."

Prieur, one of the commissioners sent to unite the armies, bestowed the highest and most pompous praises on the defenders of liberty. They had avenged the insult offered to the French nation, and not a single enemy, he boasted, polluted with his presence the land of liberty.

On Sunday, November the 4th, deputies from Nice presented an address. "Legislators, since their elevation to liberty, the people of Nice have always had an union with France for their object. Return to us Frenchmen, said those who sent us, or return not at all. Legislators, grant their prayer; we will have no more Kings; we belonged to France; we have been separated from it; our situation is such that we must be Frenchmen, or slaves."

The President replied, "Generous citizens of Nice, whatever form of government may assure your happiness, whether you be allied to or incorporated with us, as freemen, we shall form but one family, armed against the same enemies; that the Var, on either bank, shall, in future, water only the land of liberty."

David moved, "That the President should give the deputies the kiss of fraternity in the name of the Republic." The deputies were conducted to the President's chair, and there received the fraternal embrace.

Lequinis moved, "that the uniting of Nice to the French republic should be decreed immediately."

Barrere observed, that the Convention could not even deliberate on the proposition until the sense of the people

people of Nice, assembled in primary assemblies, was known; and a decree to this effect was passed.

On Monday, November the 5th, Bishop Fouchet complained of the deplorable state of the French nation. "Since the 10th of August," said he, "a kind of regency, like those of Algiers and Tripoli, has been established at Paris." He alluded to the council general of the commons of Paris, who existed in defiance of the constituted authorities, and of the Convention itself. He was proceeding to enumerate the enormities of which they had been guilty, when the President stated the order of the day, to hear the defence of M. Robespierre, in answer to the accusation of M. Louvet.

Immediately before Robespierre ascended the tribune, a deputy complained, that the galleries were unfairly filled; that certain privileged persons, chiefly women, had been introduced for the purpose of applauding, while all the impartial citizens were excluded. "Des citoyennes," he exclaimed, "sont a la porte des tribunes tandis que d'autres porteuses de castes privileges sont facilement entrees." Some female citizens are kept at the door, while other females, with privileged tickets, have free admission.

This observation caused an universal laugh, and every person turned their eyes to the galleries, which were almost entirely filled with women. Robespierre's eloquence was particularly admired by that sex; and, it has been remarked, that, on the nights he was expected to speak at the Jacobins, the proportion of females in the gallery was always greater than usual.

Robespierre appeared in the tribune, and with great exertion of spirit, proceeded in his defence, as follows:

"I am accused," said he, "of having aimed at the supreme power. If such a scheme be criminal, it must be allowed to be still more bold. To succeed, I must have been able not only to overthrow the throne, but also annihilate the legislature; and, above all, to prevent its being replaced by a National Convention. But, in reality, I myself was the first who, in my public discourses and writings, proposed a National Convention as the only means of saving the country. To arrive at the dictatorship, to render myself master of Paris, was not sufficient, I must also have been able to subdue the other 82 departments. Where were my treasures? Where were my armies? What strongly fortified places had I secured? All the riches and power of the state were in the hands of my enemies. In such circumstances, to make it credible that I had such a scheme, my accusers must demonstrate that I am a complete madman.

"This would not be difficult." "Ce n'est pas la l'embaras," said one of the deputies to those near him.

"And when they make that point clear," continued Robespierre, "I cannot conceive what they will gain by it; for then it will remain for them to prove, that a madman can be dangerous to a state."

"Bah!" said the deputy, who had already spoken, "they are the most redoubtable. Ils sont les plus redoutables."

Robespierre denied ever having had much connection with Marat; and he explained by what means he had been induced to have the little which he avowed;

avowed; and he asserted, that Marat had not been chosen to the Convention from his recommendation; nor, perhaps, from any high opinion which the electors had of that deputy, but from their hatred to their aristocrats, whose mortal enemy they knew Marat to be.

"I am accused," continued Robespierre, "of having exercised the despotism, of opinion in the Jacobin society. That kind of despotism, over the minds of a society of freemen, could only be acquired and obtained by reasoning. I find, therefore, nothing to blush for on this occasion. Nothing can be more flattering to me than the good opinion of the Jacobins, especially as Louis XVI. and M. de la Fayette have both found that the opinion of the Jacobins is the opinion of all France. But now, that society, as Louvet pretends, is not what it was, it has degenerated; and, perhaps, after having accused me, his next step will be to demand the proscription of the Jacobins. We shall then see whether he will be more persuasive and more successful than Leopold and La Fayette.

"Louvet next tries to vilify the general council of the commune; those men who, chosen by the sections, assembled in the Town house on that awful night when the conspiracy of the court was ready to burst forth; those men, who directed the movements of that insurrection which saved the state; who disconcerted the measures of the traitors in the Thuilleries, by arresting the commander of the National Guards, who had given orders to the leaders of battalions to allow the people to pass towards the Carousel, and then attack them in the rear; those patriots are of too much energy of

character to be esteemed by the slaves of monarchy; but it is not in the power of calumny and imposture to preclude the heroic service they were of to the republic from the records of history.

"They are accused," continued he, "of arresting men contrary to the forms of law. Was it expected then that we were to accomplish a revolution in the government with the code of the laws in our hands? Was it not because the laws were impotent, that the revolution was absolutely necessary? Why are we not accused also of having disarmed suspected citizens, and of excluding from the assemblies, which deliberate on the public safety, all known enemies of the revolution? Why do you not bring accusations against the electoral assemblies and the primary assemblies? They have all done acts, during this crisis, which are illegal; as illegal as the overthrowing of the Bastille—as illegal as liberty itself.

"When the Roman Consul had suppressed the conspiracy of Cataline, Claudius accused him of having violated the laws. The Consul's defence was, 'that he had saved the republic.'

"We are accused of sending commissions to the various departments. What! is it imagined, that the revolution was to be completed by a single coup de main, and seizing the castle of the Thuilleries? Was it not necessary to communicate to all France, that salutary commotion which had electrified Paris?

"What species of persecution is this, which converts into crimes the very efforts by which we broke our chains? At this rate, what people will ever be able to shake off the yoke of despotism? The people of a large country

country cannot act together; the tyrant can only be struck by those who are near him. How is it to be expected that they will venture to attack him, if those citizens who come from the distant parts of the nation shall, after the victory, make them responsible by law for the means they used to save their country? The friends of freedom, who assembled at Paris in the month of August, did their best for general liberty. You must approve or disavow their whole conduct taken together, and cannot, in candour, examine into partial disorders, which have ever been inseparable from great revolutions. The people of France, who have chosen you as their delegates, have ratified all that happened in bringing about the revolution. This is proved by your being now assembled here. You are not sent to this Convention as justices of the peace, but as legislators. You are not delegated to look with inquisitorial eyes into every circumstance of that insurrection which has given liberty to France, but to cement, by wise laws, that fabric of freedom which France has obtained. Posterity will attend to nothing in those events but their sacred cause, and their sublime effect."

Robespierre denied however having any connection with the slaughter of the prisoners, who he asserted fell victims entirely to the vengeance of the people, for M. Montmorin's being acquitted by the criminal tribunal, the escape of the prince de Poix, and other people of importance, joined to the emotion caused by the taking of Longwy. In this part of his defence he seemed to have copied from Tallien's pamphlet, intitled, *La Verité sur les Evenements, du 2d Septembre*, in which is scarcely a syllable of truth.

Robespierre, with the most consummate share of effrontery, added, "I am told, that *one innocent* person perished among the prisoners; some say, more; but one is undoubtedly too much. Citizens, it is very natural to shed tears on such an accident. I have wept bitterly for this fatal mistake. I am even sorry that the other prisoners, though they all deserved death by the law, should have fallen sacrifices to the irregular *justice* of the people. But do not let us exhaust our tears on them; let us keep a few for ten thousand patriots sacrificed by the tyrants around us. Weep for your fellow-citizens expiring under their roofs, beat down by the cannon of those tyrants. Let us reserve a few tears for the children of our friends, massacred before their eyes, and their infants stabbed in the arms of their mothers by the mercenary barbarians who invade our country. I acknowledge that I greatly suspect that kind of sensibility which is only shewn in lamenting the death of the enemies of freedom. On hearing those pathetic lamentations for Lamballe and Montmorin, I think I hear the manifesto of Brunswick. Cease to unfold the bloody robe of the tyrant before the eyes of the people, otherwise I shall believe you wish to throw Rome back again into slavery. Admirable humanity! which tends to enslave the nation, and manifests a barbarous desire of shedding the blood of the best patriots!"

At the conclusion of this speech, Robespierre descended from the tribune, amidst the applause of the galleries, and of part of the Convention.

Louvet took his place, and declared, that he was ready to refute every argument, or shadow of argument, which had been urged in his defence. The

uproar

uproar prevented his proceeding. Some called for the printing of Robespierre's speech; others declaimed against it. There was a great confusion for some time: the question was at last put, and the printing decreed.

Merlin of Thionville said, that Roland had dispersed fifteen thousand copies of Louvet's accusation. He therefore moved, that the same number of the defence should be printed.

The custom which then prevailed in the Assembly, with respect to the order and manner of speaking, was this:—When any great debate was expected, those members who intended to speak gave their names to the secretaries, and the President called them in the order in which their names had been given. Thirteen members had given their names on this occasion; three declared they intended to speak in defence of Robespierre; five against him; and five on the subject in general. This formidable number of speakers, and the known tediousness of some of them, appeared so awful, that the Assembly became disposed to preclude the discussion. Barrere proposed to close it immediately. Barbaroux was so eager to be heard, that, when refused as a member, he presented himself at the bar as an accuser. Couthon, and other friends of Robespierre, exclaimed against this, and insisted on the business being stifled by passing to the order of the day.

Barbaroux retired from the bar, and Louvet attempted to speak. He could not be heard.

One member remarked, that, if Robespierre felt himself innocent, he would desire that his adversaries should be heard.

Barrere at last ascended the tribune, and immediately there appeared a dis-

position in the Assembly to hear him. He was considered as an impartial man, who belonged to neither party. The speech he delivered had every appearance of having been prepared. The tendency of it was to prove, that accusations and recriminations tended only to irritate the minds of individuals, and injure the interest of the public; that the time of the Convention ought to be devoted to the service of the nation, and not to the consideration of the crimes of one or two persons.

"It is time," said he, "to estimate those little undertakers of revolutions at their just value; it is time to leave thinking of them and their manœuvres. For my part, I can see neither Syllas nor Cromwells in men of such moderate capacities; and instead of bestowing any more time on them and their intrigues, we ought to turn our attention to the great questions which interest the republic."

He then moved to pass to the order of the day; which, after some farther debate, was agreed to. Several members who had shewn great eagerness to proceed with severity against Robespierre, immediately after Louvet's accusation, having, during the interval, either been gained by his friends, or influenced by their own reflections, that it was best to give up a measure which, however proper in itself, seemed inexpedient in the then state of men's minds. Some of them probably thought, that if Robespierre had been ordered to be arrested, it would have occasioned an insurrection, and that an attempt to punish the authors of the massacres, would have occasioned their renewal.

Thus the business ended in a kind of drawn battle; the worst termination, perhaps, it could possibly have taken

taken for the republic, inasmuch as it left the parties pretty nearly in equal force, the public strongly interested and agitated, and the leaders inflamed with a more inveterate animosity than ever, and now likely, by their intrigues, to ruin the common interest.

An account of Louvet's speech against Robespierre was given the same night at the Jacobin society; it excited the most violent indignation. What is supposed to have provoked some of the members of this sanguinary society most, was the proposal to examine into the source of the massacres and to punish the authors. This, however, could not be avowed; they affected therefore to feel only for the attack on Robespierre, which was, by several speakers, denominated a conspiracy against patriotism itself, by a set of men of aristocratic principles in the pay of Roland.

The names of Louvet, Rebecqui, and Barbaroux, were still on their lists as members of this society. It was proposed to expel them, and the vote was carried.

Robespierre himself was not a member of the club, but his brother was. He made a speech on the occasion, in which he declared, that he had frequently feared, during Louvet's speech, that some members of the Convention would have stabbed his brother; that he had heard one of them swear he was determined on it. There was an immediate outcry, demanding the name of the horrid wretch; but Robespierre, junior, acknowledged that *he did not know his name*.

The Convention's having passed to the order of the day, after hearing Robespierre's defence, was considered by his friends as a victory. Their triumph on that account was as great as their

rage was at his accusation, and they left no means untried to inspire the Parisians with hatred to his enemies.

For this purpose, the most despicable inflammatory arts were resorted to. Legendre and Tallien made a formal complaint in the Convention, that a party of the Marseillois, with some dragoons of the republic, had appeared in the streets, with drawn swords, crying, "A bas la tete de Marat. Off with the head of Marat," and singing a song, the burthen of which, was

"Robespierre, Marat, Danton et tous ceux
"Qui s'en mèleront, à le guillotine—o gué," &c.

Robespierre, Marat, Danton and all those
That join them, to the Guillotine.

Tallien added, that the same *fédérés* had cursed these deputies in a coffee-house on the *Boulevards*, and had cried, "Vive Roland! Point de procès au Roi."

These trifling accusations, relating merely to the intemperate sallies of drunken soldiers, and which are partly true and partly false, were fabricated merely on purpose to throw odium on the minister; for, at that time, the most dangerous aspersion that could be thrown out against any person was, that he wished to prevent the condemnation of the King.

Meanwhile Marat thought proper to keep himself concealed; and an uncommon number of patroles were remarked in the streets, particularly near the dwellings of Robespierre and Danton, ever since Louvet's accusation. Some people asserted, that Santerre had given orders for this, merely to convey a notion that the lives of these great patriots were in danger from the Marseillois; others asserted the contrary; but it was observed, that those who said they were in danger, were most desirous of their welfare; those

those who asserted they were safe, were most solicitous for their destruction.

On the whole, whatever may have been Santerre's motive, it is a certain truth, that had he paid half the attention to the poor prisoners, which he shewed these men, there would have been no massacres in September.

The Girondists, on the other hand, affected to turn the triumph of Robespierre's friends into ridicule. They insisted, that passing the order of the day on such an accusation as that brought by Louvet against Robespierre, would be the most severe and humiliating of all mortifications to a man of good character and common feeling. Whatever truth might be in this remark, it was evident that his party gained strength from the time he made his defence.

Roland's friends certainly expected that Louvet's accusation would have thrown such an odium on Robespierre, and all his adherents, as would have gone far to annihilate their influence in the Convention; instead of which, those members who spoke with horror of his conduct before, after that event mentioned it with caution and moderation.

Barrere, by alluding to him with contempt as a dictator, removed great part of the indignation that prevailed against him; and in moving the order of the day, he rendered a very important service to Robespierre, and did what was highly agreeable to Danton, who, from the beginning, had used every exertion to prevent any scrutiny being made, either relative to the conduct of Robespierre or the murder of the prisoners. The discernment of the crafty and temporizing Barrere, enabled him to discover that Roland's party, notwithstanding the majority

which, on some questions, they still possessed in the Convention, was, on the whole, the weaker of the two, and he resolved to attach himself to Danton. Condorcet judged otherwise; for his conduct, which, for some time past, had been thought doubtful, after this indicated a decided preference of the Girondists.

Condorcet seldom spoke in the Assembly. In a public paper then under his direction, called the *Chronique de Paris*, he delivered his political sentiments with more effect than he could by speaking: in this he directed such strokes of ridicule against Robespierre, as no doubt, drew down on him much of the indignation of that sanguinary character. The following curious article is inserted, to shew the idea M. Condorcet, in common, we presume, with Roland's party, entertained of him at the time of which we are writing:

"In the French revolution, certain men and certain events have made a temporary noise, only because national turbulence swells and enlarges every thing, and because there are few cool observers. Those little men, and those unimportant events, will not employ four lines of history.

"One of those incidents of a week is the accusation of Robespierre, by a man of great understanding and talents, but whose imagination is more extensive than either. The accuser and the accused have both been heard, and both have proved that *it is impossible to make a dictator of Robespierre*.

"Every body remarked, that a great many women had been brought into the galleries of the National Assembly when Robespierre made his defence; amongst seven or eight hundred which the galleries contained, there were not

above two hundred men, and all the passages were filled with women.

"It is some times asked, how happens it that such numbers of women are continually attending Robespierre wherever he is, at his own house, at the galleries of the Jacobins, of the Cordeliers, and of the convention?

"It is because the French revolution is considered as a religion, of which Robespierre is the leader of a sect. He is a priest who has devotees; but it is evident that all his power is *en quenouille*, i. e. entire distaff. Robespierre preaches, Robespierre censures; he is furious, grave, melancholic, affectedly exalted, followed in his opinions, and in his conduct he thunders against the rich and great; he lives on little, is moderate in his natural appetites; his chief mission is to speak, and he speaks continually. He refuses those offices in which he might be of service to the people, and chooses those in which he expects to govern them; he appears where he can make a figure and disappears when the scene is occupied by others; he has all the characteristics, not of the leader of a religion, but of the leader of a sect: he attempts to establish a reputation of austerity which points to sanctity; he mounts on forms, and talks of God and of Providence: he calls himself the friend of the poor and of the weak; he makes himself to be followed by women, and gravely accepts of their homage and admiration; he retires before danger, and nobody is so conspicuous as he when danger is over. Robespierre is a priest, and never can be any thing more."

We are led to make these circumstantial details of debates and characters, just at this particular time, because it leads to a knowledge of the

characters and motives which produced the accusation and death of Louis XVI.; an event of which the investigation must be peculiarly interesting to all men.

It has been argued, that England, by still keeping neutral, might have profited much as the arbitress of Europe, and have preserved her great commercial advantages without the burden of taxes, resulting from a war establishment, but it is proper to observe, that the recall of our ambassador was no breach of neutrality, as the King of France, to whom he was solely accredited, was then prisoner; and if Chauvelin, who was in like manner appointed by Louis the XVI. had withdrawn from hence, on the same account, it would have been proper: instead of this, he kept in London, urging the right of France to all the advantages of a commercial treaty, made with the King, not a French Executive Council, in the name of which he then pretended to act.

Now this treaty, allowing the free purchase of articles, the produce of either country, would have drained Britain of Corn and other articles of subsistence, from the great want of them in France, for the people there had so wholly been engaged in mobs, politics, and fighting, that agriculture was neglected, and what little corn was raised, being claimed as the property of the nation, a price was laid on it, which it was not to exceed, on pain of confiscation, and the poor were actually furnished with bread gratis, from public bake-houses, around which they thronged for the greatest part of the day. Let any reasonable person then reflect, what an immense quantity of corn and other necessities of life would have been taken by this treaty, from
our

our industrious poor, to feed the factious people of France, whom their rulers had no means to keep quiet, but by feeding them gratis, and they were in want of nothing but an open market here for the purpose, having the recent plunder of royalty, nobility, and the churches to purchase with.

In a report made by Bazire, one of the deputies for the department of *Côte d'or*, and strongly attached to the party of Robespierre, from the committee of General Safety on the state of Paris; he represented that city as in great tranquillity, with a view, no doubt, to prove that the armed force, which had been so often required for the security of the Convention, was not necessary.

He endeavoured to justify, in a great measure, the massacres of the prisoners in September, and afterwards made one of the most improbable assertions that ever was imagined, namely, that some servants of a lady of the court (Madame de Lambelle most probable was meant) began the assassinations, with a view to save their mistress. His words were :

“I must declare, however, that it has been proved that the servants of a lady of the court, disguised themselves like *Sans Culottes*, and being armed with pikes, and other deadly weapons, went to the prisons, and joined in the massacres of the prisoners with so much fury, as they imagined would gain credit with the populace, and enable them to save their mistress.

“Those men were the first authors of the massacres.

“As for the massacre of the Orleans prisoners, that was chiefly executed by men in the service of the Queen, who are known to have put themselves

at the head of a band of assassins at Versailles.”

In this report, wild as at first it seems, there is just so much truth, as this, some servants of Madame de Lambelle, and of the Princess de Tarente, particularly the valet de chambre of the latter, actually joined the mob that surrounded the prison of *la Force*, and by adopting the furious language of the mob, endeavoured to gain so much credit as would enable them to save their mistresses. But these servants in no other way joined with the assassins; and the plan, which certainly was formed on the most generous motives, did succeed with regard to Madame de Tarente.

The assertion respecting the Queen's servants at Versailles, is without any foundation, and ought to be ranked amongst those calumnies by which the Jacobins sought to inflame the people against the royal prisons.

Bazire terminated his discourse, by blaming the conduct of those who were continually mentioning these scenes in September, which, he insinuated, had been of more service to the consolidating of the revolution than at first sight might appear; and he advised all parties to forget their former differences, wave all idea of accusations on account of the scenes in September, and unite in mutual confidence and friendship for the public welfare.

While Bazire was in this manner preaching peace and tranquillity, the Assembly was in an uproar, and the actions and exclamations of the members indicated fury and deadly hatred.

Some called out for printing and dispersing the report, others opposed it.

At last, St. André, deputy for the department Du Lot, formerly a Calvinist minister, one of the most violent

partizans of Robespierre, made a speech, the tendency of which was to prove the utility of printing and publishing the report, which would shew the good people how unanimous the Convention was; that all former seeds of dissension were now blasted; that there was no appearance of distrust or accusation; and would remove the error in which the departments were, in believing there was any need of a guard for the Convention, where mutual confidence, freedom of opinion and tranquillity reigned."

The falsehood of these representations, which were delivered in a canting hypocritical tone, was so well known to the assembly, that they produced a laugh: after which Buzot said,

"I should be glad to see real union, founded on mutual esteem, established among us; but there could be neither esteem or union between the heroes of the 10th of August and the assassins of September; there can be no union between virtue and vice."

At this phrase murmurs were heard.

"I despise these murmurs," resumed Buzot, "I am as little enriched by the massacres as by the civil list. I consider Bazire's report as an apology for the massacres, and entirely false, and I oppose its being printed."

Buzot's speech prevented Bazire's report from being printed; but the debate on this occasion augmented that hatred and animosity, which before was too violent, between the two parties; and in the end produced the downfall of the Girondists.

These last, in general, expressed such a determination of prosecuting the authors of the massacres, and shewed such contempt for the understanding of their opponents, as kindled mortal

hatred, and an implacable thirst of revenge in their breasts.

Before we take leave of the Convention, it may not be amiss to mention the manner in which the account of the victory of Jemappe, and the capture of Mons, were received there; we have already given Dumourier's letter on the subject, and proceed to relate their effects on the legislative body, from a consideration that the history of men should be regulated by a strict attention to national character, whether permanent or temporary, inasmuch as such contemplations afford the only true key to open those springs of conduct which would else be inscrutably mysterious: they enable the attentive reader to see with precision those sources of action, which would else be hid for ever from his most prying scrutiny.

After Dumourier's letters had been read, an aid-de-camp of the general, who stood at the bar, addressed the convention to this effect:

"Citizens Representatives,

"I am a soldier, and no orator; but I will inform you of one memorable thing of which I was witness on that day. Baptiste, valet-de-chambre to General Dumourier, rallied some squadrons in the midst of the battle, put himself at their head, led them against the enemy, and seized, sword in hand, a post of importance."

One of the secretaries then read a passage from a letter of the general to the war minister, wherein he recommended Baptiste, confirmed the account the aid-de-camp had given of his gallant behaviour in the action, with this additional circumstance; that when Dumourier offered a pecuniary recompence to Baptiste, the latter declared that he desired no other reward than that

that of being permitted to wear the national uniform.

The French are, perhaps, more than any people, captivated by the glare of brave and generous actions, this was exactly suited to their taste; if the cause in which it occurred had not been so much a favourite, the action itself possessed every requisite to take a powerful hold on their affections; the effect produced by the whole relation of general success, and individual prowess, on this body of sanguine men, was almost magical, it raised their spirits, before too lofty, to the highest pitch of exaltation.

Baptiste was brought to the bar, and in the midst of loud and repeated applause, it was decreed, "That citizen Baptiste, who had rallied a regiment of dragoons, and four battalions of volunteers, at the battle near Mons, should receive the fraternal kiss of the president of the convention; that he should be clothed and armed at the expence of the republic; and that the minister at war should authorize General Dumourier to give him a commission in his army."

A variety of letters were then read, relative to Dumourier's operations before the battle, and until his making himself master of Mons; in which the officers who had most distinguished themselves were mentioned, many of whom were severely wounded: one officer, in particular, of the gendamerie nationale, was stated to have received one-and-forty wounds with sabres, after having killed seven of the enemy with his own hand.

Dumourier also highly praised young general Egalité (son of the Duc d'Orleans, who, to forward his wicked and ambitious schemes, and to conciliate the favour of the Jacobins and a

Parisian populace, had assumed this name, and obtained a seat in the convention) for his intrepid and skilful conduct, and lieutenant-colonel Larue, his aid-de-camp, by whom he sent the dispatches.

Egalité himself, who had never before ventured to speak in the assembly, thought this the favourable moment for him to appear in the tribune: he said, he wished to communicate to the Convention what General Dumourier's modesty had prevented him from mentioning; namely, that he had personally led on the troops who had taken several redoubts sword in hand.

Cambon said, "As many citizens may be near death in the various provinces of France, I require, that extraordinary couriers may be immediately sent to all the departments, that our dying countrymen may enjoy the comfort of being acquainted with the triumph of the republic before they expire."

Jean Debrie proposed, that the 6th of November, on which the victory of Jemappe was gained, should be appointed as a day of annual rejoicing.

Lasource opposed this. "Let us wait," said he, "until the triumph of liberty is complete, by the defeat of all the tyrants at war with us; let us not, by partial distinctions, create jealousy in the other armies of the republic: remember the success of Custine, and the 20th of September, which does so much honour to Kellerman."

"Let us decree no national rejoicing," said Barrere, "when so many men have perished. The ancients after their victories appointed funeral ceremonies only. Tyrants order rejoicings, although their subjects have perished. Shall republicans imitate the unfeeling joy

joy of tyrants? You ordained, with propriety, a public rejoicing for the conquest of Savoy, because it cost no blood. Here 4000 men have perished; the Austrians are men; 300 French have likewise perished, and yet you talk of rejoicing!"

This numeral statement was erroneous, but it was the first which arrived.

Verginaud, with a discernment superior to such affected and unnatural sentiments, said, "Undoubtedly men have perished, but the cause of freedom is triumphant. Let us beware of metaphysical abstractions: the love of glory, of our country, and of liberty, are natural to man; and we, as legislators, ought to cherish those generous sentiments in the hearts of our countrymen. Wretched is the philosophy which damps them! If such sentiments had not glowed in the breasts of Frenchmen, where should we now have been? Where our armies? Where our victories? One way to keep this sacred fire alive, is public rejoicings on such occasions as the present. Let a national feast, therefore, be decreed for the success of all our armies. To a funeral oration's being pronounced on the same occasion, I give my consent; but that a national feast be decreed, I demand."

The feast was decreed:

What reader is there but must indulge, in an occasional smile, at hearing so much frippery and affectation, decked with the names of love of glory, and of philosophy, as are to be found in the speeches of Cambon and Barrere?

Baptiste, who had withdrawn immediately after the decree had passed in his favour, now appeared again at the bar, dressed in the uniform of the

national guards: he was a handsome and genteel young man. The aid-de-camp, who had remained at the bar while the other was withdrawn, threw his arms around his neck, and embraced him the instant he appeared. The hall resounded with reiterated applause.

"Brave citizen," said the president, "enter within the sanctuary of the law; the legislators are impatient to have one who deserves so well of his country seated among them; they are impatient until you receive the recompence due to your intrepidity."

Baptiste, and lieutenant-colonel Larue, entered into the assembly; the former was led up to the tribune, where the president saluted him, and presented him with a sword, the gift of his country. This spectacle was one of the most delightfully affecting that can be imagined. Much more pleasant would be the task of the historian, had he to record many of them.

Yet this apparently universal satisfaction, this extatic joy of the French nation, had no charm to quiet the growling discontent, to appease the restless factiousness of Marat. This miscreant continued to publish his journal, from a souterrain, or cellar, as he said, though it was well known in Paris that he was in good quarters above ground.

In the midst of all the successors of Dumourier, this man exclaimed against him for having permitted the Prussians to escape out of France: and he wrote, in the same style of the other generals, whom he described as men of aristocratic principles, and enemies of the people. One of his paragraphs on this subject is remarkable for its savage audacity: "I shall never think the

the republic established, until the head of Louis Capet is no longer on his shoulders, and until the soldiers of liberty shall no longer be led to slaughter (*a la boucherie*) by generals who are courtiers."

The journal in which he vented these exclamations, as well as his malicious insinuations against Louvet, Barbaroux, Gensonnet, Guadet, Buzot, Verginaud, Kersaint, and all the faction *Rol-Brissotine*, as he called them, was a great favourite with the common people, to inflame and conciliate whom was its principal drift. Its motto, "*Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis*," was sufficient, without the general tendency of its contents, to effect the former purposes. The means employed to effect the latter, were such as a considerate mind must turn from with unlimited contempt, as well for the people who could be so cajoled, as for the men who could descend to arts so remote from reason, so distant from the independent republican principles he affected to profess.

To illustrate this, let the following specimen suffice (speaking of the necessity he pretended to be under of burying himself alive) that he might be safe from the daggers of assassins. "And why am I obliged to hide myself," asks he, "*O people whom I love, who are always nearest my heart? For having undertaken your defence! For having always been your friend and advocate!*"

It seems extraordinary to address the mob of Paris in the style of a lover to his mistress; but it is still more extraordinary that a mob, who had given such proofs of ferocity, should be deluded by the language which seduces a silly girl.

The manner in which he vindicated

himself from the accusation of being sanguinary, was not in the same tender strain, and shews that he knew how to administer to the furious frenzies, as well as the sentimental whims of the people.

"The great aim of my detractors," says he, "is to paint me as a sanguinary man, who is always preaching murder and assassination; but I defy them to point out any thing of the kind in my writings, except that I have demonstrated the necessity of *cutting off a few hundred criminal heads*, to preserve three hundred thousand innocent ones."

The progress of our history now brings us to the relation of an event, so surprising in itself, so unparalleled for circumstances of atrocious and malignant injustice, that, though history may furnish instances of similar persecutions, attended with a similar consequence, there is no example, in the annals of mankind, of so horrid a perversion of justice, so shameless a triumph over degraded dignity, and so absolute a suppression of all the amiable feelings of humanity, as in the trial and death of Louis XVI.

To understand rightly the origin of the violent proceedings against the deposed Monarch, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospect of the state of parties in France, at a period anterior to that of which we are now treating.

Almost from the first assembling of the National Convention, that body was divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earnestly for the sovereign authority.

The party which first assumed the reigns of government, after the deposition of the King, was characterized by moderation; and, either from principle,

ciple, policy, compact, or engagement, undoubtedly intended to save the life of the unfortunate Monarch.

The multitude, on the other hand, is always sanguinary, at least whoever contemplates the national character of the French populace, as well as throughout the history of former periods, as that we are now detailing, will certainly join us in making that assertion of them. Whether this effect is produced by the hasty and violent spirit, by the influence of long acquired habits, or how else, we pretend not to determine; but, on most occasions, they have acted with a cruelty which would disgrace any nation, and is a crying reproof to that vanity which impels them to lay claim to those distinctions which are due to reason and philosophy.

Many circumstances contributed to exasperate this infatuated people against the unhappy King; the great movers of faction and sedition knew very well the violent temper of those by whose means they proposed to compass their sanguinary aims; and for that reason, by all means in their power, kept alive those furious passions, and that implacable thirst of violence, which actuated them against their confined Sovereign.

Though other nations may doubt of his guilt in promoting the designs of the counter-revolutionists, the French populace, influenced by the Jacobins, entertained no doubts on the subject. The intemperate desire of revenge in those who had lost friends or near connections on the fatal 10th of August, was not yet satisfied, and all the guilt of that day was thrown on the unfortunate Monarch. These passions were industriously kept alive by the leaders of the Jacobin club, who,

in effect, governed the nation, and every thing conspired for the promotion of their views.

No greater instance of a total change of national manners can be produced than what a very short time had effected in the people of France. In national character there was no change at all. The same principles which produced an abject royalist, will make an unjust and audacious republican. The narrowness of mind, which causes a degrading submission in the former instance, causes a transgression of all bounds of decorum, and a violent and hardened contempt of dignity and authority in the latter. Selfishness is the actuating motive in both cases; and the man who will not hesitate to promote his interest by base submissions, will not, when the circumstances of the times permit such an alteration of conduct, scruple to sacrifice every principle of gratitude, affection, and loyalty, at the shrine of advantage. A dreadful lesson this for Kings, and most fatally exemplified in the case of the unfortunate Louis. His subjects, who in the sunshine of his day, spoke of loyalty as a quality of the mind, like generosity or courage, who seemed proud to think they possessed this quality, if not exclusively, at least in a greater degree than any other people, and who affected to wish to be thought loyal, as other nations wish to be thought generous or brave; who even carried their principle to so absurd an excess as to maintain, that loyalty was a virtue, which ought to be cherished in the breast of the subject, independent of the virtues, and in spite of the bad qualities of the Sovereign, now betrayed either the most unfeeling indifference, or the most rancorous hatred.

hatred against him; and the boast of the people, who formerly piqued themselves on the possession of this disinterested loyalty, was that they never had been influenced by it; and as they began to disavow this principle during the reign of the most mild and equitable Monarch they ever had, as soon as his power began to be abridged, and continued to profess it in its purest ardour towards the most oppressive, and tyrannical of his predecessors, while they retained their power, it is pretty clear on what this boasted rule of conduct was founded. Away with the pretence of superiority of reason, of a greater share of mental illumination prevailing in the eighteenth century than at former periods; those advantages could not have produced the ignoble and cowardly triumph over the person and family of an unhappy King, any more than the slavish awe and abject submission which actuated their conduct towards men, the outcasts of the human race, only raised into a temporary notice and respect, by being made conspicuous on the wreck of royalty.

But as they shew an abject and slavish disposition, who affect attachment and veneration for a foolish or wicked prince, so those on the other hand, betray a malevolent and odious character, who are deficient in respect and gratitude to a mild and equitable Monarch, who has shewn a love of justice, and an equal regard for the rights of his subjects and his own prerogative.

The loyalty of a man of sense and spirit arises from a respect for the first magistrate in the state, whose lawful authority he is ready to support for the good of the community, independent

of every other consideration. To this sentiment of loyalty to the Monarch, as first magistrate, esteem for personal good qualities, if they existed, and gratitude for favours received, will be added in every well-formed mind. But these sentiments do not exclusively belong to loyalty, but are felt for every person of our acquaintance who possesses great or emiable qualities, and from whom we have received favours; but the ostentatious indications of loyalty which are sometimes exhibited, in the vulgar, generally proceed from a mere love of noise; in some of superior rank, from the desire of being looked on as the friends of the royal family, unconnected with any idea of their good qualities; and in many it is founded on a lucrative office, in possession or in expectation.

It must have been most unpleasant to observe, how little sensation the cruel state to which the royal family was reduced, occasioned in the minds of the people, and how small a part of general conversation it occupied. As for the lowest mob, they never mentioned them but with some foul epithet of abuse. This was not surprising, because they were either hired for the purpose, or, like all mobs, joined in the cry that was suggested, and pressed blindly on, according to the impulse given by others.

Whatever might have been the sentiments of people in other ranks of society with respect to the revolution, it might have been expected that so severe a reverse of fortune, and one so unexampled in the political state in which Europe had so long been, would have occasioned more general sympathy. That this sympathy should not be displayed in public, could hardly excite astonishment, considering that in

spite of the boasts of liberty, the discussion of political topics, of a certain discription, was as dangerous, if not more so, under the revolutionary government, than under the monarchical; but even in private and confidential conversations, where no reserve was used on topics equally dangerous, the misfortunes of the royal family seemed to be felt in a very slight manner, and that by persons who might have been expected to feel them more acutely.

What an affecting contrast did this indifference and neglect make with the obsequious attention, almost to adoration, which was paid to this family by the whole French nation, with the emulation and unwearied assiduity of all ranks, to captivate their notice, and gratify their wishes; with the protestations of esteem, respect, and affection, they had been accustomed to hear from their attendants.

All those external marks of veneration were accompanied, to doubt, with the strongest assertions of their being the offspring of genuine sentimental preference, bestowed on personal virtues, uninfluenced by any expectation from their power, and purified from all selfish considerations.

The cannon of St. Antoine, and the sabres of the Marseillois, exterminated the virtues of the King on the 10th of August; and every day of his imprisonment in the Temple seemed to add some new article to a list of vices of which he was then accused, and until then entirely unheard of.

Not only these imaginary vices, but even the calamities they themselves had occasioned, were subjects of triumph to these ungenerous demagogues; and, in the popular paper,

the *Chronique de Paris*, the following paragraph was inserted to throw disgrace on the royal captive:

"When Louis was conducted to the Temple, he had not a penny in his pocket. Citizen Petion lent him two thousand livres, for which he gave the following receipt:

"The King acknowledges to have received from M. Petion the sum of 2,526 livres; 526 livres of which the commissioners of the municipality are to pay to M. Hue, who had advanced them for the service of the King. Paris, 3d of September, 1792.

(Singed)

"LOUIS."

That so great a King should be obliged to ask so insignificant a loan, is undoubtedly a very degrading fact; and that it should, in so unfeeling a manner, be made public, is a considerable aggravation; but this is not all, this unhappy Sovereign was obliged to submit to the degrading necessity of making repeated requests for the sums necessary for his immediate subsistence, which were treated with haughty indifference; and when often renewed, produced small supplies, and unsatisfactory answers.

Such conduct was abominable, and betrayed real meanness of spirit in those who affected grandeur of mind, and a manner of thinking superior to vulgar prejudices.

When the royal family were first lodged in the Temple, they were treated with some degree of respect, and they were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty of walking in the garden of the Temple, but the appearance of respect gradually diminished; and, at last, the treatment they received, was indelicate and harsh, in the highest degree, and in many instances brutal.

A com-

A committee appointed by the general council of the commune of Paris, sat in the Temple constantly; and, according to directions given, regulated every thing respecting the royal prisoners.

The municipal committee, to whose care they were peculiarly intrusted, had made frequent reports to the general council, in which they pretended that there seemed to be a plan of delivering them from the Temple; and the smallest accidental circumstances which occurred were considered as signals from without, which were fully understood by the prisoners within. Mention was made in those returns to the general council, of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight—of the songs that were sung in the street—of the expressions used by the common cryers that passed—and it was insinuated, that by all these, *more was meant than met the ear*.

At one time the committee represented, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared in the balcony, a number of persons came to the windows of the adjacent houses, and made signals, which seemed to be understood by the prisoners. One member of the council proposed, that to prevent this last, the King and Royal Family should never be permitted to come into the open air until it was so dark that they could not be seen; another proposed to raise the walls in the garden, and make such alterations in the Temple as would affectually prevent the prisoners from being seen by any person without.

Both these ingenious proposals were rendered unnecessary by an order from the council, that all the family should be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of

their apartments; and when they assembled at the hour of dinner, which was always in the presence of one or two municipal officers, every look, word, or gesture of the unhappy prisoners, was observed, interpreted, and frequently reported to the council general, as having a mysterious meaning.

With such brutality was the King treated by his keepers, that at the hour when, by a standing over of the Convention, the prisoners were to be confined to their apartments; one of them went to the King, who was still walking in the garden, and addressed him in these words: *Allons, Mon, Veto, il faut monter*. "Come, Mr. VETO, up with you."

Among other circumstances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the committee, that the King continued to wear his star and ribbands, which raised the petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the subject of this memorial, expressed himself in the following indecent terms:—"If Louis had common sense, he would, of his own accord, have thrown aside all those feudal trappings; he would, by this time, have become a republican, which is being greater than a King; for a King is only the highest slave in his own dominions." He then added, that, "so far from stripping him of them, it would be better, provided the nation allowed him to live, to condemn him to wear those shameful emblems for life;" and proposed, that, "all who should be convicted of certain crimes, should be sentenced to the same punishment; and concluded, let them be exposed to the view of the people covered with ribbands, and their clothes trimmed with pigeons, elephants, eagles, and sheep. The Romans did

not strip the vanquished Kings of the emblems of royalty. On the contrary, they carefully dressed them in them for the purpose of *spitting on them*.

The council general, however, saw this in a different point of view. Eager to display a contempt for aristocracy, and constantly asserting that the people in general detested monarchy, they could not help often betraying a dread of the first, and a suspicion that the nation still retained its old affection for the second. They seemed afraid of every thing that put them in mind of either. Manuel was ordered to go to the Temple, and announce to the King, that, as royalty was abolished, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which passed between the King and Manuel, on this occasion, was published; and even from that account it appears that the King received this message with that manly indifference, and undisturbed resignation, which had distinguished him through the whole course of his misfortunes.

Louis XVI. never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he possessed it in its highest splendor; and was as little affected by the loss of it; and the malice of his enemies, displayed in these paltry instances, instead of throwing disgrace on the Monarch, renders his good qualities more conspicuous.

When the royal family dined, a commissioner from the commune of Paris was always present. The Queen happened, at one time, to raise the hand in which she held her knife, a little suddenly towards her breast. The commissioner seemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he dreaded that she had an intention against her life; which the Queen observing, said,

with emphasis, *Non, Monsieur, je reserve cet honneur aux Français.* No sir, I reserve that honour for the French.

From the time that the King's trial was resolved on, the royal family were confined more closely, and watched more strictly than ever. The council ordered that, in future, two commissioners should pass the night in his bed-chamber, instead of one, which had been the case before. All persons who were admitted into the presence of any of the royal family, were previously searched. Orders were given that the razors, with which the King was in the use of shaving himself, should be removed. This was done from a fear that he might prefer suicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the Convention.

Such an idea was remote from the King's way of thinking. When his razors and penknife were demanded from him, "Do you think me such a coward as to kill myself?" said he.

The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but also scissars, and all instruments, *contondant, tranchant, et piquant*; nipping, cutting, and pricking; and it was extended to all the royal family.

"Il faudrait aussi nous enlever nos aiguilles." "They had better take our needles too," said the Queen, when it was read to her.

When the King afterwards repeatedly applied for a razor, it was, at last, granted by the council, who directed, however, that *he should shave himself under the inspection of the commissioners*; and the Queen and Princess Elizabeth were allowed scissars to pare their nails, *with the same restriction*. This last was ridiculous, and the former absurd; for if the king had had any intention of using a razor in the manner they

they suspected, he could have put it in execution as effectually while the commissioners were present, as at any other time.

While the unhappy prisoners were suffering these insults and disgraces within the walls of their prison, their enemies, the Jacobins, were not idle without. Their measures were bold and audacious in the extreme; the bolder, because the Girondists, though they were certainly free from the massacre of the prisoners, and not only wished to save the life of the King, but daily risked their own lives in the various measures they used for that purpose, had certainly too much sway in bringing about the republican government, to stand acquitted of any of its consequences, and were therefore reduced to such a dilemma, that they could not, with any regard to consistency, urge his intire innocence, or take those decided measures which were pursued by their adversaries. If he was innocent, they who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the 10th of August, must have been guilty of the worst of treasons; if he was guilty, why should he not receive the reward of his delinquency?

After the constitution was accepted by the King, and after they themselves had sworn to maintain it, they continued their efforts to overthrow it.

Judging of the King from what they thought must be his secret wish, and what it is probable they were conscious would have been their own conduct in his situation, they could never believe that he would remain faithful to the constitution; they were convinced that, in his heart, he abhorred it, and would seize the first opportunity to overturn it, to punish all who had any hand in

establishing it, and to restore the ancient system with renewed force and augmented terror. They were convinced that the freedom of France could have no sure foundation but in a republic; and on this conviction they scrupled not to use the most perfidious means to introduce that form of government.

They endeavoured to vilify the character of the King, with a view to render royalty odious and contemptible; they gave circulation to innumerable stories, to the prejudice of others of the royal family, which they either knew to be false, or had no proof of their being true.

On mere conjecture, they accused the King and the Queen of undermining the constitution, to restore despotism; while they were conscious of undermining it themselves, on purpose to rear a republic.

They involved their country in a war with the Emperor, on pretexts which they knew to be groundless, and solely in the expectation that it would increase that jealousy of the King, which already existed, and give rise to incidents and circumstances on which plausible accusations against him and his ministers might be founded.

By those means they rendered a benevolent Prince, who was anxious for the welfare of his subjects, unpopular; by those means they produced the insurrection of the 20th of June, and prepared the minds of the populace for that of the 10th of August; and by making it believed, that a Prince of such a quiet, unambitious character as Louis XVI. could not remain satisfied with the power granted by the constitution, but was secretly conspiring to restore despotism, conveying the idea that every one who could be placed on the throne, would do the same,

same, the French nation were tricked into a republican form of government, when there was great reason to believe that the vast majority would have preferred a limited monarchy.

Thus attacked by a virulent and acrimonious party, possessed of the confidence of the people, and for whom nothing was too arduous or too mean on the one hand, and feebly supported by an irresolute inconsistent party, who had, by their own efforts, undermined his most powerful defence, personal innocence, and who had no arguments by which to prevent his destruction, save what were drawn from the fallacious source of political speculation, on the other; was the hapless King precipitated to a trial, on which was to depend his life, and the honour of himself and family.

We have already intimated, that the Girondists still preserved some majority in the Convention: this, however, was daily decreasing; and the intrigues of the Jacobins inflamed the populace to that degree, that the power of the Convention was transferred to the galleries, which being constantly filled with the creatures of Robespierre, nothing but the most violent measures were sanctioned.

There is little doubt, that had not these valiant Terrorists been kept in awe by the handful of Marseillois, who still adhered to the Brissotines, violent measures would once more have been recurred to, and the scenes of massacre renewed. These battalions, and some Fédérés from the other departments, who remained at Paris, gave uneasiness to the party of Danton and Robespierre, in spite of their influence in the general council, and in the suburbs. They feared Roland would continue to keep his majority in the Convention

so long as the Marseillois and Fédérés remained in the capital. Their presence damped the energy of the patriots of St. Antoine, and prevented Danton from reaping the full benefit of their attachment. Great pains were taken to render the Marseillois odious, and excite a jealousy of them in the minds of the suburb Sans Culottes. It was expected that, confiding in their numbers, the latter would have driven the strangers out of Paris, but the very name of Marseillois restrained the ardour of the suburb patriots.

As it was found difficult to drive them out of Paris, by force, a plan was formed to get rid of them by policy.

Pache had been war minister ever since Servan's appointment to the command of the army on the frontiers next to Spain. He owed his situation entirely to the recommendation of Roland; but Danton and Robespierre had the address to convince him, that he would have the best chance of retaining it by attaching himself to them; and Pache, like many others, being more influenced by the favours he expected, than by those he had already received, entered into their views.

Custine had lately made a requisition of reinforcements for his army. Pache informed the military committee of this; and at the same time hinted, that it would be proper to send all the Fédérés, then at Paris, as part of the reinforcement.

This plan had the better chance of succeeding, as the first suggestion came from Pache, a man supposed to be the friend of Roland, as none of the principal members of Danton's party seemed to interest themselves in it.

It was no sooner mentioned in the Convention, however, than Buzot saw through

through the whole scheme, and unfolded it at full length, as an intrigue to expose the Convention to the most mortifying of all situations, and subject them to the insolence of a faction which had the direction of the inhabitants of two of the suburbs.

Barbaroux also represented it as an abominable conspiracy, which, if carried into execution, might expose the lives of many of the deputies, and end in the pillage of Paris. He insisted that the *Fédérés* could not be of so much service to their country any where as at the capital, where they were ever ready to join with the most respectable citizens in defence of the legislative body, and for the protection of property.

Cambon, stricken with the observations made by Buzot and Barbaroux, and with the recollection of some scenes which had been acted immediately after the 10th of August, ascended the tribune with precipitation, and raised his voice to a pitch that surprised the Assembly, and commanded their attention. He put them in mind of the tyrannical manner in which the last assembly had been treated by those men who had the direction of the *Fauxbourgs*, and by that general council, who, on the 10th of August, had seized the government, and insulted the representatives of the nation. He asked, if they had forgotten that those usurpers had ordered the barriers to be shut, the tocsin to be sounded; that they had threatened the members; and that when the Swiss, who had resigned their arms, were placed within the walls of the Assembly, and under the safeguard of the public faith, a gang of blood-thirsty ruffians had come to the door of the Assembly Hall, and demanded that

they should be delivered up to their savage rage; and those furious men were on the point of bursting into the Assembly, and dragging them out to be slaughtered; and that they were not turned from their purpose until Lacroix, and some other deputies, begged of them, *upon their knees*, not to proceed to so horrid an outrage!

"Would you be again subjected to the same tyranny?" continued Cambon. "If so, order the *Fédérés* to leave Paris before an armed force is decreed and established for the protection of the Convention; put yourselves again in the power of those whose despotism you have experienced; the very tyrants who enslaved the legislative assembly; and soon, in the midst of anarchy and civil war, the French Cromwell will appear, and tell you that he will be your protector, and give you peace; that you stand in need of his popularity and despotism to render you happy. But no; we will have no Protector, no King, no *Triumvirs*, no *Tribunes*, we will be free; for which purpose let us secure the independency of the National Assembly, and on no pretext allow the *Fédérés* to be removed from Paris until an organized force is re-formed from all the departments of the republic, which can prevent the representatives from being under the influence of one department only."

Cambon pronounced this with great fire and energy, which seemed to proceed entirely from the strong conviction he felt of the importance of the subject; and which had the greater effect, as his usual style of speaking was uncommonly cold and uninteresting. His manner was awkward, and his countenance dull. He was of a methodical, calculating turn of mind, and considered as their best financier.

His

His discourse made a strong impression on the Assembly; and contributed more than all that had been previously said to the failure of the plan, so artfully arranged, for sending away the *Fédérés*.

The importance put on such a question as this, shews how very loose and unsettled the affairs of France were at the time; and that in whose hands the government was to remain, depended more on the *Sans Culottes* of two or three of the suburbs of Paris, and a handful of determined fellows from *Marseilles*, than on the unbiassed will of the Conventional Assembly.

The situation of Roland and the Girondists was very similar to that of the court before the 10th of August. The party of Danton and Robespierre were as earnest for the destruction of the first, as ever *they* had been for that of the second; and they were preparing to attempt it by the same means.

The court a little before that epoch had the majority of the National Assembly with them. Roland's party had the majority of the Convention with them then.

The court had a battalion of Swiss and a band of gentlemen to protect them. The Girondists had a battalion of *Marseillois* and some *Fédérés* from other departments, for their guards. Both parties stood in more fear of each other than of all their external enemies.

Foiled in this attempt, the Jacobins lost none of their courage, or suspended any of their intrigues, to inflame the minds of the populace; and while they urged the fate of the King with unrelenting vigour in the Convention, their emissaries used every effort to frame the minds of the people to corresponding impressions, and to exertions by which the desired event might

be accelerated. While the Convention were agitated by their clamorous motions and proposals, a young man, obviously hired by the Jacobins, to animate the populace against Roland and his friends, and make them consider every attempt to evade or postpone the condemnation of the King as a proof of treachery or aristocracy, was haranguing them on the terrace of the *Feuillans*, which was contiguous to the hall of the Convention. He stood on a chair, at his side there was a pike thrust in the ground, on the upper end of which a small board was fixed, with this inscription: *L'apôtre de la liberté*. The apostle of liberty. A crowd surrounded, to whom he declaimed in praise of the glorious revolution of the 10th of August, and of the patriots to whom France owed its liberty, which he asserted to be those determined men, who were, on the preceding night, appointed to be of the general council of the commune, and not the *Brissots*, *Verginauds*, *Guadets*, *Buzots*, and still less *Louvet*, the calumniator of Robespierre. He said, "that all these men, with Roland at their head, were doing every thing they could to save the life of Louis Capet, the various instances of whose perjury he attempted to prove, as well as his ingratitude to the nation, who had behaved so generously to him. But," he added, "Louis the traitor has now filled up the measure of his treachery so high, that even his friends in the Assembly could not deny his guilt, though they were striving, with all their cunning, to save his life."

These low arts of inflammation were used without reserve or decency in the streets of Paris; the journals of *Marat* teemed with similar insinuations. He asserted, that *Dumourier* exposed the Parisian battalions at the battle of *Jemappe*,

Jemappe, more than the rest of the army, on purpose to have them destroyed; and that this was done in compliance with the directions he received from Roland, Brissot, and that party. "To secure," says he, "the success of their ambitious projects, these tyrants have carried off our impetuous youth, (*bouillante jeunesse*) always the most eager to march against the supporters of despotism, and to form a barrier around the defenders of the people." He afterwards mentioned of what this impetuous youth consisted, *not forts-de-lahalle, nos charbonniers, nos cochers de place*. The first of these cannot be translated, it may be paraphrased, our jolly boys at St Giles's, our coal heavers, and our hackney-coachmen; those are the hands in which this audacious demagogue supposed the liberties of France to reside.

Yet even these arts were not thrown away; assertions, frequently and boldly repeated, seldom fail to make an impression on the populace, and at length to gain belief, in spite of the most clear and rational evidence of their falsehood.

Marat had been exciting the people to mutual rancour, to pillaging and cutting each other's throats, since the beginning of the revolution; but he assured them in all his speeches, and he used to tell them every morning in his journal, that he was *l'ami du peuple*! the friend of the people; and the populace believed him.

The Girondists exculpated the citizens of Paris from the horrid crimes of September; whereas Robespierre, St. André, Tallien, Chebot, Bazire, and all that party, asserted, that the massacres were committed by the people. But as, at the same time, St. André always called them "*le bon peuple*," the good people; Marat said,

"they were always nearest his heart," and Robespierre declared, "he would willingly sacrifice his life for them," the populace considered them as their friends, and looked on Roland and the Girondists as their calumniators.

It was also notorious, that Roland, Claviere, Gensonnet, Guadet, and the other leaders of the party, were republicans; that they made open attempts to establish that form of government at the time the King was brought back from Varennes; that Robespierre, Danton, and many of their friends opposed it, and declaimed in the Jacobin society against it, and in favour of monarchy. Yet as the favouring of monarchy was then considered the greatest of all crimes, those very persons accused the Girondists of that crime, and of being determined enemies to the republic; which assertions, by dint of repetition, became universally believed; and Roland, Brissot, Guadet, and the whole of that party, became daily less popular.

After the storming of the Thuilleries, on the 10th of August, a discovery was made, which appeared to involve the most important consequences. It was an iron chest or closet, which was concealed in the wall of the palace, and in which the papers of the King were privately deposited. The workman who formed it was alone privy to the fact; and he revealed it to Roland, then minister of the home department, and conducted him to the place which contained the sacred deposit. There is reason to believe, that the chest contained more papers than were produced; but Roland was desirous of preserving the life of the King; and is therefore, supposed to have brought forward only such as might serve, in some measure, to justify the conduct of his

his own party, and to have secreted those which might have implicated the King in any charge of direct criminality.

A committee of twenty-four members had been chosen for the purpose of inspecting the papers which were discovered, and preparing the act of accusation. The report of the committee was brought up the 6th of December.

Some very important discoveries were expected from these papers. When Rhul of Strasburg, who was president of the committee, ascended the tribune to make the report, a most profound and awful silence took place; it was understood that there were a number of letters to the King and his ministers among those papers. Every member of the Convention was in a state of anxiety, either on his own account or on account of some of his friends. An imprudent expression in a letter to a minister might, in the state men's minds were then in, expose the writer to great danger.

Valaze, in a speech of considerable length, explained the difficulty of the operations of the committee, from the immense accumulation of letters and papers full of symbolical characters, and of obscure and equivocal expressions; and concluded by remarking, that the world was grossly deceived in the character of Louis, while they supposed him a plain and simple man, and assured the Convention that the contrary would immediately appear.

The principal proofs of guilt produced against the King were the following:

1. A receipt from Bouillé, dated Mayence, October 15, 1791, containing an account of the expenditure of the sum of 993 millions issued for the

formation of the camp at Montmedy. This money had been distributed among the following persons; viz. *Monsieur*, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince of Nassau, the Duc de Choiseul, Demandell, Bon, Hamilton, Lassall, Weymann, and several other general officers and private persons.

2. Another signed Choiseul-Stanville, attested the receipt and distribution of 600,000 livres.

3. A letter stating that the diamonds of Madame Elizabeth had been transmitted, on the 22d of June 1791, to an officer of Hussars, who had carried them to the brothers of the King.

4. A paper proving that the editor of the "*Postillon de la guerre*," (a news-paper) had received 8,000 livres, from the civil list, and the "*Logographe*" no less than 60,000 livres, during the space of three months.

5. A great number of letters, &c. &c. proving that Louis Capet was a monopolizer of *corn, sugar, and coffee*; these monopolies were made in Foreign Countries; the treasurer of the civil list superintended the business, and was ordered to advance to the amount of *three millions*.

6. A new order of chivalry, introduced under the name of "*Chevaliers de la rein*." The decoration of this order consisted of a medal, one side of which was adorned with a portrait of the Queen, the other had the following inscription.

"*Magnum reginae nomen adumbrat.*" The great name of Queen overshadows. Several persons had received this decoration, notwithstanding the express decree forbidding the creation of any new order of chivalry.

7. A bundle of papers, to prove that a person of the name of Gilles, had received 12,000 livres in order to pay

pay a band of sixty men, against the express letter of the constitution, which forbade the King to raise or maintain any armed men, without the permission of the legislature.

8. A Carton full of proofs that *Louis Capet* had continued the pay of such of his body guards as had emigrated to Coblenz; that a number of conspirators were constantly assembled at the Thuilleries; that Bouillé had the audacity to repair there since the invasion projected in 1791; and that, from the day that the *ci-devant Comte d'Artois* had been decreed to be in a state of accusation, Louis XVI. had assigned a pension of 200,000 livres to his children.

Barrere, then president of the Convention, was mentioned in some of the papers; so were Dumourier, Claviere, and Kersaint, all as having some connection or intercourse with the court, but not in a way that could be considered as criminal.

Barrere thought proper to demand leave to be heard before any other person; as the president of the National Convention ought not to remain a moment under suspicion. He then desired Guadet to occupy his place as president, while he himself went to the tribune, to explain how his name came to be mentioned.

Before he began, Charlier suddenly stood up, and said, that the same delicacy which had promoted Barrere to quit his place as president, ought to have prevented Guadet from taking it.

Many voices exclaimed, that Guadet was not mentioned in any of the papers.

Charlier insisted, that although his name had not been read to the Convention, yet he was positively included in the description given by the member who had made the report.

The way in which he attempted to make out this was singular enough; "For," continued Charlier, "in one of the papers addressed to the King, it is said, that thirteen or fourteen of the most eloquent members of the Convention were *dans les bonnes dispositions*; well disposed; and although none of them are named, yet it is evident that Guadet must be one of them, for every body knows that there are not thirteen members of the Convention more eloquent than he."

Rhul, who was the organ of the Committee in making the report, was so much offended at hearing this, that he declared, with great heat, that if his expressions were to be twisted into accusations, he would resign his place as member of the committee.

Charlier's construction was condemned; Rhul was appeased; Guadet was allowed to perform the function of president, until Barrere made his defence, which was easily done, after which he resumed his office. Guadet also freed himself from the insinuation of Charlier, and the business of the Convention proceeded.

This discussion was immediately followed by the introduction of a question, the most embarrassing to his accusers and the Convention, viz. Whether the King was not, by the Constitution, invested with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, consistently with justice, he whom the law had solemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal process, could be brought to trial? This objection was strangely and most iniquitously over-ruled by the Convention, who in this instance established the precedent, always so fatal to liberty, of an *ex post facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe, their inattention to those "rights of man,"

which the nation had solemnly proclaimed.

With whatever irregularity, precipitation, and injustice the process against the King will be thought to have been carried on, it was with much difficulty and personal danger, to one party of the Convention, that it was so long protracted.

Some of the Convention regretted exceedingly the precipitate decree which abolished royalty, and were convinced that it would have equally tended to the happiness and lasting freedom of France, if the Convention had restored the King and re-established the constitution, with such alterations as might have been thought expedient.

There was still a greater number of the members who were of opinion, that after the republican form of government was decreed, the most equitable and most public measure which the Convention could adopt, was to declare that they would make no inquiry whether the King had been in correspondence with the enemy or not; because, at any rate, the nation was determined on a republican form of government, and therefore should order the whole Royal Family to be escorted to the frontiers, permitted to go wherever they judged proper, with an annual pension of at least one hundred thousand louis, to be regularly paid as long as they should live in tranquillity, without exciting war against France, or a civil war in it for their restoration; revoking at the same time, the decree against Savoy, and renewing their original declaration, against extending their dominion, and offensive war of any kind.

That part of the Convention who were of either of these opinions, with

all who were desirous of saving the King, finding it dangerous to avow their sentiments, endeavoured by various means to prevent a trial, until the public mind should be so much softened as to admit of a fair trial, or until the idea of a trial should dissipate altogether. When this failed, they attempted to carry the sentence of confinement during the war, and exile after it; when that failed they tried the appeal to the primary assemblies; and finally, they endeavoured to save him, by voting to postpone the execution of the sentence.

Instead of these evasive measures, the nobler part would have been, no doubt, to have voted him not guilty at the first nominal appeal; but this measure was prevented by most of them thinking that the King's life was fully protected by the constitution, and that he could not be justly condemned to death, although all were proved which was laid to his charge, which in their opinion was not the case.

The violent party against the King, on the other hand, took great pains, and used every art, both within and without the Assembly, to have the forms of process short, by a bloody and certain catastrophe.

Legendre proposed, that all those who had published their opinions, or put them in writing, should lay them on the table of the Assembly; and that after the intervention of one day, the Convention should pronounce sentence *without hearing the King*.

Robespierre was for ending the whole in twenty-four hours, without separating.

St. André declared, that the King had been judged and condemned by the people on the 10th of August, and that

that the Convention had nothing to do but to order his execution.

It was dreaded by some who wished the death of the King, that his appearance at the bar of the Convention would soften the people, and perhaps move them in his favour, and when they found that others of their own party, who were equally the enemies of the King, were determined that he should be heard, they contrived means of the most profligate nature to prevent it.

Papers were cried through the streets to inflame the minds of the populace to such a degree, that they should insist on his immediate execution; and if that was delayed, to execute him themselves, either in prison, or when he should be carried to the Assembly. It was asserted, that the country never could be happy while he lived; that all the misfortunes of the country, all the distress the people suffered, and the still greater with which they were threatened, proceeded from the King's being suffered to live; that a party in the Convention, namely, the Gironde and the friends of Brissot and Roland, were bribed, by the powers at war with France, to save the King, and prolong the distresses of that country; and that, although they durst not openly in the Convention deny that he was criminal, and deserved death, yet they were endeavouring, under various pretexts, to prolong his process, and delay his execution, until an opportunity occurred to re-establish him on the throne.

The most absurd assertions were made in the Convention itself to the same tendency. At one time, when there was a discussion concerning the scarcity of grain, which, by different members, was imputed to different

causes, Legendre very wisely said, *La veritable cause est dans le Temple*: the true cause is in the Temple.

Hand-bills were distributed, with these words: "*Republicains, guillotinez moi Louis XVI. et l'Autre chienne si vous voulez auvoir du pain.*" Republicans, guillotine Louis XVI. and the Austrians, if you would have bread.—And the printed opinion of Marat was sold at the same time.

After a long and warm debate, it was decreed by the Convention, that the King should be brought to the bar; that the act of accusation should be read to him; that the President should put certain questions to him, which were previously drawn up by the committee, and approved of by the assembly; and that, after his answers had been taken down, a day should be appointed for hearing him finally, and pronouncing judgment.

It was also decreed, that the opinions of the deputies should be taken by the *appel nominal*, openly by name.

This mode was violently insisted on by the Mountain, in hopes that some, whose consciences acquitted him, might from a terror of the mob, be induced to pronounce against him.

Had the opinion of the Convention been taken in the usual way, it would have been less under the influence of fear; but the most certain method of getting the unbiassed judgment of the deputies, would have been by ballot. Had that been adopted, there would probably have been a majority in favour of the King, even on the first general question of Guilty or Not; and there is no doubt but it would have been carried by a great majority against the pains of death, if the first question had been lost.

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In the mean time, the King knew nothing of its being decreed that he should appear at the bar of the Convention; it had been decreed, contrary to the practice in all criminal cases, in almost every civilized country, that he should be brought before the Convention without previous notice or preparation; and that he should be questioned by the President, without a previous intimation of the nature of his examination. For this determination it was urged, that as the proofs of criminality were, from a variety of circumstances, less notorious than they are with respect to private delinquents, it was necessary that the examination should be, on his part, unpremeditated and unprepared; and however cruel or harsh the measure, it served to raise the character of Louis in the estimation of mankind with respect to his abilities, and a very strong presumption of his innocence.

In an extract from the report of the commissioners who were on service at the Temple on that day (the 11th of December) the following particulars are mentioned:

The King rose, as usual, at seven; he spent only a few minutes in dressing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums were heard; he enquired of the commissioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them so early.

The commissioners pretended ignorance.

"Do you not think," rejoined the King, "that they beat the *generale*?"

The commissioners replied, "they could not distinguish."

The King walked musing through the room, and sometimes stood listening attentively. "I think I hear the sound of horses feet in the court," said he.

The commissioners gave no explanation.

The Royal Family breakfasted together that morning; they were full of alarm and disquietude at the noise, which increased every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cause was carefully concealed from them.

Uncertainty, in such circumstances, agitates the mind more than a full assurance of the worst. The Queen and Princesses went to their own apartments after breakfast, and left the Prince Royal with the King.

The commissioners at last informed him, that he was about to receive a visit from the Mayor of Paris.

"So much the better," said the King.

"But I must inform you," resumed the commissioner, "that he cannot speak to you in the presence of your son."

The king then, after pressing the child to his breast, desired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Clery, the Valet, who attended the King, withdrew with the Prince.

The King asked the commissioner, "if he knew what the Mayor's business with him was?" and was answered in the negative.

He walked about the room for some time, stopping at intervals to ask questions respecting the person and character of the Mayor.

The commissioner answered, "that he was not particularly acquainted with him, but that he was of a good character, and, to the best of his recollection, of a middle age, thin, and rather tall."

The King seated himself in a chair, and continued absorbed in meditation.

Mean while the commissioner had moved

moved behind the chair on which the King was seated. When he awaked from his reverie, not seeing any body, he turned suddenly round; and perceiving the commissioner close behind him, said with quickness, "What do you want, Sir?"

"Nothing," replied the other; "but fearing you were indisposed, I approached to know what ailed you."

These minute accounts may appear beneath the dignity of history, but they strongly paint the state of agitation and suspicion, in which the mind of the unhappy monarch was plunged.

Monsieur Chambon, the mayor, entered soon after, and informed the King, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention; the King accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horse as well as foot, he seemed surprised at seeing some of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted.

Before he stepped into the Mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which the family were confined, and the tears were observed to trickle down his cheeks.

The coach then proceeded to the Convention, attended by the troops.

The commissioner ascended to the Queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and sorrow. He acquainted them, that the Mayor had been with the King; the young prince had already informed them: "We know that," said the Queen, "but where have they carried the King now?"

"To the Convention," replied the commissioner.

"You would have saved us much uneasiness," said the Princess Eliza-

beth, "if you had informed us of this sooner."

What dreadful apprehensions must this Princess have been under, to find any relief in hearing that her brother was carried before an assembly of men, so prejudiced against him as she knew the Convention to be.

The King was conducted to the Convention by the Boulevards, la rue neuve des Capucines, la place Vendome, et la Cour des Feuillans. All the streets which open to the Boulevards had guards stationed in them, with others to prevent a multitude from assembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all those streets; patrols were ordered to prevent any kind of obstruction by groups, or carriages, along the whole of the way that the King was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different posts near the Thuilleries and hall of the assembly. It is said, there were near 100,000 men in arms that day in Paris.

The glasses of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no disturbance. Great numbers, however, were waiting in all the passages leading to the assembly, and the tribune had been filled from six in the morning. It was remarked, that Marat was dressed in a new suit; and that his features announced satisfaction and good humour, which was considered as still a greater rarity.

The act of accusation having been read, some of the deputies mentioned circumstances which they thought of importance, that had been omitted. Drouet, the post-master, who was the cause of the King's being stopped at Varennes, had been elected a deputy to the Convention for that service. He thought this a good opportunity
to

to distinguish himself as an orator.—“Louis,” said he, “is a *cheat* (fourbe,) and wished to impose upon the nation, in saying that he intended to go to Montmedi, for the *villain* (scelerat) was expected at the Abbaye d’Orvalle; and the traitor knew that a detachment of hussars were waiting for him a few leagues from Varennes. *The monster* then had the intention,” &c. &c. &c.

This was more than his audience, prejudiced as it was against the King, could bear; the post-master was obliged to stop in the middle of his abusive career, his voice being stifled by an universal murmur. When Drouet was in the middle of his harangue, a gentleman asked one of the deputies, who he was? “Monsieur,” replied the deputy, “c’est un maitre de poste, qui a voulu faire claquer son souet bien mal-a-propos.” Sir, said the deputy, he is a post-master, who would crack his whistle to the purpose.

It was announced by the president, that from the moment that Louis should appear at the bar, no petition should be heard, no motion of any kind made, no sign of approbation or disapprobation given, but a profound silence maintained. “When Louis appears,” exclaimed Legendre, “il faut qu’il regue ici le silence des TOMBEAUX.” When Louis appears, the silence of the tombs ought to reign here. This brutal insinuation had no better effect than the eloquence of Drouet.

Marat, however, had the fairness to declare, that, in his opinion, the King ought not to be questioned about any thing previous to his acceptance of the constitution. This is so evident, that it was wonderful it was left to Marat to make the observation, and

more so that it was disregarded when made.

Other proposals were made by other members, and some adopted. At about one o’clock the assembly were informed, that the King was in the Chambre des Conferences; on which Barrere, the president, having reminded the assembly and audience of the silence they ought to maintain, desired that he might be conducted to the bar.

An awful silence prevailed: every eye was fixed on the door at which he entered. The King appeared with a serene air and undisturbed countenance. The spectators betrayed great emotion.

After a short interval, Barrere addressed him:—“Louis, you are accused of having committed various crimes, to re-establish tyranny on the ruins of liberty; the National Convention has decreed that you shall be tried—and the members who compose it are to be your judges. You will hear the accusation read, after which you will answer to the questions which shall be proposed.”

To this the king made no reply.

The general act of accusation was then read, after which the king was summoned by the president, Barrere, to answer to each separate charge. So important a record it would be inconsistent with the fidelity of history to abridge, and we have therefore determined to present to our readers the examination at large.

President—“Louis, the French nation accuses you of having committed a multitude of crimes, to establish your tyranny, in destroying her freedom. You, on the 20th of June, 1789, attempted the sovereignty of the people, by suspending the assemblies of their

their representatives, and expelling them with violence from the places of their sittings. This is proved in the process verbal entered at the Tennis-court of Versailles, by the members of the constituent assembly. On the 23d of June, you wanted to dictate laws to the nation—you surrounded their representatives with troops—you represented to them two royal declarations, subversive of all liberty, and ordered them to separate. Your own declarations, and the minutes of the assembly, prove these attempts. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"No laws were then existing to prevent me from it."

President—"You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris. Your satellites have shed the blood of several of them, and you would not remove this army until the taking of the Bastille, and a general insurrection announced to you that the people were victorious. The speeches you made on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, to the deputations of the constituent assembly, shew what were your intentions; and the massacres of the Thuilleries rise in evidence against you. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I was master at that time to order the troops to march; but I never had an intention of shedding blood."

President—"After these events and in spite of the promises you made on the 15th, in the constituent assembly, and on the 17th in the town house of Paris, you have persisted in your projects against national liberty; you long eluded the execution of the decrees of the 11th of August, respecting the abolition of personal servitude, the feudal government, and tythes. You

long refused acknowledging the rights of man; you doubled the number of the life guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; you permitted, in orgies held before your eyes, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be hoisted, and the nation to be slandered. At last you rendered necessary a fresh insurrection, occasioned the death of several citizens, and did not change your language until after your guards had been defeated, when you renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your observations of the 18th of September, in the decrees of the 11th of August, in the minutes of the constituent assembly, in the events of Versailles of the 5th and 6th of October, and in the conversation you had on the same day with a deputation of the constituent assembly, when you told them you would enlighten yourself with their councils, and never recede from them. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I have made the observations which I thought just on the two first heads. As to the cockade, it is false; it did not happen in my presence."

President—"You took an oath at the federation of the 14th of July, which you did not keep. You soon tried to corrupt the public opinion, with the assistance of Talon, who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau, who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I do not know what happened at that time, but the whole is anterior to my acceptance of the constitution."

President—"You lavished millions of money to effect this corruption, and you

you would even use popularity as a means of enslaving the people. These facts are the result of a memorial of Talon, on which you have made your marginal comments in your own hand-writing. and of a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, recapitulating a conversation he had with Rivarol, he told you that the millions which you had been prevailed upon to throw away had been productive of nothing. For a long time you had meditated on a plan of escape. A memorial was delivered to you on the 28th of February, which pointed out the means for you to effect it; you approved of it by marginal notes. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I felt no greater pleasure than that of relieving the needy—this proves no design."

President—"On the 28th, a great number of nobles and military came into your apartments in the castle of the Thuilleries to favour that escape; you wanted to quit Paris on the 10th of April, to go to St. Cloud. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"This accusation is absurd."

President—"But the resistance of the citizens made you sensible that their distrust was great; you endeavoured to discard it by communicating to the constituent assembly a letter, which you addressed to the agents of the nation near foreign powers, to announce to them that you had freely accepted the constitutional articles, which had been presented to you; and notwithstanding, on the 21st you took flight with a false passport. You left behind a protest against these self-same constitutional articles; you ordered the ministers to sign none of the acts

issued by the national assembly; and you forbade the minister of justice to deliver up the seals of state. The public money was lavished to insure the success of this treachery, and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouillé, who shortly before had been charged with the massacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote on this head, "To take care of his popularity, because it would be of service to you." These facts are proved by the memorial of the 23d of February, with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the 20th of June, wholly in your own hand writing; by your letter of the 4th of September, 1790, to Bouillé, and by a note of the latter, in which he gives you an account of the use he made of 993,000 livres, given by you, and employed partly in trepanning the troops who were to escort you. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I have no knowledge whatever of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I appeal to my declaration to the commissaries of the constituent assembly at that period."

President—"After your detention at Varennes, the exercise of the executive power was, for a moment, suspended in your hands, and you again formed a conspiracy. On the 17th of July, the blood of citizens was shed in the Champ de Mars.—A letter, in your own hand-writing, written in 1790, to La Fayette, proves that a criminal coalition subsisted between you and La Fayette, to which Mirabeau acceded. The revision began under these cruel auspices; all kinds of corruptions were made use of

of. You have paid for libels, pamphlets, and news-papers designed to corrupt the public opinion, to discredit the assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil shew what immense sums have been made use of in these liberticide manœuvres. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "What happened on the 17th of July, has nothing at all to do with me; I know nothing of it."

President. "You seemed to accept the constitution on the 14th of September; your speeches announced an intention of supporting it, and you were busy in overturning it, even before it was completed. A convention was entered into at Pilnitz, on the 24th of July, between Leopold of Austria, and Frederick William of Brandenburg, who pledged themselves to re-erect in France the throne of absolute monarchy, and you were silent upon this convention until the moment when it was known by all Europe. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made it known as soon as it came to my knowledge; besides, every thing that refers to this subject concerns the minister."

President. "Arles had hoisted the standard of rebellion; you favoured it by sending three civil commissaries, who made it their business, not to repress the counter-revolutionists, but to justify their proceedings. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The instructions which were given to the commissaries must prove what was their mission; and I knew none of them when the ministers proposed them to me."

President. "Avignon, and the coun-

try of Venassin, had been united with France; you caused the decree to be executed; but a month after that time civil war desolated that country. The commissaries you sent thither helped to ravage it. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I do not remember what delay has been caused in the execution of the decree; besides, this occurrence has no personal reference to me, it only concerns those that have been sent, not those who sent them."

President. "Nimes, Montauban, Mende, and Jales, felt great shocks during the first days of freedom. You did nothing to stifle those germs of counter-revolution, until the moment when Saillan's conspiracy became manifestly notorious. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I gave, in this respect, all the orders which were proposed to me by the ministers."

President. "You sent twenty-two battalions against the Marsellois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I ought to have the piece, referring to this matter, to give a just answer."

President. "You gave the southern command to Witgenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, 1792, after he had been recalled: 'A few instants more, and I shall call around the throne of your Majesty thousands of French, who are again become worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "This letter is dated since his recall; he has not been employed since. I do not recollect this letter."

President—"You paid your late life guards at Coblenz; the registers of Septeuil attested this; and general orders signed by you prove, that you sent considerable remittances to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiseuil, Beaupre, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"When I first learnt that my life-guards assembled beyond the Rhine, I stopped their pay; as to the rest, I do not remember."

President—"Your brothers, enemies to the state, caused the emigrants to rally under their banners: they raised up regiments, took up loans, and concluded alliances in your name: you did not disclaim them; but at the moment when you were fully certain that you could no longer cross their projects, your intelligence with them by a note, written by Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by your two brothers, was conceived in these words:

"I wrote to you, but it was by post; and I could say nothing. We are two here, who make but one; one in sentiment, one in principle, one in zeal for serving you. We keep silence; because, were we to break it too soon, it would injure you: but we shall speak as soon as we shall be certain of general support, and that moment is near. If we are spoken to on the part of those people, we shall hear nothing, but if on your part, we will listen: we shall pursue our road straight; it is therefore desired that you will enable us to say something; do not stand on ceremonies. Be easy about your safety; we only exist to serve you; we are eagerly occupied with this point, and all goes on well: even our enemies feel themselves too much interested in your preservation

to commit an useless crime, which would terminate in their own destruction. Adieu.

L. S. XAVIERE, &
CHARLES PHILIPPE."

What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I disowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according as the constitution prescribed me to do, and from the moment they came to my knowledge. Of this note I know nothing."

President—"The soldiers of the line, who were to be put on the war establishment, consisted but of 100,000 men, at the end of December, you therefore neglected to provide for the safety of the state from abroad. Narbonne required a levy of 50,000 men, but he stopt the recruiting at 26,000, in giving assurance that all was ready; yet there was no truth in these assurances. Servan proposed after him to form a camp of 20,000 men near Paris; it was decreed by the Legislative Assembly; you refused your sanction. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I had given to the minister all the orders for expediting the augmentation of the army: in the month of December last, the returns were laid before the Assembly. If they deceived themselves, it is not my fault."

President—"A flight of patriotism made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters. You issued a proclamation, tending to stop their march; at the same time our camps were without soldiers. Dumourier, the successor of Servan, declared that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor provisions, and that the posts were left defenceless. You waited to be urged by a request made to the minister

ster Lajard, when the Legislative Assembly wished to point out the means of providing for the external safety of the state, by proposing the levy of forty two battalions. You gave the commission to the commanders of the troops to disband the army, to force whole regiments to desert, and to make them pass the Rhine, to put them at the disposal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Austria, with whom you had intelligence. This fact is proved by the letter of Toulegeon, governor of Franche Comté—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I know nothing of this circumstances, there is not a word of truth in this charge."

President—"You charged your diplomatical agents to favour this coalition of foreign powers, and your brothers, against France, and especially to cement the peace between Turkey and Austria, and to procure thereby a large number of troops against France from the latter. A letter from Choiseul-Gouffier, ambassador at Constantinople verifies the fact.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"M. Choiseul did not speak the truth; no such thing has ever been."

President—"The Prussians advanced against our frontiers; your minister was summoned on the 8th of July, to give an account of the state of our political relations with Prussia, you answered on the 10th, that 50,000 Prussians were marching against us, and that you gave notice to the legislative body of the formal acts of the pending hostilities, in conformity to the constitution.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"It was only at that period I had knowledge of it: all the cor-

respondence passed with the ministers."

President—"You entrusted Dabancourt, the nephew of Calonne, with the department of war; and such has been the success of your conspiracy, that the posts of Longwy and Verdun were surrendered to the enemy at the moment of their appearance.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I did not know that Dabancourt was M. Calonne's nephew: I have not divested the posts. I would not have permitted myself such a thing: I know nothing of it, if it has been so."

President—"You have destroyed our navy—a vast number of officers belonging to that corps had emigrated, there scarcely remained any to do duty in the harbours; meanwhile Bertrand was granting passports every day; and when the legislative body represented to you his criminal conduct on the 8th of March, you answered that you were satisfied with his services.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I have done all I could to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand since the Legislative Assembly presented no complaint against him, which might have put him in a state of accusation, I did not think proper to turn him out of office."

President—"You have favoured the maintenance of absolute government in the colonies: your agents fomented commotions and counter-revolutions throughout them, at the same epoch when it was to have been brought about in France, which indicates plainly that your hand laid this plot.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"If there are any of my agents in the colonies, they have not spoken the truth, I had nothing to

to do with what you have just mentioned."

President—"The interior of the state was convulsed by fanatics, you avowed yourself their protector, in manifesting your evident intention of recovering by them your ancient power.—What have you to answer?"

Louis—"I cannot answer to this, I know nothing of such a project."

President—"The legislative body had passed a decree, on the 29th of January, against the factious priests; you suspended its execution. What have you to answer?"

Louis—"The constitution reserved to me the free right to refuse my sanction of decrees."

President. "The troubles had increased; the minister declared that he knew no means, in the laws extant, to arraign the guilty. The legislative body enacted a fresh decree, which you likewise suspended. What have you to say to this?"

(Louis replied in the same manner as to the preceding charge.)

President "The uncitizen-like conduct of the guards, whom the constitution had granted you, had rendered it necessary to disband them. The day after, you sent them a letter expressive of your satisfaction, and continued their pay. This fact is proved by the treasurer of the civil-list.—What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I only continued them in pay until fresh ones could be raised, according to the tenor of the decree."

President. "You kept near your person the Swiss guards; the constitution forbade you this, and the Legislative Assembly had expressly ordained their departure. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I have executed all the

decrees that have been enacted in this respect."

President. "You had private companies at Paris, charged to operate movements useful to your projects of a counter-revolution. Dungremont and Gilles were two of your agents, who had salaries from the civil-list. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to raise a company of sixty men, shall be presented to you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I have no knowledge whatever of the plots laid to their charge; the idea of a counter-revolution never entered my mind."

President. "You wished to suborn, with considerable sums, several members of the Legislative and Constituent Assemblies. Letters from St. Leon and others, evince the reality of these deeds. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "Several persons presented themselves with similar decrees, but I waved them."

President. "Who are they that presented you with those projects?"

Louis. "The plans were so vague that I do not recollect them now."

President. "Who are those to whom you gave money?"

Louis. "I gave money to nobody."

President. "You suffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, Italy, and Spain; since you omitted to demand satisfaction for the bad treatment the French suffered in those countries. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The diplomatical correspondence will prove the contrary; besides, this was a concern of the ministers."

President. "You reviewed the Swiss on the 10th of August at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiss were the

the first who fired upon the citizens."

Louis—"I went on that day to review all the troops that were assembled about me; the constituted authorities were with me, the department, the mayor, and the municipality; I had even invited there a deputation of the National Assembly, and afterwards repaired into the midst of them with my family."

President—"Why did you draw troops to the castle?"

Louis—"All the constituted authorities saw that the castle was threatened: and as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself."

President—"Why did you summon the Mayor of Paris, in the night between the 9th and 10th of August to the castle?"

Louis—"On account of the reports that were circulated."

President—"You have caused the blood of the French to be shed?"

Louis—"No Sir, not I!"

President—"You authorised Septeuil to carry on a considerable trade of corn, sugar, and coffee, at Hamburgh. This fact is proved by a letter of Septeuil."

Louis—"I know nothing of what you say."

President—"Why did you fix a veto on the decree which ordained the formation of the camp of 20,000 men?"

Louis—"The constitution left to me the free right of refusing my sanction of the decrees; and even from that period I had demanded the assemblage of a camp at Soissons."

President—(addressing the Convention)—"The questions are done." To *Louis*—"Louis, is there any thing you wish to add?"

Louis—"I request a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the pieces relating thereto, and the liberty of choosing counsel for my defence."

During this examination, some new questions occurred to the committee, which were put in writing and handed to the president, who put them in the same manner to the King, and received his answers.

The King's behaviour during the whole of his appearance in the Convention was calm, collected, and that of a man resigned to the necessity of circumstances, without the consciousness of guilt; his answers were sensible, pertinent and prompt. He never lost his composure, except in one instance, when the President read the charge which accuses him "of distributing money among the populace for the treacherous purpose of acquiring popularity, and enslaving the nation."

The perversion of his very benevolence into a crime, astonished the unfortunate monarch, and deprived him for a moment of the power of utterance—he shed tears—but a consciousness of the purity of his intentions rendered them tears of comfort. "I always took pleasure," said he, "in relieving those in want, but never had any treacherous purpose."

Upon the whole, when it is considered that the questions were deliberately drawn up by a select committee, and afterwards corrected and enlarged by the whole Convention, while the King's answers were given extempore, and without even a previous knowledge that he was to be examined in that manner, it places his understanding in a very advantageous point of view.

To keep the king ignorant to the last,
of

of any intention of examining him, and then hurry him, unprepared, to their bar, was ungenerous and shameful in the highest degree, it might have disconcerted him in such a manner as to have given scope to malice; his enemies would have imputed to conscious guilt that disorder in his answers and conduct, which surprise or indignation might naturally have produced: and it is impossible not to suspect that the secrecy was employed for that very purpose. If so, all those enemies have been disappointed; the malignity by which they attempted to obscure his character, has only served to put it in a fairer light.

When the king had answered all the questions, the original papers on which part of the accusation was founded were laid on the table: Valaze taking them up one by one, and reading the title, said, as he presented each to the King, "Louis Capet, la reconnoissez vous?" If the king answered that he knew it, Valaze said, "Louis la reconnoit;" and the President repeated, "La piece est reconnue." If the king disavowed it, they said, "Louis ne la reconnoit pas—La piece n'est pas reconnue."

These papers were as follow, viz. The memoir of Laporte and Mirabeau, and some others containing plans of a counter-revolution.

Louis—"I disown them."

Valaze next presented several other papers on which the act of accusation was founded, and asked the king if he recognized them. These papers were the following:

Valaze—"Letter of Louis Capet, dated June 29th, 1790, settling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the constitution."

Louis—"I reserve to myself to an-

swer the contents." (Valaze read the letter.) "It is only a plan, in which there is no question about a counter-revolution, the letter was not to have been sent."

Valaze—"Letter of Louis Capet, of the 22d of April, relative to conversations about the Jacobins, about the president of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet."

Louis—"I disown it."

Valaze—"Letter of Laporte, of Thursday morning, March 3d, marked in the margin, in the hand writing of Louis Capet, with March 3, 1791, implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins."

Louis—"I disown it."

Valaze—"Letter of Laporte, without date, in his hand writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars respecting the last moments of Mirabeau, and expressing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge of men some papers of great concern, which had been deposited with Mirabeau."

Louis—"I disown it as well as the rest."

Valaze—"Plan of a constitution, on revision of the constitution, signed La Fayette, addressed to Louis Capet, April 6, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand writing."

Louis—"These things are blotted out by the constitution."

Valaze—"Do you know this handwriting?"

Louis—"I do not."

Valaze—"Your marginal comments?"

Louis—"I do not."

Valaze—"A letter of Laporte of the 19th of April, marked in the margin by

by Louis Capet, April 19th, 1791, mentioning a conversation with Rivoral.

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte, marked April 16, 1791, in which it seems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the Abbe Perigord, Andre, and Beaumetz, who do not seem to acknowledge sacrifices made for their sake."

Louis. "I disown it likewise."

Valaze. "Letter of Laporte of the 23d of April, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, respecting the means of his gaining popularity."

Louis. "I know neither of these pieces."

Valaze. "Several pieces without signature, found in the castle of the Thuilleries, in the gap which was in the walls of the palace, relating to the expences to gain that popularity."

President. "Previous to an examination on this subject, I wish to ask a preliminary question: Have you caused a press with an iron door to be constructed in the castle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in the press?"

Louis. "I have no knowledge of it whatever."

Valaze. "Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himself, containing the pensions he has granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are observed some douceurs granted to Aclouque."

Louis. "This I own, but it consists of charitable donations which I have made."

Valaze. "Different lists of sums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency,

and Luxemburg, on the 9th July, 1791."

Louis. "This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid."

President. "Louis, where had you deposited those pieces which you own?"

Louis. "With my treasurer."

Valaze. "Do you know these pension lists of the life guards, the hundred Swiss, and the King's guards, for 1792?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Several pieces relative to the conspiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which are deposited among the records of the department of L'Ardache."

Louis. "I have not the smallest knowledge of them."

Valaze. "Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of 993,000 livres received from Louis Capet."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "An order for payment of 168,000 livres, signed Louis, endorsed Le Bonnier, with a letter and billet of the same."

Louis. "I disown it."

Valaze. "Two pieces relative to a present made to the wife of Polignac; and to Lavauguyon and Choisel."

Louis. "I disown them as well as the others."

Valaze. "Here is a note, signed by the two brothers of the late King, mentioned in the declaratory act."

Louis. "I know nothing of it."

Valaze. "Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choisel, Gouffier at Constantinople."

Louis. "I have no knowledge of them."

Valaze. "Here is a letter of the late

late King to the bishop of Clermont, with the answer of the latter of the 16th April, 1791."

Louis. "I disown it."

President. "Do you not acknowledge your writing and your signet?"

Louis. "I do not."

President. "The seal bears the arms of France."

Louis. "Several persons made use of that seal."

Valaze. "Do you acknowledge this list of sums paid to Gilles?"

Louis. "I do not."

Valaze. "Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil list for the military pensions; a letter from Defresne St. Leon, which relates to it."

Louis. "I know none of these pieces."

When the whole had been investigated in this manner, the President, addressing the King, said, "I have no other questions to propose—have you any thing more to add in your defence?"—"I desire to have a copy of the accusation," replied the King, "and of the papers on which it is founded; I also desire to have a counsel of my own nomination." Barrere informed him, "that his two first requests were already decreed, and that the determination respecting the other would be made known to him in due time."

After this the king withdrew, and was conducted back to the temple, in the same carriage, and with the same attendants that he had when he came to the assembly. The crowd in the streets was greater than in the morning. The continued cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" accompanied the coach from the assembly hall to the temple, and the cry, "*A la guillo-*

tine," was also heard more frequently than in the morning, but less so than was expected by those who had taken so much pains to irritate the populace against him.

In the coach the King asked Chau-met, the Procureur Syndic, "if he thought the Convention would allow him to have counsel." This man, by the account which he afterwards gave of what passed, answered, shortly, "That his duty was to conduct him to and from the assembly, and not to answer questions."

When he arrived at the temple, and was in his apartment, he sent a message, desiring to speak to the Mayor, who, being in his carriage and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the summons, and ascended to the King's chamber. "I hope," said he to Chambon, "that you will not delay to let me know whether I am allowed counsel;" the Mayor replied, "That he might rely upon being informed as soon as possible; adding that he was persuaded the Convention were too just to refuse to him, what the law allowed to all."

Every member of the Convention was not of the same way of thinking with the Mayor; about thirty or forty deputies of the faction called the Mountain, were against granting that request, and opposed it by the most indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they insisted that he should be allowed only one person for counsel; the great majority on the contrary, were for allowing him three; the debate became so tumultuous, that the President was obliged to put on his hat. [*This was a signal to order, never given but in cases of great confusion, and was generally obeyed.*] The Mountain was at last obliged

obliged to relinquish this shameful attempt; and it was decreed that the King should have counsel, without limiting the number, and that a message should instantly be sent to inform him of this. One of those who had opposed his having any counsel, proposed that two of the servants of the assembly (Huissiers) should carry this message, but the Convention ordered four of their members for that purpose.

After the Mayor had left the temple, the King immediately examined the constitution, of which he had a copy, and said to the commissioner, who was now alone with him, "Yes, I find that the law allows me counsel, but may I not also be allowed the satisfaction of having my family with me?" The commissioner answered, "That he did not know, but would go and consult the committee." He went accordingly, and returning, soon after, he informed the King "that he could not see his family!" "that is hard," said the King, "but my son, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at least, he is a child, Sir, of only seven years of age."

"The committee have declared," replied the commissioner, "that you shall have no communication with your family, your son is of your family."

The commissioner left the King, and went to the Queen's apartment, where all the royal family were; the Queen immediately asked, if they might not all wait on the King, who they knew was returned from the Convention; the commissioner gave the same answer he had given to the King—"at least," said the Queen, "let him have the company of his child; pray allow his son to go to him."

The commissioner replied, "that as the child could not be with both, it was best that the person who might be supposed to have the greatest courage, should suffer the privation; besides," he added, "a child of that age has more need of the care of a mother than of a father."

The following day the four deputies informed the Convention of their having been with the King, and that he named Target and Tronchet as his counsel.

Tronchet accepted, declaring at the same time, that he was aware of the delicacy and danger of the office which humanity to a man, over whose head the sword of justice hung, imposed on him, and for which, in all events, he would accept of no recompence.

Target wrote a letter to the President of the Convention, excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, and desiring that his letter might be sent to the King, that he might choose another.

This afforded some members of the assembly a fresh opportunity of displaying their disposition; they complained of the incidents which continually occurred to retard the final issue of the process. Osselin said, that one counsel might refuse after another, to the loss of much precious time, and therefore proposed that the Convention should name counsel for the King, whom he must either accept or find others within twenty-four hours.

This revolted the greater part of the assembly; and when it was asked, how it could be imagined that the King could place confidence in those of their nomination, Tallien said, with a rancour that well accorded with

his character, "He must do the best he can; he must find those who will accept, that is his business; it is ours to avenge the majesty of the nation."

Fermond and Rabaut de St. Etienne spoke against this savage precipitation: another proposed to adjourn: Thuriot and Bentabole, the same who had accompanied Marat on his visit to Dumourier, opposed the adjournment. "Do tyrants ever adjourn their vengeance against the people?" said Legendre, "and yet you talk of adjourning the justice of the people against a tyrant:" This argument was well suited to the understandings and inclinations of the audience in the galleries, and met with their applause.

In the mean time, a deputation from the council of the commune of Paris came to communicate to the Convention a decree which they had passed regarding the measures they thought necessary to follow in the present circumstances. By this decree, the King was to have no communication with his family; his valet de chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourse with any body else, his counsel were to be strictly examined. After having thrown off the clothes in which they entered, they were to be dressed in others provided for them in the temple, and under the inspection of the commissioners who attended the King, and were not to be allowed to leave the temple, till after sentence was pronounced; it was also an article in this decree, that the council should take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the temple.

Decrees have sometimes been proposed, and measures have been adopted by these men, of such a detestable and atrocious nature, that we are almost tempted to suspect, that some individual amongst them was bribed to suggest and persuade them into measures, which must render them and their cause for ever odious and detestable. What could the enemies of civil liberty do more, than that those who called themselves her friends, should act so as to shock common decency, and revolt all the feelings of humanity?

This abominable decree was with difficulty heard to the end; it excited the greatest marks of disgust; there was a cry from all parts of the assembly to annul the decree, and censure those who made it; Robespierre had the courage to face this storm; he declared, that he was convinced that a very laudable spirit had dictated the decree, which, added he, is perhaps too mild for the occasion. This declaration produced violent murmurs, and many voices were heard exclaiming "*Hors de la tribune*," out of the declaiming desk.

"I know," resumed he, "that there is a party in this assembly for saving the traitor; but I am surprised, that those who shew so much tenderness and sympathy for an oppressor, have none for the good people whom he oppressed."

This gained the galleries in an instant, and they resounded with applause.

Several members, however, put the inquisitorial and shameful decree of the commune in a just light, and conjured the assembly, in the name of decency, humanity, and justice, to annul it; which was carried.

The

The Convention were afterwards informed, that several people had offered to be counsel for the King; all of whom he had refused, except M. Malesherbes and M. Tronchet; who having been at the temple, and admitted into the King's presence, on the 14th, found that he had not then received any of the papers he had demanded.

Monsieur de Lamoignon Malesherbes was a man of an amiable and respectable character, of distinguished sense, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what is called the *Robe* in France. He was grandson of the Chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Louis XIV.

Monsieur de Malesherbes distinguished himself towards the end of the reign of Louis XV. by some very eloquent and courageous remonstrances, which he drew up when he was first president of the *Cour des Aides*, and for which he was banished.

In the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI. he succeeded Monsieur de St. Florentin in the ministry; but afterwards, for reasons which are variously stated, he desired and obtained leave to retire.

This respectable man was seventy-two years of age; his generous offer to be counsel for the King, gained him the applause of the public, and forms a contrast, greatly in his favour, with the cautious conduct of Target, which has been condemned by all parties.—Even the fish-women of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers, and laurel, on the gate of Monsieur de Malesherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the house of Monsieur Target,

in the intention to insult him, in a manner peculiar to themselves. Fortunately for him, he was advertised of their intention, and made his escape.

It is to be wished that all the members of the Convention had been endowed with equal sentiments of justice with those *poissardes*. The discrimination displayed on this occasion is a proof, that the lowest inhabitants of Paris were not devoid of sentiments of generosity; and that, if they had been acquainted with the real character of the King, the spirit of rancour, which had been perfidiously raised against him, would soon have been turned against his persecutors.

It will not be improper here to insert an anecdote, which does honour to the heart of this unfortunate prince. Two commissioners, of very opposite dispositions, were with the King when the shocking exhibition of the head of Madame de Lambelle was made under his windows, on the 3d of September. One of those men, hearing the noise, and recognizing the head, had the brutality to invite the King to come to the window, and he would see a very curious sight. The King was advancing towards the window, when the other ran and withheld him, saying, the sight was too shocking for him to support.

The person to whom the King afterwards related these circumstances asked the names of the two commissioners. The King freely told him the name of the latter, but refused to mention that of the former; because (said he) it can do him no credit at any time, and might, possibly, at some future period, bring him to trouble.

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As the benevolence of the King's disposition appeared through the whole of his reign, his enemies have endeavoured to conceal and misrepresent every circumstance of this kind; but notwithstanding all the pains they have taken, so many proofs of his candour, moderation, and integrity, were known, that those who wished his death, were in constant dread of a return of humanity and affection in the hearts of the people towards him, and therefore were at great pains to fill the tribunes with persons hired to make an outcry against him, and they were so apprehensive on this subject, as to suspect those very agents of relenting.

When the King was indisposed in the month of November, and the Physician Lemonier ordered to visit him, some symptoms of concern were manifested by the people, which alarmed the King's enemies greatly; it was reported and believed for one day that he was dead; it was insinuated in many places that he was murdered; and many expressed apprehensions that he had been poisoned.

The King's appearance in the Convention, the dignified resignation of his manner, the admirable promptitude and candour of his answers, made such an evident impression on some of the audience in the galleries, that a determined enemy of Royalty, who had his eye upon them, declared that he was afraid of hearing the cry, *Vive la Roi*, issued from the tribunes; and added, that if the King had remained ten minutes longer in their sight, he was convinced it would have happened; for which reason he was vehemently against his being brought to the bar a second time.

The commissioners who did duty at the Temple were censured for drawing

up their reports, so as to excite compassion, and were required to avoid this for the future. The thing was impossible, (unless they had been permitted to falsify) for a bare relation of the facts in the coldest language, must have produced the effect they wished to prevent.

Terror acted a principal part from the beginning of the Revolution; terror first produced the imigrations, to which a great proportion of the miseries which France has suffered are owing. Terror produced that shameful passiveness in the inhabitants of Paris and Versailles, during the massacres:—terror prevented sympathy from appearing in the face of many who felt it in their hearts for the unfortunate monarch, during this process; and terror at last pronounced the sentence of his death.

Besides the means already mentioned of inflaming the populace by pamphlets and hand-bills, men were hired to mix with the groups in the Palais Royal, on the Terrace of the Thuilleries, to harangue on the necessity of condemning the King without further form of process; and some of these men went the length of asserting, that if the Convention did not, the people would take that business on themselves; and afterwards execute the same justice on all the Deputies who should vote for the saving him.

All those inhuman manœuvres did not prevent its being strongly stated by some members in the Convention, that if the King's counsel were not allowed sufficient time to prepare his defence, the decree by which counsel was granted to him would be considered as an insult, and the trial a mockery. It was also boldly asserted by one member, that, "If rancour, and mean selfish views

views had not hardened the hearts of some present, so plain and obvious a piece of justice never would have afforded a moment's debate."—"It has been said," added another, "that there are Royalists in the Convention; so there are, but they consist of those, who push on the process with royal fury and precipitation: men who are not for trying but butchering Louis XVI. and thereby gratifying all the Princes at war with the Republic, by raising a general indignation all over Europe, at the manifest cruelty and injustice of a Republican assembly."

These remonstrances seem to have had some effect, for it was decreed, that the King should be allowed till the 26th of December to prepare his defence.

It was also proposed, that during this interval the King should have a free intercourse with his family.—This was no sooner mentioned, than it was assented to by the exclamations of a great majority of the Assembly. "You may decree this as much as you please," cried Tallien, "but if the Municipality do not choose it, he will be allowed to see none of them."

Here this man's malice carried him farther than his accomplices approved; it was moved that he should be censured, and that the censure should be inserted in the Verbal Process: he attempted to avert this by a silly explanation, which proved ineffectual: the Assembly seemed pretty generally disposed to allow a free communication between the King and all his family, when Reubell asserted, "that it would be highly improper to allow him any communication with the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth, who were involved in the accusation, as there was reason to believe, they had sent their diamonds

to their brothers, to help them to make war on the nation." On this despicable pretext, the King was allowed to have intercourse with his children only, and they were ordered to be kept separate from their mother and aunt, till the end of the process.

It had been observed, that very few of the real Bourgeoisie of Paris, could of late get access to the tribune, the places being pre-occupied by a set of hired vagabonds, generally the same every day; so that when the other departments complained of being under the controul of the single city of Paris, they did not state the grievances in its full magnitude; all the departments of France, including that of Paris were in reality often obliged to submit to the clamorous tyranny of a set of hired ruffians in the tribunes, who usurped the name and functions of the *peuple Souverain*, and secretly directed by a few demagogues, which governed that unhappy nation.

To remedy this, Manuel proposed that a certain number of tickets of admission should be sent every day to sections, to be distributed among the real citizens; as this plan would have prevented certain manœuvres of the Mountain, that faction opposed it with great violence; the people in the galleries thundered against it; some of them called out, "*A l'Abbaye Manuel, A l'Abbaye l'aristocrat Manuel.*" To the Abby, to the Abby with the aristocrat Manuel. Legendre, the butcher, proposed, that it should be decreed that Manuel had lost his senses. This sally, the finesse of which will not be apparent to all the world, was thought exquisite by the people in the tribunes: when they had done with their applause, Manuel returned his thanks to Legendre for not having moved that it should be decreed

decreed that he was an ox, because, if that had passed, Legendre might have thought he had a right to slaughter him.

Monsieur Deseize was added to Messrs. De Malesherbes, and Tronchet, as counsel for the King; the business they had to go through was too laborious for two persons only, and the time allowed still too short.

From the report of one of the commissioners, we learn the following particulars, which, though minute, serve to illustrate the character of the King:

The commissioners who were ordered on duty at the Temple, having, according to custom, drawn lots for their different posts, that of the King's apartment fell to a M. Cubieres, who, with another commissioner, was introduced at eleven at night, the King being then asleep. He arose, as usual, at seven, and took a book, which they afterwards found was a breviary! breakfast was brought at nine, but the King refused to eat, because it was the fast *Le quatre tems*, or Ember week; he spent some time in prayer, and afterwards asked Cubieres about the health of the Queen and his sister: he walked musing through the room; and then, raising his eyes to Heaven, "This day (said he) my daughter is fourteen years of age," the unhappy prince repeated the same expression after a pause, during which the tears flowed from his eyes, and he was greatly agitated.

Monsieur de Malesherbes and the other two counsel came, and he passed most of that day and the next with them, and with four deputies from the Convention, who came with papers relative to his trial.

One of the commissioners said to Malesherbes, in a conversation apart, that he was surprized to observe that

he gave the *Moniteur* and other journals to Louis, because he would by it become acquainted with many things very disagreeable, and particularly to what a degree the people were prejudiced against him; M. Malesherbes replied, that the King (for he persisted in calling him the King) was a strong character, and beheld his misfortunes with magnanimity.

The commissioner hinted to M. de Malesherbes, that by the free admission he had to the King, he might, if he were not an honest man, furnish him with poison: "If I should," replied M. de Malesherbes, "the King is too sincere a christian to make use of it."

The resolution of the Convention to try the King, and to be themselves his judges, astonished Europe, and was heard with sorrow and indignation by the unfortunate natives of France, whom the violence of the late measures, or the fears of assassination, had driven from their country.

Some of them, distinguished for their talents, as well as for the offices they had held in their country, were in England at this interesting period, and shewed a strong desire of doing every thing in their power in justification of a prince of whose innocence they all seemed fully convinced.

M. Louis de Narbonne, who had been minister of war, when the hostilities began between the French and the Emperor, and from that circumstance was enabled to throw great light on the subject, wrote to the President of the Convention, offering to appear at the bar, as one of the defenders of the King, provided a protection was sent to make it safe for him to pass and repass through France. The Convention passed to the order of the day on this request, without even allowing the reasons

reasons which M. de Narbonne gave for its peculiar propriety to be read.

M. de Narbonne then drew up a declaration in justification of his sovereign, which he transmitted to Messrs. Tronchet and Malesherbes; from the last he received the following letter:

Paris, 31st December, 1792.

"I have received your letter, and the declaration of your sentiments. You do not inform me what use you wish to be made of them. If you desire to have them printed, I am not the person who can take upon me to do it; because, being one of his counsel who was my king, whatever I do will be considered as done by him. Besides, your declaration can have no influence on the decision of the National Convention, because at the very time I am writing, they are proceeding to judgment.

"It is possible that the sentence they will pronounce may occasion another discussion in presence of the whole nation. You will then consider whether it will be proper for you to publish your declaration, in favour of the most unfortunate, and most virtuous of men. As for my part, if the cause shall be brought before the nation, I am resolved to support it as publicly as I can, even though they should decide that I am no longer the legal defender of the innocent.

"In that case I shall avail myself of several articles in your letter, without alteration, because it is not in my power to express, so well as you have done, certain great truths which it will be of importance to lay before the nation.

"But the greatest part of your declaration consists of facts personal to your-

self, and which you alone have the right to certify.

(Signed) "MALESHERBES."

M. de Narbonne wrote the following answer to M. Malesherbes.

10th January, 1793.

"In informing me that you have received the declaration which I had the honour to send you, you seem to desire that I should acquaint you with the use I wish to be made of it. Allow me to leave it to your intrepid virtue, and be persuaded that I shall gratefully approve of what you think most proper.

"At the moment of the trial of him, whom with pride and transport I would choose for my king, I sent a proposal to the French ministers, who are at present in England, that we should immediately set out for Paris, and take our stand by the side of our unfortunate King. They thought such a measure would be prejudicial to his cause, and thought it would be equally so, to write a letter signed by us all, demanding a safe conduct, which should enable us to challenge the responsibility of our respective offices at the bar of the Convention. I was obliged to adopt this measure alone, but my letter was not so much as read in the assembly, and no other means remained for me, by which I could satisfy my conscience, but the declaration on which you are pleased to bestow some commendation. It is to you and your respectable colleagues, that every praise is due. M. d'Arbly, one of my friends, who lives with me in the country, thinks that the deposition which he sends may be of service; he joins me in expressing the same sentiments.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"M. DE NARBONNE."

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M. de Narbonne afterwards received the letter which follows:

"Paris, 29th January, 1793."

"Your letter of the 10th of January I received in the country, where I have been ever since the *event*. You know, undoubtedly, that the declaration which you sent me in manuscript has been printed. I am ignorant from what copy this has been done; I had no hand in it. The only use I made of your letter and of the declaration which came with it, was to read them to the person whom they most concerned. He was very much affected; he desired me not to publish them, lest it should bring you to trouble; for on that head, he observed the most scrupulous attention until his last moment. The original was delivered by him to one of my colleagues, who wished to read it in more tranquillity. He assured me that it never was out of his possession.

"I have the honour, &c.

"MALESHERBES."

Le Count de Lally-Tollendal had, as early as the fifth of November, addressed a letter to the Convention, requesting to be permitted to plead the cause of the King at their bar, on which they also passed to the order of the day: and hearing afterwards that M. Target had declined to assist M. de Malesherbes in that honourable task, he repeated his request to the Convention; but before this second application arrived, the associates of M. de Malesherbes were already appointed.

Monsieur de Lally, however, while he had the expectation that his offer would be accepted, had prepared a very eloquent defence of the King, in the form of an address to the Convention, which he published during the process.

M. Cazales, who had been a mem-

ber of the Constituent Assembly, was at that time in London. This gentleman wrote a letter to Louis XVI. requesting, in case he should so far acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Convention, as to make a defence before their tribunal, that he would choose him for his advocate. M. Cazales urges some particular reasons for this request, that seem equally just and generous.

He addressed the President of the Convention, that he might be allowed a safe conduct, to enable him to perform the honourable task which he had solicited, and was in hopes of obtaining leave to execute; adding, that he did not make this request in the expectation of having his name effaced from the list of emigrants, for he gloried in participating their political opinions, and their misfortunes.

M. Cazales enclosed both those letters in one to Petion, Mayor of Paris, begging him after he had read them, to deliver the one to the King, and the other to the President of the Convention, and requesting an answer as soon as possible from Petion.

This proposal of M. Cazales was treated with the same neglect with the other. The Convention passed to the order of the day when it was laid before them.

It will, no doubt, be thought extraordinary, that the Convention should have made the smallest difficulty in admitting any body as the defender of the King, who was agreeable to him; but what is much more extraordinary, and must be considered as a piece of striking injustice, was, to intercept papers intended for those who were charged with his defence; yet this injustice, striking as it seems, was certainly exercised towards this unfortunate prince.

M. Bertrand

M. Bertrand de Molville, late minister of the marine, was obliged to conceal himself, and afterwards to fly to England, in consequence of a decree of accusation issued on the 16th of August against all the late ministers.

Being at London when the King's process began, and in possession of facts which he thought might be of use for his justification, he transmitted them, with the proofs, to the minister of justice, requiring that they might be delivered to the King.

Afterwards under cover to the same minister, he addressed a packet of papers to M. de Malesherbes, inscribed, "*Pieces pour la justification de Louis XVI.*" and he wrote, at the same time, to M. de Malesherbes, informing him of the two parcels, which had been sent.

Nothing can be conceived more sacred than this deposit in the hands of a minister of justice.

One of the abuses complained of in the ancient government was, that the papers sent to prisoners necessary for their defence, were sometimes intercepted, and not delivered to them in time; the constituent assembly therefore had decreed, that accused persons should freely receive all papers or memorials for their defence, within the space of twenty-four hours.

M. de Bertrand must have been greatly surprised and shocked, when he received the following letter from M. de Malesherbes.

Paris, 31st October, 1792.

"The minister of justice received a packet from M. de Bertrand, to be delivered to Louis XVI. containing papers for his justification.

"The minister having no communication with the prisoner, sent the packet to the Convention.

"The same minister has since received a letter from M. de Bertrand, addressed to me, with a parcel, entitled, "*Papers for the justification of Louis XVI.*"—These words made the minister think that it was his duty to deliver this packet also to the Convention. This is what the minister told me when I waited on him, to demand the papers.

"Being informed that those two packets had been transmitted by the Convention to a committee, I attended that committee to demand, in the name of him whose counsel I am, that which is for him, and in my own name the other which is addressed to me. I perceived that both packets had been opened. Some of the contents were in print, and in that packet which was not addressed to me, there were papers in manuscript, which I was not permitted to read, and which they told me were facts.

"They gave me, without difficulty, the papers which were in print, and which I had already; as for the manuscripts, they did not choose to give me them, without an order from the Convention.

"A member of the committee having gone to the Convention with the papers to obtain the order, returned and informed me, that on this request they had passed to the order of the day; but he did not bring back the papers, telling me he had left them on the table of the Convention. It does not appear that he has ascertained by any act, that those papers which were in his possession were taken from him.

"I requested of the members of the committee to inform me by what means I could recover those papers; they all looked at each other, but none of them made any answer.

"This is the present state of things.
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I thought it would not be prudent to insist on this, while the Convention were deliberating on the sentence to be pronounced on Louis.

“MALESHERBES.”

The language of this letter is very guarded; the writer has not allowed the sentiments he must have felt at such conduct to appear; but a simple detail of the facts is sufficiently expressive.

M. de Bertrand, in a denunciation, transmitted from London to the Convention, did not think the same caution necessary; he appeals in terms of just indignation to the reflection of the Convention, on such a flagrant breach of their own decrees, and deviation from every rule of common equity.

The minister of justice informed the Convention, on the 14th of January, 1793, that he had received this denunciation of M. Bertrand; that he understood it was also published in the *Courier du l'Europe*, and the minute placed in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London.

One member observed, that Bertrand, having emigrated, was dead in law—that a dead person could not be supposed to write or speak. Another said, that if the Convention should bestow attention on what appeared in newspapers, they must neglect the business of their country; and the minister of justice declared that he did not think it became him, as minister of the Republic, to correspond with a man, who was not only an emigrant, but under a decree of accusation: and Valaze, who was of the committee, said, they were teized with the number of papers sent to them; and that as for the manuscripts which Bertrand mentioned, he knew nothing of them, if they were not in a packet which the committee had not thought it worth while to break open.

On this candid and satisfactory state of the matter, the Convention passed to the order of the day; by which means the King's counsel were precluded from the knowledge of certain facts, which M. de Bertrand thought material in the King's defence, which seems also to have been the opinion of those who so basely intercepted them.

The day preceding that on which the King was to appear with his counsel before the Convention, Santerre informed them, that the King, as he believed, might be conducted in safety to and from the assembly, provided he returned while there was day-light; but if he was detained till it was dark, he could not answer for what might happen; so great was the fury of the people against him.

When those who expressed a fear that the populace would destroy the King, were the very persons who had been active in exciting the public against him,—it may naturally be thought that the fear was affected, on purpose to prevent any attempt to rescue him, rather than to prevent his being destroyed.

The hypocrisy that had been displayed, and the artifices that had been used to impose upon the people, to influence their minds against the King, and stifle every sentiment of humanity and remorse, are odious and wicked in the extreme.

When the deputies went on the morning of the 26th of December to the Convention, all those who were suspected to favour the King, were insulted by the crowds who beset the passages into the assembly hall, as Rolandists, Brissotins, and Royalists; most of the deputies were there by eight, and notwithstanding that a decree had passed the evening before, to clear

clear the galleries, and not to admit any until a certain hour that morning, the galleries were found full of people, who had remained there all night. It was pretended that the guards could not possibly put the decree in execution.

Manuel moved, that the galleries should be cleared of those who had shewn such contempt to the decree, and that another set of citizens should be admitted; this proposal met with loud murmurs and hooting from those who were in possession of the tribunes, supported by all the faction of the Mountain, who exclaimed for the order of the day. Others supported the motion of Manuel. The President divided the assembly, whether they should maintain their own decree, or yield to those who openly despised it? it was carried to pass to the order of the day.

Here the influence of terror is evident. Some time previous to the King's arrival, one of the commissioners, who had been on duty at the temple, presented a parcel of keys, which the King had given to Clery, his valet.

The commissioner observed, that one of these keys opened the iron chest lately found full of papers in the Palace, and also opened other cabinets belonging to the King; and that of course, he must be acquainted with the keys and papers contained in the iron chest.

We see men every day, who are led to the commission of crimes by the influence of their passions, although they have the same idea of virtue and vice with those who live a more virtuous life; but the conduct of many actors in this revolution, particularly at the period of which we are writing, tempts us to believe, that they had different

ideas of the plainest cases of right and wrong, from what have been generally entertained by mankind.

When the council of the municipality met, on the 25th December, to decide on the manner in which the King should be conducted to the convention, Chaumet, the *procureur cyndic*, said, that as the King could be considered in no other light than as a condemned criminal soon to be executed, it would be dishonourable for the magistrates of the people to accompany him to the Convention; and, that he ought, therefore, to be conducted by the military only.

This was declaring that the trial was a mere farce; and that it was already determined to put the King to death, whatever proofs might be brought of his innocence, and whatever might be urged in his defence. There is great reason to think that this was really the case; but it is most extraordinary that it should be mentioned as a thing quite reasonable and proper, and it is still more extraordinary, that it was rejected by only a very small majority, who, at last, decreed, that the King should be accompanied by the mayor, the *procureur cyndic*, and thirty municipal officers.

On the 26th of December, his majesty, with whom his counsel had been from an early hour, left the temple a little before nine, in the mayor's coach, and was conducted, as formerly, to the gate, of *Capucinus rue St. Honoré*, where the national guards formed a line, through which he walked to the *Chambre des Conferences*, where he again met his counsel.

General Berruyer, commander in chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the field officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise

otherwise on duty, accompanied the King, on horseback, from the temple to the assembly hall. Berruyer informed the president that the King was arrived. The president desired he might be conducted to the bar; which was done in the following order;—Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris, and the Procureur after them, and the King with Messrs. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Deseze, followed. The President said, "Louis, the Convention has decreed, that you should be ultimately heard this day."

His Majesty answered—"Monsieur Deseze, one of my counsel, will read my defence."

M. Deseze then read the defence as follows:

"Citizens Representatives of the Nation,

"The moment is now arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, and attended by those advocates, whom humanity and the laws have granted him, stands forward to present his justification—and in which he will avow every principle that has influenced his conduct.

"Already I am convinced by the awful silence of this assembly, that justice hath resumed her seat, and that the despotism of indecent impatience, and ill-advised rashness, has passed away. Already am I convinced, that the Temple of liberty is also the Temple of Impartiality, and that the man, whoever he may be, who stands in the humiliating situation of being accused, will receive the unprejudiced attention of his accusers.

"The misfortunes of Kings are more tenderly impressive than those of common men: and he who but lately filled the most brilliant throne in the universe, must excite a still more pow-

erful interest. He no longer waves the rod of power—never more will depress the human mind into fear—never more will he elevate it into hope—thus reduced, Citizens, surely he has a right to demand the exercise, not only of your justice, but even to interest your humanity, because, oppressed by misfortunes, which, in the annals of the human race, have no parallel.

"Ere the present moment, you have heard nothing more than the answers he has made you. Ye summoned him before you: He is come with calmness, dignity and fortitude, and supported by the conscious integrity of his intentions.

"Louis can assert only that he is innocent. I come to prove it to you. I bring the demonstration. Would to God, that at this moment all France could hear me; or at least all those who have received baneful impressions to his prejudice. Louis knows that all Europe expects with anxiety the sentence you are now to pass. He knows that posterity will one day examine it. He knows this, but considers only his cotemporaries.—With him we forget posterity, and view only the present moment.

"Had I Judges only to answer, I would content myself with saying, that since the nation has abolished royalty, she had no right to interfere further with Louis for acts done while he wore the diadem. But I speak to, and wish to satisfy the people, that he is innocent even of charges, for which he cannot be constitutionally tried.

"I shall here examine the affair under two points of view; that in which he was placed *prior* to his acceptance; and that in which he stands *subsequent* to the acceptance of the constitution; or, in other words, that which relates to

to his condition while *Monarch*, and that which affects his situation after the *abolition of Monarchy*.

"In entering on this field of discussion, I discover—first, the decree by which the national Convention determined to try Louis; and I am not ignorant of the abuses which some minds, more inflamed with passion than governed by reason, have pretended to discover in this decree. I know they suppose, that the promulgation of this decree precisely stripped Louis of his—*inviolability*, with which the constitution had invested him. I know they contend, that Louis can not adduce this *inviolability* as an article of his defence. But that this is an error, a single observation will sufficiently demonstrate. For, what declaration has the Convention made? In decreeing that Louis shall be judged by them, they constituted themselves judges of the accusation, which they had instituted against him; but, at the same time, they decreed, that Louis should be heard in his defence. It was, on this account, impossible that judgment should precede this defence. And, therefore, he necessarily possesses the right of rebutting the accusation brought against him, by any means which may appear to him likely to produce this consummation. If the principles which Louis may think proper to advance, are not tenable, the Convention will of course not suffer them to operate in his favour in their decision. But whether they are tenable or not, the Convention must of necessity hear them. Such are the dictates of justice. Such is the law.

"These, then, are principles on which I rest, and to which I lay claim, in order to evince that Louis has a constitutional right of adducing his

plea, in the first instance, of *inviolability*.

"Nations possess the sovereign power of adopting what form of government they please, and of amending or altering their constitution, whenever they experience that it contains faults and imperfections. This sovereign right of nations, I mean not to deny. Yet a great nation cannot exercise this sovereignty in its *aggregate capacity*—it must be *delegated* to a component part of that nation; and this necessity of delegation impels an obligation on the nation, either of electing a *King*, or instituting a *Republic*.

"In 1789, the first epoch of the *Revolution*, which changed at once the form of government, under which we had lived many ages, the assembled nation declared to those whom she had selected as her representatives, that she would establish a monarchical form of government.

"Now, Citizens, a monarchical form of government necessarily requires that the monarchy shall be *inviolable*. The representatives of the French people thought, that as they entrusted their King with the whole executive authority, it was right and proper that he should be invested with the power of judging in all cases, that the operations of his authority might not be impeded; should possess, in short, a power perfectly competent; and, therefore, deemed, that to preserve the free exercise of this power, it was necessary to declare it *inviolable*.

"On this ground the representatives of the people placed the foundation of a constitution which France demanded from them. I turn, then, to the constitution, and I see in the first chapter on *Royalty*, that the monarchy is

indivisible,

indivisible, and descends in an hereditary manner from male to male. This provision naturally infers, that the title which Louis possessed, was delegated to him. The nature, however, of this delegation has been disputed. It has been asked—whether it was a *contract*? Doubtless it was a contract, resembling, in its nature, those which cannot be dissolved, but by the mutual consent of the contracting parties. It was a contract in its construction, which, as long as it subsisted, obliged the persons giving the mandate to perform all the conditions under which they had given it, and obliged him to whom it was given, to fulfil the conditions under which he had received it.

“What, then, were those conditions and the penalties? In the second article of the constitution of 1789, I find that the *person* of the King is *inviolable*. There is no exception—no modification—but there are circumstances, by which he may lose this character of *inviolability*.

Penalties respecting the King's Executive Government and inviolability.

The first is, as contained in the first section of the fifth article, “That if, in one month after being invited by the legislative body, the King shall not take an oath to be faithful to the nation and to the laws, and to maintain the constitution, or if after having taken it he shall retract it, *he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.*”

“The nation here ordains that the king shall take an oath. To retract the oath, when taken, becomes criminal against the nation. The nation has foreseen the crime, and has pronounced its penalty or punishment—What is it? Why, that the king should be deemed to have *abdicated the throne*.

“Hence you see that the constitution, under this head, *limits the penalty, or punishment—but creates no tribunal—no trial—nor even proceeds so far as to ordain positive dethronement—resting only the penalty on the ground, that the King shall be presumed to have abdicated royalty.*

“But further—without retracting his *oath*, the King could *betray* it; for he might favour hostile and criminal enterprises against the state—the constitution has again foreseen this case, and therefore ordains,

“Secondly, That if the King puts himself at the head of an army, and directs its force against the nation; or if he refuses to oppose any army hostile to the constitution, by every means in his power, *he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne.*

“I entreat you, citizens, to pay particular attention to the nature of the crime foreseen by this law—than which there cannot be supposed to exist a more atrocious offence—and which may be said to comprehend every other; for it supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treasons, every horror, scourge, every calamity of sanguinary war; and yet what is the *utmost of penalty* that the constitution pronounces for the heinous crime? Why, *the abdication only of the throne.*

The seventh article foresees the existence of a case, in which the King may quit the kingdom, and refuse to comply with the requisition of the legislative body to return. And the penalty which the constitution still decrees is—the *abdication of royalty.*

In the 8th article, which is most important, it is declared, “That after the direct, or legal abdication of the King, he shall be considered as belonging to the *class of citizens*, and may then be
accused

deprive him of the right of trial as a citizen. And, in this last case, I demand of you, where are all the *forms of preservation*? Where all the *juries*, those *hostages* for the *lives* and *honour* of citizens? I demand where is the *proportion of suffrages* which the law has so wisely established? Where is the silent ballot which incloses, in the same urn, the opinion and conscience of the judge? I speak to you with the plainness of a free man, I look among you for *judges*, and I see none but *accusers*. You will *pronounce judgment* upon Louis though *you have accused him*. You will pronounce upon Louis, though your opinions are already known to all Europe!

"Louis, in a word, will be the only *Frenchman* in favour of whom neither *exists a law nor any form of a law*.

"He will neither enjoy the *right of citizens*, nor the *prerogative of a King*.

"He will profit neither of his *former condition*, nor of his *new one*. I do not insist upon these reflections; I abandon them to your conscience, I do not intend to defend Louis upon *principles*, I mean to combat prejudices which prevail against his character; and I mean to destroy them.

"I am going, therefore, to present to you his justification, I shall enter into the *facts* which are detailed in your accusation.

"I shall divide this act into two parts, One containing the facts which *preceded the constitution*—and the other those which are *subsequent to it*.

DISCUSSION OF THE FACTS.

FIRST PART.

FACTS—PRECEDING THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"You recede, in your act, to the month of June, 1789.—I go back also.

"But how could you accuse him of having wished at that day to dissolve the assembly? Do you forget it was he who then convened and formed it? Do you forget that for more than one hundred and fifty years, Princes more jealous than him of authority and prerogative, had constantly refused to convene this assembly, and that he had the courage, that he alone dared to surround himself with the understanding, with the consolation of the people, and dreaded not their remonstrances. In fact, by the sacrifices which he had made before that Grand National Convention, he gave proofs of wishing to see us enjoy the precious advantage which himself had granted.

"Citizens, we too much forget what France was in 1789, in point of absolute authority exercised by royalty—and that without a generous emotion in the will of this Prince, against whom so many voices are now lifted up, the nation might not, even at this moment, have been assembled and deliberating.

"You next accuse him of having drawn troops round Paris in July, 1789, and with being the cause of commotions of those troops; but I can pronounce, that they were only intended for the protection of Paris against disturbers. I had occasion to see the order, when employed to defend the commandant (Bezenval) of those troops, and whom the nation did not hesitate to acquit.

"But I have a still better answer to make to you, and the nation itself furnishes me with it—It is on the 4th of August, the whole kingdom proclaimed Louis the restorer of French liberty—requested of him to unite with them, and offer together their thanks to the Supreme Being, and to vote a medal

medal eternally to perpetuate the memory of the great æra.

“The month of July, therefore, was at the interval, wholly out of contemplation respecting Louis.

“You reproach him with the arrival of the *Flanders regiment* at Versailles. I answer, that the *municipal officers* had *expressly requested it*.

“With the insult given to the *national cockade*, Louis has himself declared to you, that if this odious fact ever existed, he was ignorant of it.—It did not pass before him.

“With respect to his observations on the decree of the 11th of August. His conscience dictated them; and why should he not then have had liberty of opinion on decrees, since the nation afterwards granted the right of opposing the decrees themselves?

“You say that Louis, at and since the *fæderation* in July, 1790, endeavoured to corrupt the public mind—that papers have been found in his possession representing that Talon was destined to act against Paris, and *Mirabeau* charged to stir up counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces—that letters had also been found from the administrator of his civil list, which speak of money spent, and say, that this money had produced no good effect.

“You oppose to him these memorials and these letters.—Citizens, I could make several answers on this head.—If I was defending an ordinary client I would maintain, that the papers which could be produced against him from the invasion of his house, cannot be opposed to him.

“The dwelling house of Louis, it is notorious to all, was assailed—his bureaux forced—his desks broken—a great number of his papers have been

scattered or lost—the law had not put them under its safe-guard—there were no seals placed on them—an inventory made in the presence of Louis, as ought legally to have been done.—During the tumult of invasion papers might be left or taken away, which would have explained others brought in charge against him.—In a word, Louis was not present when his papers were seized—he was not even present at their examination—he has therefore a right of denying them, and you have no right of bringing them in proof against him.

“But, besides, what are these papers? The letters, in fact, of a *dead man*—now, can the letters of a dead man be brought in proof?—If he, to whom they are imputed, was still in existence, they could not be opposed to himself, without first proving his hand-writing.—How then can they be brought against a third person, particularly against Louis?

“It is said, that these letters speak of *money distributed*; but if this fact, which they do not explain, be true, and should it be true that they have extorted from his sensibility, from his beneficence, sums greater or less, is it not well known with what an unfortunate facility kings are circumvented and deceived? The copy of a letter to *Mirabeau* and *La Fayette* is spoken of, but the letter was only a rough draught, and was never sent. *Mirabeau* and *La Fayette* were then two of the most popular men, they both loved the constitution; in this scheme the good of the state was the only end.

“He was reproached for his letter to *Bouillé*; here there is not even occasion for him to justify himself. The national assembly had voted thanks

for the conduct of *Bouillé*, and Louis moreover wrote to him the next day, exhorting him to continue to render the same services to the nation.

“ You have reproached him with the assemblies of people on the 28th of February: but popular rumours had drawn to the palace men of warm tempers, and Louis had ordered them to quit their arms.

“ You have reproached him with his journey to *Varennes*: but Louis at that time explained his motives to the constituent assembly, and with him I now refer you to those motives.

“ You have charged him with the blood spilt in the *Champ de Mars*, on the 19th of July.—Citizens, of all the reproaches you have made him, Louis takes this most to heart.—What! you accuse him of the blood shed in the *Champ de Mars*—you insist that this blood shall fall on him!—Have you then forgotten, that at this cruel period the unfortunate prince was suspended from his authority—immured in his palace—the prisoner of the nation—without any external communication, and guarded in sight!—Where then were his means of conspiracy to shed blood?

“ You reproach him with having paid, for his civil list, *libels* to pervert the public opinion, and to support the cause of the emigrants!

“ I shall soon have occasion to notice what regards the *emigrants*—and will shew that he never had a design to support or favour their cause.

“ But with respect to the *libels*, I observe, that it was not with the *administrator* of the civil list, that the receipts for all the libels of which you have spoken, were found, but it was with his *secretary*, who was not even known to Louis—so that you cannot

charge Louis with the abuses of the subalterns in their several offices, or of the intention which they discovered. But even supposing Louis should have done himself, not to *pervert* the public mind, but to *convert* it, what so many factious men have done on their part to mislead or corrupt, where would be the reproach?

“ The nation has now decreed a *republic*, but this was not the form of government that the nation then wished. The republicans, on the contrary, were at that interval considered as a faction—they were deemed so, even so late as the month of July last, when the legislative assembly explicitly declared against this system of government by a decree.

“ The nation demanded the constitution. *Then*, therefore, persons might write in support of it—nay, they ought to have done so—and Louis as the supreme head of the government, and charged to support the constitution, as holding royalty from it, was obliged to superintend and preserve the deposit, and ought to have wished to influence the public opinion in directing it.—What then was a duty, cannot now be pronounced *libellous*.—But if in the execution of the views presented him for adoption, his good intentions were betrayed and his confidence abused, and if unknown to him, dangerous opinions were disseminated, or wise and useful ones attacked, we should heave a sigh for the fate of the king, but could not criminate him.

“ Citizens—such is the *first epoch* of your act of *accusation*—I have gone through the several facts, and justified Louis in them, although I have not yet pronounced the word, which must alone annihilate all this chain of accusations, and efface all the errors, all the faults

faults, if he had really committed any—I have not said, that POSTERIOR to all these FACTS he has ACCEPTED the constitution. This would alone have sufficed to answer all.

“The constitution was the *new compact* of alliance between the *nation* and *Louis*—the *past* no longer existed—all suspicions were dissipated—all dissensions appeased—all prejudices vanished—in a word—all was forgotten and extinct. We cannot, therefore, justly recollect what preceded the constitution, much less adduce it in crimination.

“Let us then examine what *followed* the acceptance of the constitution.

SECOND PART.

Facts posterior to the Constitution.

“This part or act of your accusation comprehends both the facts, which Louis was not bound to answer, as affecting only *those men*, whom the constitution gave him as *ministers*—and the facts which affect him personally—since no legal right can exist of accusing both King and ministers of the same facts, inasmuch as the constitution has, in fact, made a declaration of attaching *responsibility to ministers*.

“But the constitution did not make the same declaration respecting the King—did not hold out the same menaces or punishment against him—the constitution made a distinct declaration relative to him, as we have stated in the former part of this defence, and to the terms of which the nation is bound.

“The King could do nothing without his ministers.—An order, bearing his signature alone, could not be carried into execution. It was highly necessary, therefore, that the good con-

duct of the ministers he had chosen, should co-operate incessantly with the laws, and from the presumption of their being considered always as the King’s *advisers*, that *responsibility* should attach to them for all acts done jointly with their sovereign.

“It is, on this account, impossible, that the King and his ministers could be accused on the same grounds. Nevertheless, in glancing the eye over those *ministerial facts*, contained in that act of accusation, it will be easy to discern that the imputations are groundless.

First.—Actions for which Ministers were responsible.

“For example—Louis is accused of having suffered the national assembly to remain ignorant of the Convention of Pilnitz! I answer, that this convention was a secret treaty between the Emperor and the King of Prussia—the government was only informed of it, and that very obscurely, through the channel of intimations from ministers resident in foreign courts—there could not exist, therefore, any substantial reason, which imposed on the executive power an obligation of transmitting to an assembly, whose deliberations were all *public*, intelligence of a treaty, which was studiously kept as secret as possible.

“But, in fact, this intelligence, obscure and doubtful as it was, which, government could not consistently transmit to the assembly, was, nevertheless, communicated the moment government received it, to the *diplomatic committee*. I recur to the registry of foreign affairs in proof of my assertion—and pronounce, that such registry will ascertain that the *earliest information* of the treaty of Pilnitz, received by

by government, was communicated without delay, to the diplomatic committee. I hold in my hand these proofs—the minister, therefore, to whom this pretended delay has been attributed, and who is now no more, stands clearly acquitted of the charge.

You charge Louis—"That the commissioners sent to Arles, were more inclined to *favour* than *repress a counter revolution*." To this Louis himself has replied most properly and sensibly—that not the action but the instructions of the commissioners manifest the intentions of government. You can find *no fault* with their *instructions*; and can, therefore, adduce no charge against government.

You charge him also—"With retarding, for a month, the *transmission of the decree* by which Avignon and the county of Venaissin were reunited to France.

"This, Citizens, was one of the heads of accusation against the minister De Lessart, the National Assembly accused him, because they considered, that *responsibility* attached to him.—And the assembly was about to decide on it, when Lessart died in prison, at the moment he was preparing his justification, and which with his expiring breath he averred would leave no doubt of his innocence. Can you now renew the charge against the *memory* of a man you deemed *responsible*? Or much more, can you, *after his death*, bring the same accusation against the King?"

You have charged Louis also—"With the troubles at Nimes, and the convulsions of Jales." Let me, Citizens, concisely ask you—Is it for the King to be *answerable* for all the *commotions* inseparable from a great revolution?"

"But it is urged—"That he supported these commotions, because his brothers were acquainted with Du Saillant." But this deduction is founded in error; and which is sufficiently evinced by several communications made to Louis; for among other circumstances, it may be remarked, that in these communications mention is made of a paper given to Du Saillant, to borrow, in the name of the Princes, *a hundred thousand crowns*. Now we may easily conceive, that if Louis was concerned in protecting those conspirators, he would not have reduced them to the mortifying and wretched necessity of borrowing a sum so trifling and disproportionate to the expences which their plans obviously required; but would have furnished them with assistance more active and effectual.

From the disturbances in the South, "A letter to Louis from Wiginsthein, who commanded there, has been constituted a crime and an assertion made that after that general had been recalled, the King had employed him;" but Louis gave him no place nor employ whatever, after his recall from the Southern army. It has been said he had a commission afterwards in the Northern army. Possibly La Fayette may have demanded it, and a rough draught of a letter, found in the war-office, seems to support the supposition; but the letter was never sent—Wiginsthein never stirred from Paris, subsequent to his recall, and died without enjoying any new post.

"The account delivered by Narbonne to the National Assembly, of the state of the army, has been made to implicate a charge also against Louis—In reply, That when Narbonne quitted the ministry, the legislative assembly decreed, that he took with him
the

the *regret* and *confidence* of the nation.

"Louis has been charged with the *destruction* of the *navy*, and with having kept Bertrand in office, notwithstanding the complaints made to him respecting Bertrand, by the National Assembly." I answer, That Bertrand effectually rebutted the charges, and that consequently Louis was not bound to withdraw from him his confidence, the National Assembly not having brought any specific accusation against him.

"The disasters of the Colonies have been ascribed to him." There is not the slightest reason for me, not a shadow of proof being advanced of the charge, to reply to it.

"He has been reproached with the surrender of Longwy and Verdun." I insist that Longwy was surrendered by the cowardice and treachery of its inhabitants only; and in respect of Verdun I ask, who was it that appointed its immortal commander Beaurepaire, who preferred *death* to a surrender of the *town*? LOUIS.

"He has been reproached with having suffered the French nation to be disgraced in the different courts of Europe." A single word of answer will be sufficient to this charge; I demand, in the name of my client, that the office of foreign affairs may be searched, in order that it may be proved from authentic records, that whenever he informed the government of any insult offered to the French, in any European court, the government invariably demanded reparation for such insult. My colleagues and I have not had time to make such search, but Louis insists upon the existence of such records.

"Finally, "Louis has been charged with having retained in his service the Swiss Guards, in opposition to the constitution, which forbade him, and to

the assembly, who had ordered their departure." This charge I shall confute by the following facts: A decree of the constituent assembly, of the 17th of September, declared, that the King should be intreated to present to the legislative power, a new organization of the Swiss Guards, which should result from stipulations made on that subject with Switzerland. Till that organization should be decided, the National Assembly considering that the regiment had deserved well of the nation, ordered that it should continue on its ancient establishment. In consequence of this order, the Guards remained in *statu quo*. On the 15th of July last, the legislative assembly passed a decree by which the executive power was directed to order the departure of the troops of the line, then in Paris. By another decree passed the same day, the diplomatic committee was directed to make a report on the stipulations agreed upon by the Swiss, and on the suppression of the post of Colonel General of the Swiss Guards. On the 17th a letter was sent by D'Afry, relative to the order transmitted to him, respecting the departure of the Swiss Guards—he refers in it to the stipulations, which were not expired. Another decree was passed in consequence of this letter, by which, till the report of the diplomatic committee should be made, two battalions of the Swiss Guards were ordered to station themselves thirty miles from the capital; D'Afry, situated thus between two contending orders, the Swiss stipulations, and the apparent will of the National Assembly, transmitted on the 4th of August, a second letter to the assembly, in which he made some observations on the mode of putting their decree into execution.

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“The assembly, without returning an answer to this letter, passed to the order of the day. The decree was consequently carried into execution.—Citizens, these are facts dependent on the different ministers. I am sensible that Louis might have refrained from entering into a discussion of them, because the ministers were alone responsible for them, but in glancing over them with the celerity to which I have been compelled, I have endeavoured to prove to the French nation, that, even in cases for which the constitution had not made him responsible, Louis had always conducted himself as if he had been. I proceed now to facts which affect him more especially.

Second—Acts personally affecting Louis.

“Louis is accused “of not sanctioning the decrees respecting the priests, and the camp of Paris.” Respecting the latter, I might urge, that the constitution bestowed on the King, the absolute liberty of giving or refusing his consent; but waving this argument, his refusal might be pronounced a wise measure; the decree excited great alarm, particularly in the minds of the National Guards; the opinion of the metropolis was divided; a large party justified the decree; a much larger condemned and opposed it; the council even did not agree; surrounded by all those agitations, and fearful of exciting disturbances, Louis deemed it prudent to refuse his consent; but, at the same time, he determined to adopt another measure, which possessed all the advantages resulting from the decree, without any of its objections. He formed a camp at Soissons, and the effect has been, that this measure has produced the most important effects to the nation; for the camp of Soissons has

been essentially serviceable to the French army, while, in fact, that of Paris would have been totally useless.

“With respect to the decree, relative to the *priests*, the conscience, citizens, of no man should be compelled, Louis felt that he should wound his own, if he sanctioned that decree, and though his motives might be erroneous, his error, at least, was that of virtue:—However, therefore, we may blame the effects, it is impossible but that we should respect the cause.

“He is accused of “writing a letter to the Bishop of Clermont, informing him, that he was disposed to re-establish the Catholic form of religion, when it should be in his power.” But this was an opinion purely religious, and which he was, therefore, at liberty to entertain; for this liberty is contained in the constitution, though not in the civil constitution of the clergy.—Moreover, Louis, in fact, wrote this letter *antecedent* to the period in which he assented to the constitution; and when he did accept the constitution, he avowed that he did not think it free from spots; and expressed hopes at the same time, that it would undergo legal alterations; but surely such hopes cannot be construed into an intention of destroying or subverting the constitution!

“Louis has been accused of “having continued his guards in his pay, after the assembly had ordered them to be disbanded.” On this subject of accusation, citizens, several answers offer themselves. In the first place, it cannot be denied, that Louis was at liberty to sanction the decree, which pronounced the order for disbanding his guards, for he had received them from the constitution; and, therefore, he could not be deprived of them but by his own consent. Nevertheless, the
National

National Assembly requested him to disband them, and he consented. But as the decree granted him the power of establishing anew this same guard, and of filling it partly with the same men, it was necessary that till the fresh establishment should be compleated, he should continue to allow their former pay. It was an act equally of justice and of humanity; besides, he did not adopt this mode of conduct clandestinely, he adopted it by a public order. It has been said, that among these guards, there were many notorious for their disaffection. In the first place, no specific or positive charge of disaffection was ever made. In the second place, I have no right to admit or to say, that they are guilty of a charge, on which they have not been tried. Thirdly, those whom Louis should deem to be disaffected, would not have been admitted into the new organization of the regiment; but it would have been barbarous in Louis to have refused them that assistance of which they were in so much need.

Louis has been further accused of assisting the emigrants!

Of corresponding with his brothers.

Of heading, by means of his ambassadors, the confederacy against France.

And of possessing an influence in the court of Vienna."

I centre, legislators, all these charges, because they are contained in the same article of accusation. In the first place I answer, that in all the actions of his government, Louis never ceased to testify his strongest disapprobation of, and opposition to the efforts of the emigrants. His proclamations shew it, and his transactions with foreign nations demonstrate it.—The following fact likewise is powerfully in proof of this assertion. In the month of No-

vember, 1791, the emigrants wanted to purchase cannon and other implements of war, which the inhabitants of Frankfort refused to sell; Louis on being informed of the circumstance by his resident in that city, ordered him to thank the magistrate of Frankfort for his conduct, and to invite him to persist in his refusal.

So much for the public conduct of the King. But what of his private conduct? Succours of money have been mentioned; but citizens, there exists not a single emigrant to whom Louis has given the smallest pecuniary assistance. It is true he assisted his nephews, when their father was no longer able to do it. But who can call this a crime? One of his nephews was but eleven years old—the other fourteen, when their father quitted France: Can they be called emigrants? For though the convention has lately passed a law specifying the age of emigrants, no law of the description existed at the period of his nephews leaving France. Was it incumbent, therefore, on him to smother all sentiments of humanity towards such tender objects, or because he was a King should he cease to be a relation?

It is acknowledged also, that he bestowed some presents on the goverante of his children. But let it be considered, that she had been their governess, and had left France in 1789. To Choiseul Beapré, likewise, and Lavanguion, two of his attendants in his youth he had made a present; but Beapré had retired to Italy, and Lavanguion to Spain, at the commencement of the revolution, and neither have borne arms against France.

He gave assistance to Rochefort, mentioned also in the articles of accusation; but Rochefort has not emigrated.

C c

Accused

Accused likewise of giving a sum of money to Bouillé, but it was for his journey to Montmedy, and to Hamilton, but it was to defray his expences of the same journey, which he was unable himself to have done.

It has been asserted that Bouillé remitted to Monsieur, by order of Louis, above six hundred thousand livres.—An *equivocal* term, citizens, has given rise to this serious charge, which, in point of fact, is utterly without foundation, Bouillé says in his account—*Remitted to Monsieur (the King's brother) by his order.* This order is evidently the order of Monsieur, and not that of Louis. The mistake arises from the redundant appellation of the king's brother. I contend, and Louis challenges all proof to the contrary, that he never remitted any pecuniary assistance to Monsieur; all he advanced was the sum of 400,000 livres to discharge an old debt of his other brother, for which he had pledged his security, and concerning which he chose not to violate his honour and engagement. And, moreover, as the debt was paid to a creditor in France, the transaction had not the slightest relation to any act of emigration.

He is reproached “with having *influenced* the court of Vienna.” A letter from Dumourier to Monsieur, is deduced in proof. In this letter Dumourier appears to present Breteuil to him as having some influence at the court of Vienna, and proposes, at the same time, that Breteuil was acquainted with the inclinations of the King.

In the first place, it was but a letter of Dumourier, who was the prince's agent at the foreign courts, and not the *agent* of Louis. His opinion, therefore, can have no weight.

And secondly, that opinion is no proof whatever of the existence of the fact of which Dumourier speaks, that Breteuil was acquainted with the sentiments of the King.

A letter of Toulangeon has been much quoted, which was written at a time when he was going to Vienna, and in which he pretends to say, that the King condescended to inform him that he approved of his conduct. But I must confess the letter of Toulangeon appears to me to be very suspicious. There is the name of one Vallery mentioned in it, as the nephew of Toulangeon, a lieutenant-colonel.

The fact is, that Vallery is the cousin, and not the nephew of Toulangeon, and no lieutenant-colonel. Now, is it to be supposed, that Toulangeon should be so egregiously mistaken in circumstances that so immediately concern a near relation? But waving this strong ground of suspicion of the authenticity of the alledged letter, would not the falsehood of the assertion be sufficiently testified by remarking that it is to the princes, the brothers of Louis, to whom Toulangeon wrote, but without giving the least clue or proof of so important an assertion as that of the real will of the King.

A letter from Choiseul Gouffier has been produced against Louis, by which it appears that Gouffier has endeavoured to cement the alliance of Turkey with Austria; from the one circumstance it was thought, that since Gouffier had been the ambassador of Louis, his projects might be attributed to Louis himself.

In order to reply to this charge, I desire only the letter of Choiseul.—This letter in fact proves two things; the first, that two months before his recall,

recal, Gouffier offered his services to the princes, but had received no answer. The first sentence begins in this manner: "*Although I have not received your royal highnesses' orders, which I had the presumption to solicit two months ago, I hope that you deign to receive the homage of my devotion and unalterable fidelity.*" The second is, that three days after his recal, and on account of this recal, Choiseul Gouffier determined to repeat anew the offer of his service to the princes, and to adopt schemes against the national ambassador, who had been sent to replace him. The proof results from the following sentence: "*I have received three days ago my letters of recal; they inform me that M. de Simonville is appointed in my stead; the projects, therefore, of this national ambassador are no longer doubtful, and your royal highnesses are too enlightened not to perceive the fatal consequence of the negociation with which he is charged.*" It was, therefore, Choiseul who wrote and acted, who recalled by Louis, offered his services to the princes, who attempted to keep his post in opposition to his recal, and yet Louis is accused.

A Note, without date, has been adduced against Louis, said to have been written to him by Monsieur, in the name of his two brothers, and found amongst his papers. Louis has declared that it is not in his power either to avow or contest the note, but which, if genuine, is the act not of him but of his brother; and the billet proves evidently, Louis had no correspondence with them, for it neither alludes to intelligence received antecedent, nor to any answer expected posterior to it.

As to the imputation of a *considerable traffic* carried on by Louis, and which it is pretended, the papers of

Septeuil strongly prove, you have yourselves acquitted him of this, you have only offered it as a question.—Indeed Septeuil's own conduct sufficiently evinces that his agency for Louis was no more than being entrusted with several sums to be distributed according to the orders of Louis in charities.

He has been accused of "having bribed several members of the legislative assembly, and caused, by corrupt means, the passing of several decrees respecting the liquidation of the expences of his household, and of the pensions on the civil list; but unfortunately for this accusation, the plan reduced the liquidation of the offices ten millions; it reduced the national burthen ten millions, and charged the civil list with the interest. A corruption which turns to the profit of personal interest, may be conceived; but a corruption that leaves us all the shame, and to others all the profits, is not to be imagined.

Another imputation has been cast upon Louis, which as soon as promulgated, was likely to excite great indignation, and which with reason, appeared to him of a very serious nature. It was a charge—"That he continued in pay all his body guards who were at Coblenz."

In examining this charge, I hesitate not, legislators, to declare to you, that it made an afflicting impression on me; I suspected the good faith of Louis, for the papers appeared to me decisive; but I now acknowledge my error; the defence of Louis has opened my eyes, and I will now make him full reparation. A single but decisive word will acquit him of the heavy imputation.

All the papers refer to the month of October, 1791. Hear what the administrator of the civil list writes to its

treasurer in the succeeding month of November.

"SIR,

"It is the King's intention to continue to the officers and soldiers of the four companies of his body guards, their former pay till his Majesty has made a final decision; but his Majesty commands that the amount of their pay shall not be as formerly, delivered to the major, and that in future each individual officer or soldier shall be paid at the civil list office, upon giving a receipt, accompanied with a certificate of his living *in the kingdom*. His Majesty has also ordered me to inform you, that the same rules are to be observed with respect to the *ci-devant* regiment of French guards, to whom he allows the continuance of their former pay. I give you further notice, Sir, that his Majesty has ordered to be discontinued from the first of July last, the payment of all the expences of the body guards, except as before-mentioned, their own pay, and the usual allowance, for the subsistence of their horses."

It is not necessary, legislators, for me to make any observations on the above document. You are sensible it fully acquits him of the accusation, yet to what reflections had this circumstance given birth! All the documents which constituted the fundamental principle of the imputation have received the greatest possible degree of publicity.—Louis, in consequence, has been reproached throughout Europe; while the only document among his papers necessary to his justification has remained in concealment; but an authentic copy of which he at length obtained, after much trouble, from the proper officer, and which he has now produced to the eyes of the whole world.

Finally, I arrive at that day of disaster and dismay, the 10th of August. Representatives of the people, I entreat you in this moment, not to consider the advocates of Louis merely as advocates: we possess the feelings of conscience; we constitute a part of the people; we feel all that they feel, and desire all that they desire; we have wept, and still weep over the events of the 10th of August; and if we had believed Louis to be the author of the dreadful disasters of that day, you would not have now seen us at your bar affording him our support.

Legislators, all your successes subsequent to the above day, which you have dignified with the appellation of immortal, should urge you to be generous; but we only ask you to be just.—Recollect the day of the preceding 20th of June: recollect the refusal of Louis to comply with the demands of an armed multitude, that had invaded his palace: recollect his perseverance in his refusal, though in the utmost personal danger; a perseverance that increased the irritation of the multitude. Recollect that fresh prospects of tumults and attacks opened on his mind; reports of conspiracies and plots for carrying him off.

From this period Louis felt the critical posture of affairs; he saw the current of the public mind, he received daily accounts of the opinions of the capital; he marked the progress of those agitations; he was apprehensive of some error on the part of the multitude; he was alarmed for the safety of his house; he began to adopt some defensive measures: he surrounded himself with the national guards; he stationed the Swiss in his palace; he held a more immediate correspondence with the popular power; in short, he neglected

neglected no precautions which prudence dictated, and which the impending danger made him suppose to be necessary. The 9th of August came; fresh alarms were infused into his mind. Bodies of insurgents and extensive preparations were mentioned, and the night of the 9th was predicted to produce slaughter and dismay. The precautions of Louis were consequently redoubled; the number of the national guards, who guarded the palace, was increased, the Swiss placed on guard; the different powers summoned. The department, the municipal officers, were directed to attend him, together with all those magistrates whom he conceived to possess an ascendancy over the minds of the people; those magistrates commanded, in the name of the laws, the national troops, and the Swiss guards, not to suffer the palace to be forced.

They gave orders which in the pressure of the moment seemed to be necessary. The mayor himself visited the different posts; soon, however, did the alarm-bell ring, the *generale* beat to arms; the people assembled. Some hours elapsed in agitations that produced no effect. Towards the dawn of the day the people began their march. They directed their career towards the Thuilleries; each was armed; the artillery followed them; the cannons were pointed to the gates of the palace; the people arrived there.

The *Procureur general Syndic* of the department of Paris immediately advanced, accompanied by the municipal officers, and addressed the people. He represented, that assembled in so large a number, they could neither present a petition to Louis, nor to the national assembly; he entreated them to name twenty. These intreaties were

ineffectual. In the mean while the number of the people received a large addition; an immense multitude stationed themselves upon the *Place du Caroussel*; the danger increased. The magistrates informed of these circumstances again appeared before the troops. The procureur-general read the 5th article of the law of the 3d of October: he entreated them to defend the palace of the King, whose authority had been constituted by the laws; he gave with regret orders to repel force by force. The troops replied alone by a general discharge of cannon. The procureur-general Syndic immediately returned to the palace, informed Louis of the imminence of the danger, and that no succour was to be expected.—Louis, who some hours since had sent his ministers to the national assembly, to solicit the assistance of a deputation, now sent again to inform them of his increasing danger. The national assembly remained silent as the grave.

The procureur-general Syndic, and two other members of the department, then proposed to the King to seek an asylum in the bosom of the national assembly for himself and family. He felt the necessity of the measure, and adopted it. One hour afterwards our misfortunes began.

He is accused of having passed the morning in reviewing the troops. The same accusation may be brought against the Mayor. Louis possessed a legal authority, and had the right of protecting his palace: he had the right of expecting security from the laws; how therefore can he be reproached with having taken those precautions that were necessary to procure obedience to the laws? It has been alledged against him as a crime, that he stationed troops in his palace. Was it necessary then

then that he should tamely permit the people to invade it; that he should submit to their violence? Besides, did not the power, entrusted to him by the constitution, require that he should suffer no invasion of his trust?

I know that it has been said, that he occasioned the insurrection for the purpose of accomplishing his views. But who at this moment knows not, that long before the 10th of August the events of that day were prepared, thought on, and cherished in silence; that the necessity of an insurrection against Louis was supposed to exist; and that the insurrection had its agents, its contrivers, its cabinet, and its directors? Who is ignorant that plans were combined? leagues, forms, treaties signed? Who knows not, that every thing was conducted, arranged, and executed for the consummation of that great object that was to produce those advantages which France now enjoys? These are facts that cannot be controverted; they are notorious; they resound through the whole nation; they occurred in the midst of you; even in this spot, on which I am now standing. The glory of that 10th of August has been obstinately disputed. I mean not to contest this glory; I mean not to attack the causes of the insurrection; I mean not to attack its effects; I only contend, that as the insurrection existed long before the 10th of August, it is impossible that Louis could be the aggressor; you nevertheless accuse him.

You accuse him of the bloodshed on that day.

You would have this blood cry out for vengeance against him: what! against him, who, in order to prevent this effusion, came himself to the national assembly? against him who, through the whole course of his life, never

gave a sanguinary order? against him, who, on the 6th of October, at Versailles, would not suffer his own guards to protect him? against him, who at Varennes submitted himself to the situation of a captive, rather than occasion the death of a single man? against him, who on the 20th of June, refused all proffered assistance, and remained alone in the middle of his people;

Men of France, the revolution which has regenerated you, has developed great virtues; but take care that it weakens not in your souls the sentiments of humanity, without which you can only possess the semblance of virtue.

Here what history will say,

“Louis ascended the throne of France only twenty years old; yet at that early age he afforded an example of the purity of his manners: no culpable weakness, no corrupt passions were discoverable in him; economical, severely just, he evinced himself to be the constant friend of the people. The people requested the abolition of a tax that burthened them; he abolished it. The people intreated the abolition of the feudal slavery; he set the example, by putting an end to it in his dominions. The people solicited a reform in the criminal law; it was reformed. The people wished that thousands of Frenchmen, whom the rigour of custom had till then deprived of those rights belonging to citizens, should recover those rights; he acceded to their wishes. *The people asked for liberty—he gave it to them*; he began by making a sacrifice to the people of his own privileges; and yet in the name of his people it is demanded on this day that—“Citizens, I will not finish the sentence—I pause before history herself—recollect that she will be the judge of your conduct, and that

that her decision will be the decision of all ages."

(Signed)

LOUIS.

DESEZE.

MALESHERBES.

TRONCHET.

During the defence, M. Deseze was obliged to stop two or three times: at those intervals the King was observed to speak to one or other of his counsel, which he did with a smiling countenance.

When the defence was finished, he arose, and holding a paper in his hand, pronounced in a calm manner, and with a calm voice, what follows.— "Citizens, you have heard my defence: I now speak to you, perhaps for the last time, and declare that my counsel have asserted nothing to you but the truth; my conscience reproaches me with nothing; I never was afraid of having my conduct investigated; but I observed with great uneasiness, that I was accused of giving orders for shedding the blood of the people on the 10th of August.— The proofs I have given through my whole life of a contrary disposition I hoped would have saved me from such an imputation, which I now solemnly declare is intirely groundless." The president ordered the keys to be shewn to the King, and asked if he knew them. The King answered, "that he remembered to have given a parcel of keys to Clery; but it was so long since he had made use of them, that he did not know whether these were the same."

The president having asked, "whether he wished to say any thing farther," and being answered in the negative, the King withdrew into the chamber of conferences. Observing

that M. Deseze was greatly heated, he expressed anxiety about his health, and enquired whether he could not find means to change his linen?

On the way from the temple to the assembly, some person in the carriage with the King made mention of some of the Roman historians; which gave him occasion to say, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy; he accused the latter of having composed speeches for the generals, which had certainly never been pronounced. On his return from the assembly he preserved the same serenity. The procureur had his hat on, which had not been the case when he was in the carriage with the King the first time he went to and from the convention. The king took notice of this piece of rudeness, by saying, "you had forgot your hat the last time you attended me; but you have been more careful of your health on this occasion."

Observing that the procureur bowed and waved his hand, with a look of familiarity, to some persons in the streets, the King said, "I suppose these are citizens of your section?"— The procureur answered, "No; they do not belong to my section; but they were members of the general council of the 10th of August, *whom I always see with pleasure.*"

The mayor held his snuff box in his hand: the secretary of the municipality looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the usual observation, that the original was handsomer than the portrait. The King also desired to see it; which having done, he said that M. Chambon was happy in possessing a woman more beautiful than such a portrait.

The King arrived at the Temple in safety, though the cries of the rabble were

were more noisy and frequent than on the former day. He had no sooner withdrawn from the assembly, than Manuel proposed that the King's defence should be printed, and sent to the eighty-four departments, and that all discussion concerning it should be adjourned for three days.

The mention of adjournment excited the most noisy murmurs from some of the members, and all the people in the galleries. Duhem, deputy from the department of the north, distinguished himself on this occasion. He cried that Louis had been heard, that there was no pretext for farther delay, and insisted that the convention should instantly proceed by the *nominal appeal* to pronounce judgment. The murmurs were converted into applause.—Languinais began to speak:—"The time is passed," said he, "when bloody minded men could force the assembly, by threats, to pronounce degrading decrees; do they expect that we shall dishonour ourselves, by pronouncing judgment without having had time to weigh the defence of the accused?"—He was interrupted by clamours; some called out to send him to the Abbaye, on the pretence of his having insinuated a reflection against the heroes of the 10th of August; it was with infinite difficulty that he was allowed to explain. After which, Legendre and others recommenced their outcries for pronouncing judgment before they could separate. "Do you intend to act as a judge, or as a butcher?" said Kersaint. This sarcasm was applauded by many of the deputies, but hooted by the tribunes.

Raffron, of the department of Paris, always a very zealous, and often a very clamorous member, attempted to speak; a deaf person would have thought,

from the violence of his gestures, and his gaping, that he was bellowing very loud: the man was so hoarse with a cold, that he could not be heard: which increased the anger of his heart, and the contortions of his countenance, but entirely suppressed his voice.—He was advised, by those who were afraid that the violence of his efforts would throw him into convulsions, to put his opinion in writing, which he did; and it was read to the assembly by the president. The import of it was, that they ought directly to pass sentence on the King, of whose guilt, this temperate judge declared, no calm and candid man could have any doubt.

Raffron's opinion was loudly approved of by the galleries, but did not convince the majority of the deputies, some of whom ventured to express a desire of still more time to deliberate on the defence they had just heard.—The people exclaimed with horror at the idea. Some deputies moved that they should be called to order, which rendered them more disorderly than ever. It was proposed to adjourn.—This made Duhem outrageous: he rushed into the middle of the hall, followed by a number of the members of the faction of the mountain, crying, "*La mort du tyran!*"—and seeming to appeal to the galleries—and even to threaten Fermond the president.

Had Louis XVI. really been the bloody tyrant these men affected to call him, still this behaviour in his judges, on his trial, would have been indecent and odious; but to shew such an unrelenting spirit, and such fury, against a prince of so mild a character—one *who had borne his faculties so meek*—is not to be accounted for by any of the motives which usually influence

fluence men, whether virtuous or vicious. Some members of the national convention seemed as deaf to the voice of expediency and self-interest, as of humanity and justice. Instead of any rational principle, they appeared to be urged on by brutal and furious instinct to the death of the King, like blood-hounds, who never quit the scent till they have drank the blood of their prey.

During this disgraceful scene, Fermond calmly kept his seat, allowing the fury of those men to exhaust itself; at length perceiving that Pétion was inclined to speak, he invited him to ascend the tribune, conceiving, from the strength of his former popularity, that he had a better chance of being heard than any other member, who did not belong to the faction of the Mountain: it was with great difficulty, however, that he was allowed to speak.—He endeavoured to convince them of the indecency of proceeding to judgment immediately, and before the members had time to deliberate on the defence which they had just heard.

When it appeared that the majority of the convention were not to be driven into the shameful measure of giving judgment directly, the point was given up; and it was decreed that every member had a right to pronounce his opinion on the whole cause from the tribune, before the day for the nominal appeal was fixed.

The night after the King's defence was made, a member of the Jacobins gave an account in that society of what had passed at the convention:—particularly that Manuel had proposed to adjourn the discussion for no less a period than three days, and that Pétion had spoken against pronouncing judgment without separating. This was

heard with horror and indignation: it was immediately decreed, that Manuel should be expelled from the society. Pétion with difficulty escaped the same fate, which, however, was postponed only for a short term.

For several days after the defence, the time of the convention was mostly taken up in hearing the opinions of the members: all of them prefaced their discourses, by declaring a conviction of the King's guilt; perhaps they thought this necessary to secure them the liberty of proceeding. They differed, however, with respect to the penalty he had incurred; many being of opinion that justice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandists, Brissotines, and Girondists, were of this number. Danton's and Robespierre's party argued for immediate death; and became so impatient at the delay, from hearing so many discourses, that they repeated the decree that had passed a few days before; and, instead of hearing every member from the tribune, they resolved that the discourses should be printed and laid upon the table, to be read by those who chose. The 14th of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately; it was not till the 15th however, that the first appeal was made, owing to the long and warm discussions which took place in the convention before it was determined on what terms, and in what order, the questions should be stated on which the convention was to decide: at last it was decreed, that the following questions should be put to all the members, and decided by the *nominal appeal*.

1. Is Louis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conspiracy against liberty, and of attempts against the general safety of the state? Yes; or No.

D d

2. Shall

2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Louis be submitted to the ratification of the people in the primary assemblies? Yes; or No.

3. What punishment has he incurred?

These questions were artfully and wickedly arranged in this order, to render the King's condemnation more certain. Several deputies, who thought the appeal to the primary assemblies a wrong measure in itself, gave their votes against it, in the belief that the King would not be condemned to death; but had the question respecting the punishment been brought on in the second place, they would have seen that the appeal to the people was the only means of saving the life of the King, and would then have voted for that measure, although in general they did not approve of it.

This accounts for the length and violence of the debates, on a question apparently of so little importance as the order in which the propositions were to be voted; for some of those who wished to save the life of the King, saw this in the light above stated, and strove to have the questions otherwise arranged: neither party, however, avowed the real reason of their zeal, and the malice of the King's enemies prevailed.

On the first question the assembly voted almost unanimously in the affirmative; but many of the deputies declared, that they gave this opinion as citizens and legislators, and not as judges, because they neither thought themselves qualified for that office; nor authorised by their constituents to assume it.

Morisson, of the department of Vendée, refused to vote: he said, "he would give a reason, if the convention

exacted it;" which was not done: a very few others declined voting; among whom was Noel, of the department of Vosges, who said, "that his son having been killed on the Frontiers, fighting against the enemy, he considered the king as the primary cause of his son's death, and felt so much prejudice against him, that he was unqualified for being his judge."

Offelin, who had been one of the judges belonging to the tribunal appointed in August, gave his vote in the affirmative; and at the same time stated, that one of the accusations against the King is, that he continued to pay his guards after they were reduced, although many of them had emigrated; that his counsel, conscious of the force of this accusation, had taken great pains to destroy it, and had asserted that the King had not paid the guards after the 1st of January 1792; but that he himself, as one of the administrators of the commune of Paris, had had business to transact with M. Laporte, and that Madame Laporte had made a deduction from the revenues of the civil list of 1,200,000 livres in the month of July 1792, for the payment of the guards, then well known to have emigrated.

Common justice might have dictated to a man, who thus volunteered himself as a *witness*, that he ought not to vote as a *judge*.

When the name of M. *Egalité* was called, it was imagined that he also would have declined voting; and when he pronounced "OUI," a murmur of surprize and indignation was heard.

The second question was undoubtedly intended as a means of saving the life of the King, and would, in all probability, have had that effect, if it had not

not been brought forward until the sentence of death was carried.

The measure of referring the king's fate to the people themselves, which, from its nature, was highly popular, had been rendered the worse by the unwearied exertions of those who feared, that, if carried, it would save his life.

In giving their votes on this second question in the affirmative, several of the deputies said, they were aware of the danger to which they exposed themselves;—but being convinced that their constituents had elected them as legislators, and not as judges; and as it was repugnant to their consciences to unite the characters of jury and accusers, they would run every risk rather than do it.—One member said, “As I give my vote for referring the matter to the primary assemblies of the people, I expect the worst, and I glory in being of the number of those who brave the danger.” Another, “that in pronouncing the same vote, he devoted himself to the daggers of assassins.”

The speech that Manuel made, on giving his vote, was remarkable.—“I see here a legislative assembly, but not an assembly of judges; for judges do not murmur at the opinions of their brethren, though different from their own: they do not openly abuse and calumniate each other; they are cold as the law of which they are the organs. If the convention had been a tribunal of law, a near relation of the king, who has not been restrained either by a sense of shame or by his conscience, would not have been permitted to vote on this occasion.”

The president called Manuel to order, telling him to avoid personalities. Manuel then voted for the appeal.

Raffron, Panis, Legendre, and Marat, who were all of the department of Paris, and seemed of congenial dispositions, voted against it.

It was midnight before the appeal was ended:—there were 424 against, 283 for the reference; 10 refused to vote. The assembly adjourned till the 16th; and when it met, incidental business prevented the *appel nominal* from being begun till the evening. Many of the members particularized their reasons for voting as they did. The ceremony lasted through the whole night. The result was a majority for death. Three hundred and ninety voted for imprisonment till the end of the war, and then banishment. Had all who voted for death, with restriction that the sentence should not be executed till the peace, or till the constitution was framed and accepted, been subtracted from the majority, it would have been diminished to a surplus of only five or six votes.

On this occasion *M. Egalité* voted for death without restriction. A murmur of horror was heard. One deputy started from his seat, struck his hands together, and exclaimed, “*Ah le scéléra!*”—Oh, the rascal!—others repeated the same expression. The terms in which he delivered his vote are remarkable: “Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty; convinced that all who have conspired, or shall hereafter conspire, against the sovereignty of the people, deserve death; I vote for death.”

Previous to the scrutiny, and after every member had voted, the president informed the convention that he had received a letter from the Spanish minister, and one from the king's counsel. There was a cry from the Mountain for the order of the day. Garan-Coulon

said, that the king's council should be heard, but the Spanish minister's letter should not be read. "How," exclaimed Danton, "the Spanish court have not acknowledged our republic, and they attempt to influence our deliberations! If all the members were of my opinion, we should declare war against Spain, for this interference alone."

Genfonnet proposed, that the King's counsel should be heard after the scrutiny was known; but that in the mean time, the Convention should refuse to hear the letter of the Spanish minister, and pass to the order of the day.

It was unanimously agreed not to hear the letter, and Robespierre declaimed also against hearing the counsel. In this he failed.

Duchastel, deputy from the department of Deux-Peons, having been indisposed, had not been at the assembly when his name was called the preceding night. He now was supported into the hall, and as the scrutiny was not closed, demanded to give his vote. It was suspected that he came to give his vote on the merciful side; and those who had, during the whole process, thirsted for the King's blood, and were doubtful how the scrutiny stood, opposed his voting. Valazé, one of the secretaries, declaring that the scrutiny was not closed, Duchastel gave his voice for banishment. A shameful attempt was next made, on a frivolous pretence, to erase his vote. This was not permitted. The president announced the issue of the scrutiny as abovementioned, and the King's counsel were admitted to the bar, and M. Deseze thus addressed the Convention:—Citizens representatives, the law of the nation, and your decrees have entrusted to us the sacred function

of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to present to you the last act of our function. Louis has given to us his express charge to read to you a letter signed with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

LETTER FROM LOUIS.

"I owe it to my honour, I owe it to my family, not to subscribe to a sentence which declares me guilty of a crime of which I cannot accuse myself. In consequence, I appeal to the nation from the sentence of its representatives; and I commit, by these presents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the national convention this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made in the minutes of their sitting.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

M. Deseze then solemnly invoked the assembly, in the name of his colleagues, to consider by what a small majority the punishment of death was pronounced against the dethroned monarch. "Do not afflict France," added this eloquent advocate, "by a judgment that will appear terrible to her, when *five* voices only were presumed sufficient to carry it." He appealed to eternal justice, and sacred humanity, to induce the Convention to refer the sentence to the tribunal of the people.

Tronchet represented, that many of those who voted for death, had declared that they founded their opinion on the penal code. Yet the penal code requires two thirds of the voices to condemn an accused person. A decree of the Convention, passed only that morning, had pronounced that the majority of a single voice was sufficient. On this decree being objected to, they had simply passed to the

the order of the day ; but on a matter of such immense importance, the *appel nominal* was necessary ; he therefore demanded the repeal of that decree.

M. de Maleherbes said, that he had formerly had occasion to reflect with great attention on the important question of how the votes ought to have been taken in criminal cases ; but, that not being in the habit of speaking extempore, he begged in the most earnest and affecting manner, that he might be allowed till the next day to arrange the ideas which he wished to submit to their consideration.

Robespierre and others argued on the other side ; and the convention rejected the appeal made in the name of the King, passed to the order of the day, on the requisition of Maleherbes, and adjourned till the next day the debate on the delay of the execution of the sentence, which was discussed at length accordingly.

Two remarkable incidents occurred during this debate, which shew what an excess of wanton barbarity, and persevering rancour some men are capable of, upon the most solemn and affecting occasions. Tallien with diabolical irony, argued for the King's immediate execution, on what he called motives of humanity. "He knows," said the wretch, "that he is condemned, and that a respite is demanded.—To keep him in suspense, is prolonging his agony. Let us in tenderness for his sufferings, decree his immediate execution, and put him out of anguish."

This shocked even Danton, who expressed his disapprobation of it.

The other incident occurred when Thomas Paine, who had formerly given his opinion of the death of the King, ascended the tribune : as he was

not in the habit of pronouncing French, one of the secretaries read his discourse, translated from the original English. His reasoning against the execution of the sentence probably was thought very persuasive, since those who had heard the discourses of Buzot, Condorcet, and Brissot, to the same purport, without interruption, broke out in murmurs, while Paine's opinion was reading ; and Marat, at length, losing all patience, exclaimed that Paine was a Quaker, and insinuated, that his mind being contracted by the narrow principles of his religion, was incapable of the *liberality* requisite for condemning men to death. This shrewd argument not being thought convincing, the secretary continued to read, "That the execution of the sentence, instead of an act of justice, would appear to all the world, and particularly to their allies, the American States, an act of vengeance ; and that if he were sufficiently master of the French language, he would, in the name of his brethren of America, present a petition at their bar, against the execution of the sentence."

Marat and his associates cried, that these could not possibly be the sentiments of Thomas Paine, and that the assembly were imposed on by a false translation.

On comparing it with the original, however, it was found just.

They proceeded to the fourth *appel nominal*, which was terminated at midnight, on Saturday the 19th of January, 1793.

The voters were instructed to pronounce a simple yes or no, without any reasoning ; 310 voted for a respite of the sentence ; 380 against it.

It may be thought, from the result of this question, that the reference to the

the primary assemblies would have been equally rejected, at whatever time that proposal had been voted; but it should be remembered, that it was still less obnoxious to vote for referring the sentence entire to the people, than to vote for a respite of a sentence actually pronounced.

The executive council were ordered to notify this to the King the day following, and that the execution was to take place within twenty-four hours after the notification. It was decreed, at the same time, that he should be allowed free communication with his family, and to have any ecclesiastic he pleased to attend him.

The executive council, of which Garat, the minister of justice, was president, met on the morning of the 20th. He, with two other members of the council, and the secretary, set out for the temple, where they arrived at two.

Being introduced into the King's apartment, Garat, who was greatly agitated, said, with a faltering voice—"Louis, the executive council is ordered to notify to you the decree which the national convention passed last night."

The secretary began to read the decree. In the preamble, the King was charged with having *conspired against the general safety of the nation*. He was shocked at the idea, and repeated the expression with emotion. The secretary, who had paused, resumed, and the King heard the rest, including the sentence, with calmness.

When the secretary had finished, the King took a paper from his pocket, the contents of which he informed them of, and desired the minister of justice to present it to the executive council.

Garat informed him, that the coun-

cil could not decide on the subjects of his demands, but that he would immediately carry them to the convention, who had already answered to some of them.

He went accordingly, and read to the assembly the paper which the King had given him.

It contained a request of a respite of three days, that he might prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God; and for that purpose, that he might be freely visited by a person, whose name he would mention to the commissioners.

That he might be freed from their inspection, during the interval allowed him to live.

That he might have free communication with his family.

That the national convention would permit his family to withdraw from France to any other country they chose.

Finally, he recommended to the generosity of the nation, a number of old servants, many of whom had nothing to live on but the pensions he had allowed them.

When the minister of justice returned to the Temple, he informed the King that the convention acquiesced in most of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general answer which had been given to that respecting the lot of his family, but added, that *the delay was refused*. "Allons," said the King, "*il faut se soumettre*."—"Go on, it is proper to submit."

There is something infinitely harsh, and revolting to humanity in the refusal of this last request; which, there is every reason to believe, from the character and conduct of the King, proceeded from the pious motive which he assigned, and not as his enemies have

have suggested, from a weak design of prolonging a wretched existence.

When the minister of justice had retired, the King gave one of his commissioners a letter addressed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the person he wished to attend him in his last moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a protestant clergyman, of a good family in Ireland, who was converted to the Roman catholic religion, and had established himself in France, where he had bred his son as an ecclesiastic in the faith which he himself preferred. The son recommended himself so much by his good conduct, and excellent character, that he was chosen by the princess Elizabeth for her confessor, by which means he became known to, and highly esteemed by the King; of which he gave the strongest proof, by sending for him on this awful occasion.

The King's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three soldiers sent by the council of the commune. The contents of the letter were requesting his attendance; but if he found himself, from apprehension of the consequence, or any other cause, averse to come, entreating him to find another priest who had not the same reluctance.

Mr. Edgeworth informed the soldiers that he would attend them directly to the Temple. His mother and sister were then at a small distance from Paris; he desired Madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, because he saw that lady herself greatly alarmed, and feared that she might communicate her apprehensions to them.

Mr. Edgeworth was conducted first before the council in the Temple, and then to the King. On his being intro-

duced, he instantly shewed such marks of respect and sensibility, as affected the unfortunate prince so much, that he burst into tears, and was for some moments unable to speak: at length he said—"Excuse me, Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accustomed of late to the company of men like you."

After passing some time with his confessor, the King thought he had acquired sufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The Queen, Princess Elizabeth, with the Prince and Princess Royal, were conducted to his apartment.

They continued near three hours together. No tragic poet has imagined a scene more affecting than what was realized at this interview.—The actors so lately placed in the most brilliant situation the world can give, hurled from the summit of human splendour, to the depth of human misery: A sister, children, and a wife, in a prison, taking their last leave of a brother, father, and husband, rendered more dear than ever by his past sufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day.

The King, though affected at times, beyond the power of expression, retained his recollection to the last.—When they were to separate, the Princess Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of seeing him again in the morning. He allowed them to expect it. The Queen could listen to no words of comfort; no consideration could prevent her from pouring forth her indignation in the most violent expressions against the enemies of her husband.—In the bitterness of her soul she beat her breast, and tore her hair; and her screams were heard, at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After

After his family had withdrawn, the King remained for some time with his eyes fixed on the ground without speaking; then with a profound sigh, he pronounced—"Ce moment étoit terrible," *It was a dreadful moment.*

When his family had departed, his own fate did not engross the mind of the monarch so entirely as to exclude all solicitude for the fate of others:—he enquired in a most affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for several whom he considered as friends, and particularly for the ecclesiastics, who had been cruelly persecuted; and expressed satisfaction at hearing that many of them had escaped to England, where they were received with kindness and hospitality.

Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for a few hours.

He rose at five; and expressing an inclination to hear mass, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council, who were sitting in the Temple, of the King's request. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, saying, that the usual ornaments, and all that was requisite for the ceremony, could be procured from a neighbouring church.

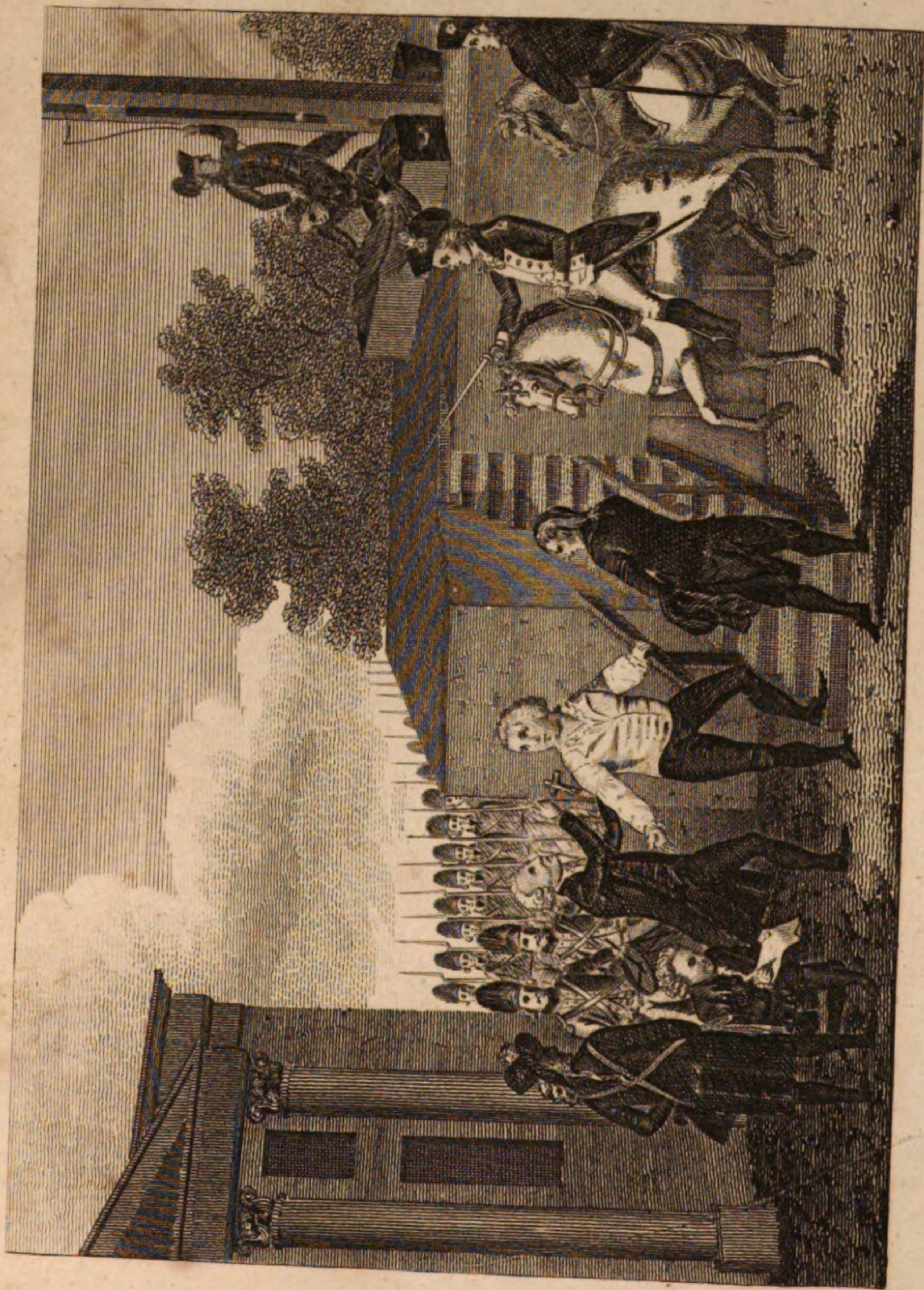
Mr. Edgeworth shewing great solicitude that the King should be gratified, one of the commissioners said, he had heard of people who had been poisoned taking the sacrament. To this horrid insinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him, that the committee were to procure the host. What was necessary was provided:—Mr. Edgeworth said mass, and administered the sacrament to the King; and then mentioned that his family expected to see him, before he left the Temple. The King fearing he had not sufficient firmness for a

second interview, wished to spare them the agony of such a scene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour past eight, Santerre came and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After passing three minutes in private with his confessor, he came to the outer room, where Santerre had remained, and said "Marchons, je suis prêt," *Let us go—I am ready.* In descending to the court, he begged the commissioners to recommend certain persons, who were in his service, to the commune: after which, not imagining Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he was bidding him adieu; but the other said his attendance was not over. "What!" said the King, "do you intend to adhere to me still?" "Yes," replied the confessor, "to the last."

The King walked through the court with a firm step, and entered the mayor's coach, followed by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two officers of the national guards. The King repeated the prayers for persons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution, formerly the Place de Louis XV.

When the carriage stopped at the scaffold, the King said, "Nous voici donc arrivé." *Here we are then.* He pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his shirt, ascended the scaffold with steadiness, and surveyed, for a few moments, the immense multitude; then approaching the edge, as there was a good deal of noise, he made a motion with his hand for silence, which instantly took place—then speaking with a raised voice, he said—"Francois, je meurs innocent; je pardonne a tous mes



LOUIS THE 16 ASCENDING THE SCAFFOLD

mes ennemis, et je souhaite que le France———.” *Frenchmen, I die innocent ; I forgive all my enemies, and I wish that France———*” Santerre, who was on horseback near the scaffold, made a signal for the drums to beat, and for the executioners to perform their office. The king’s voice was drowned in the noise of drums.

Three executioners then approached to seize him. At the sight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to tie his arms, he, for the first time, shewed signs of indignation, as if he was going to resist. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied. He no sooner pronounced this, than the king became passive as a lamb. The executioner laid hold of him, and placed him under the guillotine. The confessor then kneeling with his face near to that of the King, pronounced aloud, “*Enfant de Saint Louis, montez au Ciel.*” *Son of Saint Louis, ascend to Heaven.* The blow was given. Mr. Edgeworth’s face was sprinkled with the blood. The executioner walked round the scaffold, holding up the head to be seen by the people. A few, who had probably been hired for the purpose, cried, “*Vive la Nation—Vive la Republique !*” *Let the Nation, let the Republic live.*

Thus did the French nation, who had endured the cruelties of Louis XI. the treachery of Charles IX. and the tyranny of Louis XIV. condemn, and execute, for the pretended crimes of cruelty, treachery, and tyranny, the mildest, most just, and least tyrannical prince that ever sat on their throne.

A different account, in some particulars, of this event, is given in the letters of an English lady, then in Paris, (Miss Helen Maria Williams) which

we transcribe that our readers may possess all possible information on so interesting a subject ; but we must premise, that in those particulars, where she differs from the above statement of the behaviour of the unfortunate victim to popular fury, we think her misled either by want of judgment, or a too great tenacity of those prejudices which her friends, the Brissotines harboured against the virtues and sincerity of the family of the King. The account is improbable and wants those circumstances of authenticity, which should never be dispensed with by persons who consider that their writings may form the basis of history, and that they by giving currency to the coinage of fancy, or forgeries of malice, perpetuate misrepresentation.

The French King received the intelligence of his approaching fate without dismay. He displayed far more firmness upon the scaffold than he had done upon the throne, and atoned for the weakness and inconsistency of his conduct in life, by the calmness and fortitude of his behaviour in death.—The evening before his execution, his family, from whom he had been separated since the commencement of his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the sad indulgence of a last interview, unmolested by the presence of his guards.—Alas ! when imagination pictured the anguish of such an interview, it was not necessary to look back upon the former elevation of the sufferer, in order to pity the gloomy transition in his fate ! It was not necessary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to suffer death upon the scaffold, was once the first monarch in Europe, and would be led to execution through the streets of his own capital ! It was

enough to consider this unfortunate person as a man, a husband, a father! Ah! surely amidst the agonies of final separation from those to whom we are bound by the strongest ties of nature and affection! Surely, when we cling to those we love, in the unutterable pang of a last embrace—in such moments the monarch must forget his crown, and the regrets of disappointed ambition must be unfelt amidst the anguish which overwhelms the broken heart. That anguish was not confined to the bosom of the King, the Queen, and his sister. The Princess his daughter, had attained that age, when, perhaps, the soul is most susceptible of strong impressions, and its sensibility most exquisite. Even the young prince, who was only in his ninth year, caught the infectious sorrow, and, while his eyes were bathed in tears, cried, sobbing, to Santerre, “Ah! laissez moi courir les rues!—j’irai aux districts—j’irai à toutes les sections, demander, grace pour mon papa!—Oh! let me run through the streets—I will go to the districts—I will go to all the sections and beg pardon for my papa.”

The King had sufficient firmness to avoid seeing his family on the morning of his execution. He desired the Queen might be told that he was unable to bear the sight of her and his children in those last moments. He took a ring off his finger, which contained some of his own hair, of the Queen’s, of his two children, and desired it might be given to the Queen.—He called the municipal officers round him, and told them, it was his dying request, that Clery, his valet de chambre, might remain with his son. He then said to Santerre, “Marchons;” “Let us march;” and after crossing with a hurried pace, the inner court of

the Temple, he got into the mayor’s carriage, which was in waiting, and was attended by his confessor. —

The calmness which Louis the sixteenth displayed on the great trial of human fortitude, is attributed not only to the support his mind received from religious faith, but also the hope which it is said he cherished, even to his last moment, that the people, whom he meant to address from the scaffold, would demand that his life might be spared. And his confessor, from motives of compassion, had encouraged him in this hope. After ascending the scaffold with a firm step, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to speak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard, by ordering the drums to beat immediately. Alas! had he been permitted to speak, poor was his chance of exciting commiseration!—Those who pitied his calamities had carefully shunned that fatal spot; and those who immediately surrounded him, only waited till the stroke was given, in order to dip their pikes and their handkerchiefs in his blood.

Two persons who were on the scaffold, assert, that the unhappy monarch, finding the hope he had cherished, of awakening the compassion of the people, frustrated by the impossibility of his being heard, as a last resource, declared that he had secrets to reveal of importance to the safety of the state, and desired that he might be led to the national convention. Some of the guards who heard this declaration, cried, “Yes, let him go to the convention!” Others said, “No.”—Had the King been conducted to the convention, it is easy to imagine the effects which would have been produced on the minds of the people, by the sight of their

their former monarch led through the streets of Paris, with his hands bound, his neck bare, his hair already cut off at the foot of the scaffold in preparation for the fatal stroke—with no other covering than his shirt. At the sight, the enraged populace would have melted into tenderness, and the Parisian women, among whom were numbers who passed the day in tears of unavailing regret, would have rushed between the monarch and his guards, and have attempted his rescue, even with the risque of life.—Santerre, who foresaw these consequences, who perceived the danger of this rising dispute among the guards, called to the executioner to do his office. Then it was, that despair seized upon the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance assumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, “Je suis perdu ! je suis perdu !—I am lost ! I am lost !” His confessor mean time called to him from the foot of the scaffold, “Louis, fils de St. Louis, montez au ciel—Louis, son of St. Louis, mount to heaven.” and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality.

The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried, “Vive la République !” Some dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood—but the greater number, chilled with horror at what had passed, desired the commandant would lead them instantly from the spot. The hair was sold in separate tresses at the foot of the scaffold ; and, as every incident of this tragedy had been intended to display the strange vicissitudes of human fortune, as if every scene were meant “to point a moral,” the body was conveyed in a car to the parish church of St. Madeleine, and laid among the bodies of those who had been crushed to death

on the Place de Louis XV. when Louis XVI. was married, and those who had fallen before the chateau of the Tuilleries on the 10th of August.

The grave was filled with quicklime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the surrounding earth, and no trace or vestige remains of that spot to which, shrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or superstition breathed its ritual for the departed spirit.

Let us consider the conduct of the Convention with regard to the King, and decide whether it can be reconciled to good sense, justice, or humanity.

When the deputies first met and formed a National Convention, they knew that a most extraordinary event had happened ; that the palace of the king had been attacked ; that many citizens had been killed, and almost all his guards slaughtered, that the King himself, with all his family, had been thrown into prison, where they still remained ; and that their duty, as representatives of the nation, was to investigate the causes of this extraordinary event, and to punish the guilty.

The Convention was informed by those who had planned and directed the attack of the Palace, “That the citizens had been wantonly fired on by the guards, in consequence of orders from the King ; that the King was betraying the country to an invading army, with the leaders of which he was in correspondence ; and that, unless he had been attacked and imprisoned, the nation would have been enslaved.”

Having heard this accusation, it was natural to have imagined that the

Convention would, in the next place, have wished to know the King's account of these transactions, that they might be the better able to judge which account was the most probable, and the best supported by known and incontrovertible facts.

One fact they must have known, namely, that when the King had reason to believe that his Palace was to be attacked, he sent for the mayor of Paris, and other civil officers, to be near his person, and to be witnesses of his conduct. From this it was to be presumed, that he wished to avoid force, and if he should be driven to the necessity of using it, that it should be under the direction of the civil magistrate.

The convention might have recollected, that although one of the many evils which are inherent in an arbitrary government be, that there is no door to freedom but through insurrection; yet the moderate and equitable character of Louis XVI. had early inclined him to such alterations in the old system, as would gradually have united the prerogatives of limited monarchy with the rights of freemen.—Such considerations, with a moderate share of candour and gratitude, one would imagine, would have made them suspend their belief in the full extent of the crimes imputed to the King; and at all events have prevented their giving a decision injurious to him, till he was heard, and till as many of their brother deputies as were expected had arrived. Instead of this, they thought proper, on the very first day of their meeting, when not above half their number had arrived, without hearing the King, to pronounce the severest sentence against him, which they had not a right by the constitution to have done, even if all

of which he was accused had been clearly proved—The abolition of Royalty.

They next proceeded with more deliberation, to determine whether the King might not still be tried for his life.

The inviolability with which the constitution had invested the King, was, in the minds of many of the deputies, an insurmountable objection to this measure. It might have been imagined, that if the terms in which this inviolability was expressed by the constitution, had been less obscure and somewhat dubious, still it would have been becoming in the legislators of a great nation to have explained them in the most favourable sense for their unfortunate monarch; there was no room, however, for their generosity in this matter; for the terms are as clear as language can make them.

This had no other effect on the majority of the deputies, than to increase their rancour, and cause them to exert their abilities in the discovery of subtleties, by which the provision of the law might be defeated. They affected to consider the inviolability as a mere chimaera, which ought not to be regarded, and maintained this opinion by the most contemptible sophistries.

“The constitution,” said they, “could only render the King inviolable while he was King, but it can have no such effect now royalty is abolished; and, therefore, we may now with propriety try him as a private citizen.”—How miserably ridiculous is such an argument! If degradation be inflicted as the punishment of a crime in a person whose exalted situation exempts him from other punishment; can it be reasonable or just, that in that degraded state he shall be again punished for the same

same crime, and deprived of his plea of exemption? This makes punishment, and not crime, the source of punishment.

Other deputies reasoned in this manner:—The inviolability is very good in ordinary cases, but is of no use in the present. The people are sovereign, independent of the constitution, and cannot be bound by any law made by the constitution. Louis XVI. was made King by the constitution; the sovereignty of the nation existed previous to the formation of either King or Constitution. The folly of supposing that a constitution, or compact made between the King and people, is only obligatory on him and not on them, is unparalleled, and affords the greatest possible appearance of reason, and propriety to those states who would not treat with the French Republic, on account of the want of stability, and want of permanence in their government. Such an idea of the majesty of the people, is subversive of every principle of national faith, and destructive of every tie of political and social œconomy.

The committee who formed the decree of accusation against the King, were very much perplexed, on account of the force and precision with which his inviolability is expressed by the constitution. Mailhe, who presented it in their name to the convention, says, with some degree of passion, after repeating this embarrassing article—“Does this mean, that so long as the King should have the address to elude the commission of those crimes to which the punishment of forfeiting the crown is annexed, he might, with impunity, give himself up to the most ferocious passions, and should he be punished only with the loss of a sceptre which

was odious to him, because it was not of iron?”

Without taking notice of the false and childish exaggerations which his question insinuates, Mailhe may be answered, that if the King had the address to elude all the cases to which the constitution had affixed the pain of forfeiture of the crown, he certainly ought not to forfeit it: and if Mailhe himself were on his trial for murder or robbery, and it clearly appeared that the accusation was false, or, to use Mailhe's expression, that he had had the address to elude those crimes, there would be no reason against acquitting him; for whatever may be the opinion and practice in France, we adhere to the old notion, that a man, who has the address to be innocent, ought not to be punished as guilty.

Nothing can be more unworthy than for the legislators of a nation to attempt to explain away the obvious meaning of a proposition so clearly expressed, as that relating to the King's inviolability is by the French constitution; and the arguments they used were sophistical, as the attempt was unbecoming.

It certainly is not extravagant to question, whether Louis would have accepted of the constitution, had the inviolability been explained to him then, in the manner which it was afterwards explained. He certainly would not, if he had thought that Danton, Robespierre, Legendre, and Marat were in any presumptive case to be his judges.

But had all objections founded on the inviolability of the King's person been removed, were it clear that he might have been tried and dealt with as a private citizen, for crimes laid to his charge as a King; still the convention

vention, as it was composed, could not, with any colour of impartiality, be considered as a proper tribunal for his trial: to have rendered it such, it would have been necessary to remove all who had, in print or from the tribune, declared themselves convinced of his guilt, or in any way manifested a desire that he should be executed. What possibility was there, for example, that the King's innocence should be proved to Saint-Just, deputy for the department of l'Aisne, who, in the discourse he made to the Convention, said, "The King ought not to be tried for the faults of his administration, but for the crime of having been a King; it is impossible to reign innocently—All Kings are rebels and usurpers." And Robespierre, in the society of Jacobins where there were several who had been members of the legislative assembly, and were then of the convention, said, "That if the King were absolved, they must of course be considered and punished as rebels." Were such men impartial judges?

And if the objections to particular deputies were entirely removed, one solid one remains against the whole assembly, namely, that being the King's accusers, they were disqualified from being his jury, or judges.

When we next come to consider the nature of the proofs in support of the accusation, and the manner in which they were obtained, the force of the objections against them is obvious and striking. The papers found in the King's cabinet, on the 10th of August, and those afterwards discovered in the iron chest in the wall of the Thuilleries, were not fair evidence—because papers might have been introduced and mixed with others by the King's enemies; because papers might have

been lost or moved, which would have explained, and accounted for what appeared criminal in others; because a person's having criminal papers in his custody, is no proof that he approves of, or is even acquainted with their contents; and still less of his intentions to adopt the opinions, or follow the plans or counsels of the writers. Let us further suppose, that all the papers presented to the Convention were the genuine papers found in the King's closet, without any having been added or subtracted; still they do not constitute a proof of his having formed any scheme of destroying the constitution, or betraying the country to its enemies.

Brissot in his writing, Louvet and Barbaroux in their speeches in the Convention, asserted, that they and their associates brought about the revolution of the 10th of August, with a view to establish a republic. They were so precise and minute on the important point, as even to particularize the place.

It was at Charenton, as they declared, that the measure of attacking the King in his palace, was determined on; it was at first agreed to be on the 29th of July, but afterwards postponed to the 10th of August. Danton, Robespierre, and Chabot, insisted that this honour belonged to them. Petion, who had been sent for by the King, who was actually in the Palace as a civil magistrate, and in the character of a mediator, early that morning, was afterwards very much hurt, because Robespierre insinuated that he had very little share in the insurrection of the 10th of August. "Those men," says he in his letter to Robespierre, "who have assumed to themselves the glory of that day, are the very persons to whom it least belongs; it is due to the brave fédérés, and to their private directors,

directors, who had long before concerted the plan of the insurrection." And in his letter to the society of Jacobins, he claims his own right to part of the glory: I contributed not a little," says Petion, "to bring about the events of the 10th of August."—After this, how could any man of common sense and common candour, hear with patience the King accused of being the aggressor on that occasion? yet this was done in the act of accusation, and repeated by many of the members in their speeches during the process.

Finally, let it be supposed, that the person of the King was not rendered inviolable by the constitution; that the Convention was the proper tribunal by which he ought to have been tried; that the papers were unexceptionable evidence; and that the proof against him was convincing; after all this has been admitted, still it is clear that it was most inexpedient and unwise in the National Convention to declare his execution, because it would exasperate many of the Princes of Europe; and if it pleased any, it would afford even them a pretext for making war with France; thus creating new enemies to their infant republic, and strengthening the hands of the old.

Because the great object of punishment is to prevent, and not to avenge crimes; and in a Republic the same cause would never again occur.

Because a living and dethroned King would have been less interesting to the public, and therefore less formidable to the existing government of France, than a young prince, whose character calumny could not touch, and whose father had been beheaded.

Soon after the execution of the King, M. Pelletier de St. Fargeau, a deputy of the Convention, who had voted for

his death, was assassinated by a person of the name of *Paris*, who had formerly been one of the *Guardes du Corps*. The Convention decreed public honours to the memory of Pelletier, and called one of the sections or divisions of the metropolis by his name: but the man whose sentiments of rage and indignation wound up his mind to the commission of the act, eluded the vengeance of the murderers of his royal master by suicide. He had escaped into the country, and most probably the over great agitation of his loyal mind amounted to frenzy, and accelerated his self-destruction.

We have thus copiously and explicitly related all the inducing circumstances, progress, and event of the trial of Louis XVI. because, though they do not immediately form any of the transactions which may be called warlike, and enter in a *History of the War*, yet as they were the immediate stimulants which impelled the government of this country to take an active part in the contest, upon a declaration of war by France, there is every reason, independent of the interest excited by such a transaction, for affording our countrymen the most correct and copious information possible on the subject.

The first causes of complaint, on the part of Great-Britain, we have already seen, were the intention of opening the Scheldt, and the decree of fraternization of the 19th of November; in explanation of these, M. Chauvelin, who had been appointed ambassador to London, by Louis XVI. had delivered the following official note to the Secretary of State on the 27th of December.

"The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of France, has the honour to communicate to Lord Grenville the instructions

structions which he had received from the executive council of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic Majesty's secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, in case he should think that he could not speedily enough obtain an interview with the ministers.

"The French government, by continuing, since the recal of lord Gower from Paris, to have at London a Minister Plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic Majesty an unequivocal proof of the desire they had to remain in good understanding with the British court, and to see all those clouds dissipated, to which events necessary and inseparable from the internal government of France, seemed then to have given birth. The intentions of the executive council of France toward England have never ceased to be the same, but they cannot see with indifference the public conduct which the British ministry observe at present toward France. It is much to be regretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indisposition which they still force themselves not to believe.—They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it much longer in that state of uncertainty, into which it had been thrown by several measures fully adopted by the British government;—an uncertainty in which the English nation must share, and which must be equally unworthy of both. The executive council of the French republic, have consequently authorized the minister of France at London, to demand with openness of the minister of his Britannic Majesty, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power, and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a definitive

answer. But in demanding from the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, an open and candid explanation of their intentions towards France, the executive council do not wish that the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France towards England, and of its desire to remain at peace with it. They even wish to answer previously to all those reproaches which may be thrown out against France, in order to justify England. Reflecting on the reasons which might determine his Britannic Majesty to break with the French republic, the executive council can see them only in a false interpretation, given perhaps to the decree of the national convention of November 19th.—If the British ministry are really alarmed by that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The National Convention never intended that the French Republic should favour insurrections, and espouse the cause of a few seditious persons, or, in a word, that it should endeavour to excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot, without injustice, be imputed to the National Convention. This decree then is only applicable to those people, who, after having acquired their liberty, may request the fraternity and assistance of the French republic, by a solemn and unequivocal expression of the general will. France not only ought, but wishes to respect the independence of England, but that also of its allies, with whom it is not at war. The undersigned, therefore, has been charged to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland while that power confines itself, on its part, within the bonds of strict neutrality

trality. The British government being thus assured respecting the two points, no pretence for the least difficulty can remain, but on the question of opening the Scheldt—a question irrevocably decided by reason and justice, of little importance in itself, and on which the opinions of England, and perhaps even of Holland, are too well known, to render it difficult to make it seriously the sole cause of a war. Should the British ministry, however, embrace the last motive to induce them to declare war against France, would it not then be probable that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take this advantage at present of the most futile of all pretences, to colour an unjust aggression, long ago meditated? On this supposition, which the executive council reject, the undersigned would be authorised to support with energy the dignity of the French people, and to declare with firmness, that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel with indignation an aggression so manifestly unjust, and so unprovoked on their part. When all these explanations, necessary to demonstrate the purity of the intentions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory measures shall have been exhausted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight and the whole responsibility of the war will, sooner or later, fall upon those who have provoked it. Such a war would really be the war of the British ministry only against the French republic; and should this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not perhaps be impossible for France to render it evident to a nation, which, in giving its confidence, never renounced the exercise

of reason, and its respect for justice and truth.

“Such are the instructions which the undersigned has received orders to communicate officially to Lord Grenville, inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic Majesty, to weigh with the most serious attention, the deliberations and demands which they contain. It is evident that the French nation desires to preserve peace with England. It proves this by endeavouring with candour and openness to remove every suspicion which so many passions and various prejudices are continually labouring to excite against it; but the more it shall have done to convince all Europe of the purity of its views, and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will have to a claim of being no longer misunderstood.

“The undersigned has orders to demand a written answer to the present note: he hopes that the ministers of his Britannic Majesty will be induced, by the explanations which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good understanding between the two nations; and will have no occasion, in order to return to them, to consider the terrible responsibility attached to a declaration of war, which would incontestibly be their work; the consequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and which, in a generous and free people, could not long consent to betray their own interests, by serving to assist and support a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed) “Chavelin.”

It is evident, from the insinuation given in this note, that the odium and responsibility for all the calamities of war, if that should happen, would fall

upon the British ministry, that Chauvelin was here the simple organ of the opposition societies, with whom he was known to be familiar, and even intimate with their leaders. Our readers will observe what Lord Grenville returned for answer, in the close of which he repels the above insinuation with equal firmness and modesty.

To this note Lord Grenville returned the following answer:

"Whitehall, Dec. 31, 1792.

"Sir,

"I have received from you a note, in which, stiling yourself minister plenipotentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's secretary of state, the instructions which you state to have yourself received from the executive council of the French republic. You are not ignorant that since the unhappy events of the 10th of August, the King has thought proper to suspend all official communication with France. You are yourself no otherwise accredited to the King than in the name of his most Christian Majesty. The proposition of receiving a minister accredited by any other authority or power in France, would be a new question which, whenever it should occur, the King would have the right to decide according to the interests of his subjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the general system of Europe. I am, therefore, to inform you, Sir, in express and formal terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of minister from his most Christian Majesty, and that consequently you cannot be admitted to treat with the King's ministers in the quality and under the form stated in your note.

"But observing that you have entered into explanations of some of the

circumstances which have given England such strong grounds of uneasiness and jealousy, and that you speak of those explanations as being of a nature to bring the two courts nearer, I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification stated above, without at the same time explaining myself clearly and distinctly on the subject of what you have communicated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

"Your explanations are confined to three points:

"The first is, that of the decree of the National Convention, of the 19th of November, in the expressions of which, all England saw the formal declaration of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. If the interpretation which you represent to be injurious to the convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the convention itself. And the application of these principles to the King's dominions has been shewn unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country, and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since, on several different occasions.

"Yet, notwithstanding all these supported proofs, by other circumstances which are but too notorious, it would have been with pleasure that we should have seen here such explanations, and such a conduct as would have satisfied the dignity and honour of England with respect to what has already passed, and would have offered a sufficient security in future for the maintenance of that respect towards
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the rights, the government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account the right to expect.

“ Neither this satisfaction nor this security, is found in the terms of an explanation which still declares to the promoters of sedition in every country, what are the cases in which they may count beforehand on the support and succour of France ; and which reserves to that country the right of mixing herself in our internal affairs, whenever she shall judge it proper ; and on principles incompatible with the political institutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much a declaration like this is calculated to encourage disorder and revolt in every country. No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the respect which is reciprocally due from independent nations, nor how repugnant to those principles which the King has followed, on his part, by forbearing at all times from any interference whatever in the internal affairs of France. And this contrast is alone sufficient to shew, not only that England cannot consider such an explanation as satisfactory, but that she must look upon it as a fresh avowal of those dispositions which she sees with so just an uneasiness and jealousy.

“ I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general dispositions of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of the convention and its officers relative to the Scheldt. The declaration which you there make, ‘ That France will not attack Holland so long as that power shall observe an exact neutrality, is conceived nearly in the same terms with that which you were charged to make

in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, in the month of June last, Since that first declaration was made, an officer, stating himself to be employed in the service of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neutrality of the republic in going up the Scheldt, to attack the citadel of Antwerp, notwithstanding the determination of the government not to grant this passage, and the formal protest by which they opposed it. Since the same declaration was made, the convention has thought itself authorised to annul the rights of the republic exercised within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the same treaties by which her independence is secured. And at the very moment when under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the same terms the promise of respecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you announce to me, that those in whose name you speak, intend to maintain these open and injurious aggressions.

“ It is not certainly, on such a declaration as this, that any reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

But I am unwilling to leave without a more particular reply, what you say on the subject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this question is in itself of little importance, this would only serve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neutrality, and by the violation of their right, which the faith of treaties obliges us to maintain. But you cannot be ignorant that here the utmost importance is attached to those principles which France wishes to establish by this pro-

ceeding, and to those consequences which would naturally result from them; and that not only those principles and those consequences will never be admitted by England, but that she is, and ever will be, ready to oppose them with all her force.

"France can have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of opening the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

"England never will consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under pretence of a pretended natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

"With respect to that character of ill will which is endeavoured to be

found in the conduct of England towards France, I cannot discuss it, because you speak of it in general terms only, without alledging a single fact. All Europe has seen the justice and the generosity which have characterised the conduct of the King; his Majesty has always been desirous of peace; he desires it still, but such as may be real and solid, and consistent with the interest and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general security of Europe.

"On the rest of your paper I say nothing. As to what relates to me and to my colleagues, the King's ministers owe to his majesty the account of their conduct; and I have no answer to give to you on this subject, any more than on that of the appeal which you propose to make to the English nation. This nation, according to that constitution by which its liberty and its prosperity are secured, and which it will always be able to defend against every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign powers connection or correspondence, except through the organ of its King; of a King whom it loves and reveres, and who has never for an instant separated his rights, his interests, and his happiness, from the rights, the interest, and the happiness of his people.

(Signed) "Grenville."

The refusal which the above note contains to consider M. Chauvelin otherwise than as the ambassador of the King of France, induced the provisional executive council to transmit the following.

"The provisional executive council of the French republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the minister

nister of his Britannic majesty, will begin by repeating to that minister the most express assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The sentiments of the French nation towards the English, have been manifested during the whole course of the revolution, in so constant, so unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the smallest doubt of the esteem which it vows to them, and its desire to have them for friends.

“ It is then with great reluctance that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than to its interest.— Before it proceeds to such a disagreeable extremity, explanations are necessary; and the object of them is so highly important, that the executive council have not thought that they could entrust them to a secret agent, always to be disavowed. For this reason they have thought proper, under every point of view, to entrust them to Citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic Majesty but from the late King.

“ The opinion of the executive council, on this occasion, is justified by the manner in which our negotiations were at the same time carried on in Spain, when citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the same situation as citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the minister of the Catholic King from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the minister for foreign affairs and the chargé des affaires of Spain. We will even add, that the principal minister of his Catholic Majesty, when writing officially on this subject to citizen Bourgoign, did not

forget to give him his title of minister plenipotentiary of France.

“ The example of a power of the first rank, such as Spain might have induced the executive council to hope that we should have found the same facility at London. The executive council, however, readily acknowledge, that this negociation has not been demanded according to diplomatic strictness, and that citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorised. To remove entirely this obstacle, and that they may not have to reproach themselves with having stopt, by a simple defect in form, a negociation, on the success of which depends the tranquillity of two great nations, they have sent the citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the severity of diplomatic forms.

“ To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the executive council observe on the first, that is to say, the decree of November 19, that we have been misunderstood by the ministers of his Britannic Majesty, when they accuse us of having given an explanation which announces to *the seditious of all nations*, what are the cases in which they may depend before-hand, on the succour and support of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the sentiments of the national convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was possible that the open designs of favouring seditious persons could be imputed to us, at a moment even when we declared, ‘ that it would be doing an injury to the national convention to ascribe to them the plan of protecting insurrections and seditious commotions,

motions, which might arise in any state, or of associating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cause of a few individuals that of the French nation.'

"We have said, and we choose to repeat it, that the decree of November 19, could not be applicable, but to the single case, when the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation.—Sedition can certainly never exist, when there is an expression of the general will; these two ideas mutually exclude each other, for sedition is, and can only be, a commotion of a small number against the majority of a nation; and this commotion would cease to be seditious, if all the members of a society should arise at once, either to correct their government, to change its form entirely, or to accomplish any other object.

"The Dutch were certainly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke, and when the general will of that nation called on the assistance of France. It was not accounted a crime to Henry IV. nor to Queen Elizabeth, that they listened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only basis of transactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government, but because that government is supposed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of November 19th is reduced to its real signification, it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will above all contest, and so founded in right, that it was not worth while to express it. For this

reason, the executive council think that the evidence of this right might have perhaps rendered it unnecessary for the national convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation. It appears that the ministers of his Britannic majesty have made no objections under the declaration respecting Holland; since their only observation on this subject relates to the discussion concerning the Scheldt; it is on this last point, therefore, that we have to make ourselves understood.

"We here repeat, that this question itself is of little importance. The British ministers thence conclude, that it is therefore more evident that it has been brought forward only for the purpose of insulting the allies of England. We reply with much less warmth and prejudice, that this question is absolutely indifferent to England, that it is little interesting to Holland, but that it is of the utmost importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little interesting to Holland, since the productions of the Belgic Netherlands can be conveyed through the canals which end at Ostend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is therefore on account of this importance to restore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared, that it is ready to support them in the exercise of so legal a right.

"But is France authorised to break stipulations which oppose the opening of the Scheldt? If we consult the right of nature, and not of nations,
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not only France, but all the nations of Europe are authorised to break them. No doubt can remain on this point.

"If public right is consulted, we say that it ought never to be but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumstances in which nations may be in respect to each other; so that every private treaty which might violate these principles, could never be considered but as the work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheldt, the treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The Emperor, to secure the possession of the Netherlands, sacrificed, without scruples, the most inviolable of rights. Being master of these beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has seen, with a rod of absolute despotism, respected none of their privileges, but those which were of importance for him to preserve, and continually attacked or destroyed the rest. France entering into a war with the house of Austria, expels it from the Low Countries, and restores liberty to those people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to slavery. Their chains are broken; they are restored to all those rights which the house of Austria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheldt be excepted, especially when it is of real importance only to those who were deprived of it? In short, France has too good a profession of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The executive declares then, not that it may appear to yield to some expressions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not mean to establish itself an universal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equal-

ly knows to respect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own respected. It does not wish to give laws to any one, and it will never suffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and it still renounces all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time which may be necessary for the Belgians to secure and consolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will be sufficiently rewarded.

"When that nation will find itself in the full possession of liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then if England and Holland still affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negotiation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. It will respect their independence even in their errors.

"After so fair a declaration, which manifests the present designs of peace, the ministers of his Britannic Majesty ought to entertain no doubt respecting the intentions of France. But if these explanations appear to them insufficient, and if we are still obliged to hear the language of haughtiness, and if hostile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war, conscious at least of the justice of our cause, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear.

(Signed)

'Le Brun.'

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This note of the executive council produced the following from Lord Grenville.

"I have examined, sir, with the utmost attention, the paper you remitted to me on the 13th of this month. I cannot help remarking, that I have found nothing satisfactory in the result of it. The explanations which it contains are nearly reduced to the same points which I have already replied to at length. The declaration of wishing to intermeddle with the affairs of other countries, is therein renewed. No denial is made, no reparation offered, for the outrageous proceedings I stated to you in my letter of December 31st: and the right of infringing treaties, and violating the rights of our allies, is maintained, by solely offering an illusory negociation upon this subject, which is put off, as well as the evacuation of the Low Countries by the French armies, to the indefinite term, not only of the conclusion of the war, but likewise to the consolidation of what is called the liberty of the Belgians. It is added, that if these explanations appear insufficient to us; if you should again be obliged to hear a haughty tone of language; if hostile preparations should continue in the ports of England—after having tried every effort to preserve peace, you will then make dispositions for war. If this notification, or that relative to the treaty of commerce, had been made to me under a regular and official form, I should have found myself under the necessity of replying to it, that to threaten Great Britain with a declaration of war, because she judged it expedient to augment her forces, and also to declare that a solemn treaty should be broken, because England adopted for her own safety such precautions as

already exist in France, would only be considered, both by the one and the other, as new grounds of offence, which, as long as they should subsist, would prove a bar to every kind of negociation.

"Under this form of extra-official communication, I think I may yet be permitted to tell you, not in a tone of haughtiness, but of firmness, that these explanations are not considered sufficient, and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations still continue. These motives are already known to you, by my letter of December 31st, in which I marked in precise terms what those dispositions were, which could alone maintain peace and good understanding.—I do not see that it can be useful to the object of conciliation to enter into a discussion with you on separate points under the present circumstances, as I have already acquainted you with my opinion concerning them. If you have any explanation to give me under the same extra-official form, which will embrace all the objects contained in my letter of the 31st of December, as well as all the points which relate to the present crisis with England, her allies, and the general system of Europe, I shall willingly attend to them.

"I think it however my duty to inform you, in the most positive terms, in answer to what you tell me on the subject of your preparations, that under the present circumstances all those measures will be continued, which may be judged necessary to place us in a state of protecting the safety, tranquillity, and the rights of this country, as well as to guarantee those of our allies; and to set up a barrier to those views of ambition and aggrandizement, dangerous at all time to the rest of Europe, but which becomes still more so, being

ing supported by the propagation of principles destructive of all social order.

(Signed)

“GRENVILLE.”

This correspondence is termed extra-official by the noble secretary, because he was authorised by the court of which he was minister, to refute the letters of credence tendered by Chauvelin, from the French republic. The following is his letter to him on the subject.

SIR,

“I have received your letter of the 17th instant. I have already apprized you that his majesty has reserved to himself the right of deciding according to his judgment upon the two questions of acknowledging a new form of government in France, and of receiving a minister accredited on the part of some other authority in France than that of his Most Christian Majesty. In answer to the demand you now make, whether his majesty will receive your new letters of credence, I have to inform you that under the present circumstances, his majesty does not think proper to receive them.

“The request you make of me is equally incompatible with the form of an extra-official communication, and that character in which you have hitherto been known, as minister of his Most Christian Majesty.

“Nothing then remains for me to say, relative to the subject of your former letter, particularly after what has just happened in France, than to inform you, that as an agent charged with a confidential communication, you ought certainly to have attended to the necessary measures taken by us, to secure your letters and couriers; that as minister of his Most Christian Majesty, you would have enjoyed all those exemptions which the law affords to public

ministers, properly acknowledged as such; but that as an individual you can only be considered among the general mass of foreigners resident in England.

(Signed)

“GRENVILLE.”

In a few days after the transmission of this note, lord Grenville sent the following, ordering the immediate departure of M. Chauvelin.

January 24th.

“I am charged to notify to you, sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his Most Christian Majesty, you have no longer any public character here.

“The King can no longer, after such an event, permit your residence here. His Majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom, within the term of eight days, and I herewith transmit you a copy of the order, which his majesty in his privy council has given to this effect.

“I send you a passport for yourself and your suite; and I shall not fail to take all the other necessary steps in order that you may return to France with all the attentions which are due to the character of a minister plenipotentiary from his Most Christian Majesty, which you have exercised at this court.

(Signed)

“GRENVILLE.”

Lord Auckland, his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the Hague, presented the following memorial to the states general of the united provinces, on the 25th of January.

“*High and Mighty Lords,*

“The under-signed, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipoten-

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tiary of his Britannic Majesty, in consequence of express orders which he received from the King, has the honour to lay before your high mightinesses copies of all the papers which have been exchanged from the 27th day of December last, to the 20th of this month, between lord Grenville, secretary of state of his Britannic Majesty, and M. Chauvelin.

“High and mighty lords, the King is fully persuaded that the sentiments and principles expressed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly the same with those which animate your republic, and that your high mightinesses are disposed to concur fully in the measure which the present important crisis calls for, and which are the necessary consequences of those sentiments and principles.

“The circumstances which brought us to that crisis are too recent, and the conduct of the King too well known, to oblige the undersigned to enter into superfluous details.

“Not four years ago, some wretches, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto founded all the security, happiness, and consolation of the human race.—Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded. But the effects of the new system which they endeavoured to introduce, served only to shew the imbecility and villany of its authors. The events which so rapidly followed each other since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all which ever had polluted the pages of history. Pro-

perty, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed play-things in the hands of infamous men, who are the slaves of the most licentious passions of rapine, enmity, and ambition.

“The annals of mankind present no epoch when, and in so short a time, so many crimes were committed, so many misfortunes caused, and so many tears shed; even at this moment these horrors seem to be at their height.

“During all that time, the King, surrounded by his people, who by divine providence enjoy an unexampled prosperity, could not look on the misfortunes of others but with a sentiment of indignation and pity; but faithful to his principle, his majesty never wished to interfere with the interior affairs of foreign nations; he never deviated from the path of neutrality which he had prescribed to himself. This conduct, which the King saw with pleasure, observed likewise by your high mightinesses, and the good faith of which all Europe acknowledged, together with his peaceable disposition, which ought to have been respected on every ground, was not sufficient to secure his majesty, his loyal subjects, and this republic, from the most dangerous and criminal plots.

“For several months past ambitious projects of agrandizement, alarming to the tranquillity and safety of all Europe, were planned in the most public manner; endeavours were made to spread in the interior parts of England, and of this country, maxims detrimental to all social order: they were not even ashamed to call these horrible attempts “*revolutionary power*.”

“Ancient and solemn treaties, guaranteed by the King, were infringed; and the right and territory of the republic have been violated. His majesty,

jesty, therefore, in his wisdom, thought proper to make such warlike preparations as seemed to him proportioned to the circumstances of the times. The King has consulted his parliament, and the measures which his majesty thought fit to adopt, were approved by the spirited and unanimous consent of a people who abhor anarchy and irreligion, and love their King and constitution.

"Such are, high and mighty lords, the motives of a conduct, the wisdom and equity of which have till now insured to the King your concurrence and co-operation. His majesty has, in every respect, constantly kept a watchful eye on the support of the right and safety of the united provinces. The declaration which the undersigned had the honour to make to your high mightinesses on the 13th of November last, and the arrival of a small squadron destined for the protection of the shores of the republic during the time when its own naval forces were assembling, prove it incontestibly. Your high mightinesses have acknowledged these dispositions of his majesty in what he has done already. You will not find them abated in the preparations that are now making. In consequence of which his majesty is persuaded that he will continue to experience, on the part of your high mightinesses, a perfect conformity of principle and conduct. That conformity can alone give to the united efforts of the two countries, the necessary energy for their common defence which will also oppose a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and secure from every attempt the safety, tranquillity, and independence of a state, the happiness of which is insured by your high mighti-

nesses, through the wisdom and energy of its government.

Done at the Hague,

Jan. 25th, 1793.

(Signed)

"AUCKLAND."

While the disputes still continued unadjusted, the bill which authorised the secretaries of state to arrest and imprison aliens, or to order them out of the kingdom at their discretion, was introduced into parliament.

M. Chauvelin remonstrated against the bill as likely to create suspicion and dissatisfaction in France, and a breach of the commercial treaty; which being stipulated between the French monarchy and Britain, could not be urged with propriety by the French republic, which had decreed treaties securing the feudal claims of princes upon provinces conquered by Louis XIV. were no bar to the sovereignty of the republic, which had attempted to open the Scheldt, in opposition to treaties solemnly guaranteed by several powers of Europe; in which both Britain and France were included. He adverts to the charge of French emissaries stirring up sedition in Britain, and endeavours to fix it on French emigrants here, although he knew that this was contrary to their principles, being conscious that himself and fellow agents were the chiefest incendiaries at whom the alien bill was chiefly directed, together with that other bill prohibiting the circulation of assignats.

In consequence of this bill, we find that on the 17th of January, a few days after the passing of the alien bill, M. Chauvelin, waving the question of his being accredited as the minister of the French republic, solicited, in very humble terms, an interview with Lord

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Grenville,

Grenville, but this request was unaccountably refused; and M. Chauvelin himself was one of the first on whom the powers vested in ministers by this statute were enforced, for on the 24th of January he received an order to quit the kingdom within eight days; and the order was inserted by authority in the London Gazette.

The French republic perceiving an apparent reluctance in the English ministry to treat with M. Chauvelin, while the negotiations were still depending, M. Marat, under secretary for foreign affairs, was dispatched from France to treat with the British ministers. "It was confidently reported, that M. Marat had it in his instructions unequivocally to offer to our ministry these three points; first, that the navigation of the Scheldt should be given up; secondly, that the French troops should not approach the Dutch territories within a given distance; and that the decree of the 19th of November should be either altered or repealed. When the ostensible reasons for undertaking a war are thus previously removed by the concession of the enemy, then none but the most suspicious motives can induce ministers to sacrifice the peace, treasure, and welfare of the country, to their secret or wicked views.

As the first mission of M. Marat was, however, not attended with any effect, he was sent again from the executive council with enlarged powers.—It was asserted at that time, that his object was to propose to the British ministry the cession of some of the most valuable of the French West India islands, and the annexing of the Netherlands to the Dutch republic, provided this arrangement should prove mutually agreeable to the states-gene-

ral and the Belgic Congress. M. Marat was, however, we believe, never permitted to produce his credentials. He arrived in England at the very eve of M. Chauvelin's departure, and was also ordered, without further ceremony, to quit the kingdom.

Perhaps it might have been most prudent, notwithstanding these affronts, in the French convention, to have abstained from declaring war, and to have thrown the whole odium of aggression upon their adversaries!

But on the 1st of February, upon the motion of Brissot, the national convention decreed, among other articles, "That George King of England had never ceased, since the revolution of the 19th of August 1792, from giving the French nation proofs of his enmity, and of his attachment to the concert of crowned heads; and that he had drawn into the league the stadtholder of the united provinces; that, contrary to the first article of the treaty of 1783, the English minister had granted protection and succour to the emigrants and others, who have openly appeared in arms against France; that, on the news of the execution of Louis Capet, they were led to commit an outrage against the French republic, by ordering the ambassador of France to quit Great-Britain; that the English have stopped divers boats and vessels laden with corn for France, whilst at the same time, contrary to the treaty of 1786, they continue the exportation of it to other foreign countries; that, in order to thwart more efficaciously the commercial transactions of the republic with England, they have by an act of parliament prohibited the circulation of assignats! The convention therefore *declare*, that in consequence of these acts of hostility and aggression, the French

French republic is at war with the King of England and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces.

In the course of the winter, general Dumourier had proposed to the executive council to take possession of Maestricht, without which he alledged he could neither defend the Meuse, nor the territory of Liege. He purposed to take and hold the place without entering into further hostilities with the Dutch, and engaging by manifesto to restore it at the end of the war. The place was not then palisadoed, nor provided with a proper garrison, and general Dumourier being at that time in great force in the neighbourhood of Liege, there was every probability that he would have succeeded. The executive council, at that time, declined the proposal, and expressly commanded the general to preserve the strictest neutrality towards the united provinces. This circumstance affords a proof that the French durst not provoke hostilities with England or her allies, before the dispute was entered into with the British ministry, the particulars of which we have just related.

As hostilities however had actually commenced, the possession of Holland was an object of the utmost importance to the French, and must, indeed, have been decisive of the war in their favour.

Circumstanced as general Dumourier was, at this period, it is difficult to ascertain what was his plan of the campaign. He had himself intimated that it was long his fixed intention to effect an escape into some other country: and, with such a design, predominant in his mind, there is no probability that he would be very earnest in promoting the success of this expedition.

The general himself has in his memoirs stated two plans; the first of

which was proposed by the refugee Hollanders, who had formed a small revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand; the other was the plan which the general himself gives, as that which he really meant to pursue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee: and this was to advance with a body of troops posted at Mordyck, and masking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoon, Stenberg, Klunder, and Williamstadt on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maestricht, but was instructed by general Dumourier not to attempt a regular siege at so unfavourable a season, but to assault the place with bombs and red hot balls; and after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief had passed Mordyck, to leave the continuance of the siege to general Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmost expedition to Nimeguen, and in passing the duchy of Cleves to intercept the Prussians, should they have anticipated his arrival there.

Venlo was at the same time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer.

It will remain for our military readers to determine, whether, as so much of the success of Dumourier's expedition depended on the rapidity of his movements, and the surprising of Holland at once, by the invasion of a considerable force, it was advisable or prudent to divide his army into many detachments, or to waste any part of his time or force in besieging places which did

did not lie directly on his route. Maestricht was invested early in February by general Miranda with 12,000 men on the banks of the Meuse, and 6,000 on the right; and by the 23d of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general summoned the prince of Hesse, who commanded there, but his answer was a direct refusal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from the batteries, and according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in several places. While the French were constructing their works, the garrison made two sallies, but with little success.

In the mean time general Dumourier assembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he published a manifesto addressd to the Batavians, to which they gave the subjoined answer, which contained the whole of the manifesto we have transcribed literally.

If we have lately heard with the greatest surprise, and the most lively indignation, of the decree by which the national convention of France declared, in a manner the most unexpected, and without the smallest colour of justice or of reason, that she was in a state of war with the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, that is to say, in fact, with the republic, with what sentiments ought we not to be penetrated at the receipt of the following letter, having for its title,

Proclamation of General Dumourier to the Batavians.

“Batavians!

“The Stadtholder, who, according to the principles of republicans, ought only to be your captain general, who ought

not to exercise, but for your happiness, the powers with which you have invested him, subordinate to the will and decisions of the republic, holds you in oppression and slavery.

“You know perfectly well your rights, which in 1787 you attempted to recover from the ambitious house of Orange. At that time you had recourse to the French nation; but as she herself then groaned under the despotism of a perfidious court, you were made the sport of the vile intriguers who then governed France.

“A handful of Prussians, commanded by the very duke of Brunswick whom I have since driven from Champagne, were sufficient to subjugate you once more. Many of you had been the victims of the vengeance of your ****; many others were obliged to take refuge in France; and since that time, you lost all hopes of freedom; till a revolution, the most astonishing the history of the world offers, supported by the most glorious success, has given you in Frenchmen, allies at once powerful, generous, and free, who will second your efforts to be free, or will learn to die with you.

“Batavians! it is not against you that the French nation has declared war; friends to all nations, she has only for enemies all tyrants. The more enemies we have, the more will our principles be propagated: perseverance and victory will support the inprescriptible rights of man; and nations will be weary of exhausting their blood and treasures for a small number of individuals, who keep discord alive merely to deceive and enslave the people. We enter Holland as friends to the Dutch, and as irreconcilable enemies of the house of Orange. Its yoke appears too insupportable, for your choice to

be doubtful. Do not you see that this demi-despot who tyrannizes over you, sacrifices to his personal interests the best interests of your republic? Did he not engage you in 1782 to break with a disgraceful perfidy, your treaty of alliance with us?

"Has he not since constantly favoured English commerce at the expence of your own? At this moment does he not deliver up your most important settlement, the Cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon, and all your commerce in India, to the only nation whose incessant rivalry you have reason to fear? Do you believe that the English, insatiable after power and wealth, will ever restore to you these important possessions, which must secure them the empire of the Indies? No, Batavians! you will never rank among the first maritime powers till you are free. Send back to Germany that ambitious house, which for a hundred years has sacrificed you to its pride. Send back the sister of Frederick William, who has at his command those ferocious Prussians, who will awe you as often as you attempt to break their chains. This calling in of the Prussians is constantly an insult to your brave troops. The house of Orange justly fears lest the spirit of liberty should sway them. A republican army cannot long survive tyranny. Very soon the Dutch troops, soon the conquerors of the Dogger-bank, will join their colours and their fleets to those of France.

"The first who shall range themselves under the standard of liberty, shall not only be assured of the continuance of such employments as they enjoy under the republic, but of more consequential ones; and that at the

expence of the slaves of the house of Orange.

"I am about to visit you, surrounded by the generous martyrs to the revolution of 1787. Their perseverance and the sacrifices they have made, merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee, which will increase in number. This committee, will be extremely useful in the first moments of your revolution: and all the members, who have no other ambition than to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter with the different classes of social order as soon as your national convention shall be assembled.

"I come into Holland at the head of 60,000 fine and victorious Frenchmen; 60,000 more defend the Belgic Provinces, and are ready to follow me, should I meet with any resistance. We are not the aggressors: the party attached to the house of Orange has long carried on against us a perfidious and secret war. All the plots against our liberty have been concerted at the Hague.

"We will seek at the Hague the authors of our misfortunes; we have no anger and vengeance but against them; we will over-run your rich provinces as friends and brothers. You will see the difference between the conduct of free men, who stretch out to you their hands, and tyrants, who inundate and lay waste your country.

"I promise to the peaceable cultivators, whose crops are sacrificed to the fury of tyrants, an indemnity, by the sale of the substance of those who shall have ordered these useless inundations. I also promise to deliver into their hands and to their just vengeance, the persons of those wicked administrators, magistrates, or military commanders, who shall have ordered them. To avoid,

avoid, however, all the desolations which they occasion, I exhort the inhabitants of the country if they have sentiments of liberty, to oppose these inundations: and I will follow my proclamation close enough to support the Batavians, and punish the wicked.

"Batavians! have confidence in a man that you know; who has never failed to fulfil what he has promised; and who conducts to battle freemen, before whom have fled, and will flee, the Prussians the satellites of your tyrants.

"The Belgians call me their deliverer, I hope to be soon yours.

"DUMOURIER,"

"General in chief of the army of
"the French republic."

Observations made on it by the Dutch.

The tenor of this paper, printed at Antwerp, in the Dutch and French languages, leads to a presumption that it has been destined by general Dumourier to announce and precede the attack with which he has long threatened the republic: to expose to the view of Europe, and in particular, to that of the inhabitants of these provinces, the aim of his enterprise; and, if it were possible, to justify its motives.

A writing, however, so filled with the grossest falshoods and absurdities, as well as the most atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been published in a similar conjuncture. On examining with attention the contents of this proclamation, every attentive reader will, like ourselves, find it difficult to persuade himself, that it can in reality be ascribed to him whose name it carries; to a man who has the reputation of being enlightened and intelligent, and who makes a profession of uprightness

and morality. Thus do we feel no repugnance in abandoning the examination of offensive sophisms and facts alledged in it, to the good sense of all the well disposed inhabitants of this country; and with this view we have not hesitated to contribute ourselves to the publicity of this piece, by inserting it in the present manifesto. We think it, however, a duty we owe to our honour, to the whole nation, to the present age, and to posterity, not to leave without reply, at a time when these pacific states are threatened by a most unjust invasion, all the falshoods advanced against us; and certainly, had we sought an occasion to discuss the present subject, we could never have found one presenting more advantages.

The author of the proclamation sets out by representing monseigneur the prince hereditary Stadtholder, as a tyrant, who holds the good people of these provinces in oppression, and as one who possesses no other power than that of captain general. It is impossible to display a more profound ignorance of our constitution, according to which the illustrious charge of captain general and that of the hereditary stadtholder are absolute distinct dignities. As to what regards the manner in which monseigneur, the prince hereditary stadtholder exercises those functions, which are confided in him under these two distinct relations, we appeal to the testimony of all our countrymen. Who among them will honestly maintain, that the nature of the stadtholdership gives to him who is invested with it the power of oppressing and subjugating the citizens? Is there, besides, any one inhabitant of these provinces, unless he is entirely blinded by a party spirit, who forbears to do justice to the amiable and benevolent disposition of
a prince

a prince, whose personal character and administration have constantly been marked with the stamp of benevolence, moderation, and the most scrupulous exactness in the fulfilment of his duties?

The other heads of the charge levelled against him are not less absurd and ridiculous. How can monseigneur the prince of Orange have broken, in 1782, a treaty of alliance which was not concluded till 1785? Who has ever said or thought seriously, that he either has or could have wished to favour the trade of the English nation at the expence of our own? Is not every mercantile influence absolutely foreign to his powers, and does not commerce open a sufficiently extensive field to employ the industrious activity of two friendly and allied nations?—Who among us, lastly, has ever heard mention of the concession to the English of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the Island of Ceylon? Who therefore does not see, that all these reproaches are mere fictions? and how is it possible to alledge them in a paper destined to convey to the whole universe an account of the motives which have engaged a pretended republic to declare a most unjust war against a free and independent state.

With equal falshood does the paper now before us speak of the revolution of 1787, an event which foreigners, or if you will, the enemies of our constitution, mistaking, represent as an act of violence and oppression.

Every one knows, that the purport of all which was then done, was merely to re-establish and consolidate the ancient and legitimate constitution upon which the republic was founded, has increased from small beginnings, has so long been flourishing and happy, and which the efforts of a few ambi-

tious men threatened with a total subversion.

“It is not against the Batavian nation,” says the proclamation, in continuation, “that France has declared war, a friend to all nations, she has for her enemies despots only.” Let not our fellow citizens allow themselves to be dazzled by these lying expressions; let them not lose sight of the signal abuse, now become so common, of the words liberty, slavery, and oppression. Those who at present govern France, and who think they have a right to dispose in so arbitrary a way of the lot and well-being of nations, have but too clearly proved in what the friendship consists which they profess to other nations, and what they mean by tyranny and despotism; they testify their friendship to these nations, by sowing among them division and discord, and by violently stripping them of the privileges essential to social order, and sanctioned by their antiquity; privileges, the remembrance of which they even seek to efface, by destroying the charters on which they are founded.

The gifts they offer under the fine titles of fraternity and liberty, are no other than the very unbridled licence, the self-same irreligious spirit, in which they glory so openly, and these accompanied by all the evils which result from them, and under which they themselves groan; such as anarchy, murder, pillage, misery and famine. They blacken with the names despotism and slavery, all those civil and religious institutions which have hitherto been respected by man, because they are indispensable to his happiness, and the existence of civil society. Men cannot live in society without a government to superintend their well-being; and the principles which the

French, with arms in their hands, now labour to spread abroad, are calculated to overturn all governments, and to substitute for safety, repose and good order, anarchy, and all the evils which spring from it.

Among the numerous subjects of astonishment with which the proclamation furnishes us, and the absurdity of which we are more particularly called on to demonstrate to our countrymen, we cannot silently pass over what is said on the subject of the few unknown and despicable men, who, under the title of the "Batavian Committee," usurp an imaginary power, and who are described to us as being charged with the provisional administration, until we also, we ourselves, shall, after the example of wretched France, have formed our National Convention.

Shall we then be obliged to renounce the mild authority which governs us, to submit our property, every thing that is dear to us, our lives themselves, to the caprice of a few unknown, contemptible, ignorant individuals, who will dispose of us and ours at their pleasure, until the administration shall pass from their hands into those of the pretended convention, blindly devoted to France; of a complexion with the one we now see in our neighbourhood, and whose authority will necessarily be attended by the same disastrous consequence to us, as those which have taken place in France? How can it have been conceived, that such ideas would be cherished by a wise and sensible people, little inclined by its character to adopt those disastrous inventions of our times, and accustomed to a just and moderate administration?

We also persuade ourselves, that it is not necessary to caution the good inhabitants of the country against paying

any attention to the invitation and promises made to them, to engage them to range themselves beneath the standard of this pretended liberty; or to the insignificant threats employed to intimidate them from practising the means of defence with which nature has supplied us. It is impossible that there can be found among them men so base and so degenerate as to form an union with the enemies of their country, and, conjointly with them, to spread among their fellow-citizens desolation, despair, and the long train of irreparable evils, which are a necessary effect of a most cruel rapacity, and which so many countries subdued by the French, now experience.

We rather expect, that all citizens, laying aside any party spirit which disunites them, will unite their efforts to ours, and to those of all the true friends of their country, to defend and preserve, under the divine protection, the territory which has given them birth, and in which they have been bred; and they will snatch religion and true liberty, those guarantees of our happiness, from the insupportable yoke of foreign and barbarous hordes. We expect every thing from their courage and bravery; and we are persuaded that they will not suffer themselves to be intimidated by the exaggerated statement of the forces, which are represented as advancing against them. We persuade ourselves that they will neither forget the invincible valour with which our immortal ancestors resisted successfully those very Frenchmen, at a time when the greatest powers of Europe did not, as at this day, combat with us, but on the other hand, were leagued with our enemies;—nor the situation of our country, which, especially in this season, opposes insurmountable

mountable obstacles to an hostile invasion;—nor the diligence and energetic activity of the government, which will neglect nothing to secure the success of our common efforts;—nor, lastly, the efficacious succours we expect in a little time from our faithful allies. If, after so many important considerations, they may still need a motive to confirm them in their resolution to sacrifice every thing to the defence of their dear country, we will place before their view the example of our neighbours, the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, who have called on and welcomed as friends the very General who dares to call himself their deliverer, and those very Frenchmen he commands. These Belgians now reap the bitterest fruits of their heedless credulity.

Deign, thou supreme and omnipotent Being, who hast so often extricated this Republic from the most imminent dangers—deign to preserve it at this day from such a deliverance, and from such friends.

Thus done and resolved in the Assembly of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Provinces.

Feb. 20, 1793.

(L.S.) *V. F. H. Vanwassenaer*, v. t.

By order of the same,

(Signed) *W. Fagel*.

The French army under Dumourier, consisted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which however were troops of the line; he estimates them himself at about 13,700 men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the 17th of February, but it was the 22d before the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His first movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right division, under ge-

neral d'Arcon; and colonel le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the same time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of these places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a state of inundation.

The French by thus precipitately declaring war against Britain and Holland, after the murder of their mild and lawful sovereign, had in effect thrown down the gauntlet, to all the established governments in Europe, and pushed their mad principles into the West-India Islands, whereby our settlements there were greatly endangered.

This was certainly a time for the British ministry not to temporize; and when they had interfered before, in the affairs of Holland, upon the rejection of the Stadtholder by armed mobs, so as to keep the French from intermeddling in the affairs of that country, the present ministry had the warmest approbation of that measure, in a speech which Mr. Fox delivered on that occasion, in the house of commons; wherein he considered the system of preserving the balance of power in Europe, and the independency of Holland upon France, as essentially necessary to the welfare of Britain, though now he can rail at a war entered into for this express purpose.

If ever, according to the principles then laid down, there was an occasion for interference in the affairs of Holland, it became more necessary in the present circumstances; and therefore orders were issued, on the 20th of February, 1793, for a detachment of the British foot guards to embark for the defence of Holland.

The brigade of guards was stationed at the Brille and Dort, to cover the Dutch frontier, which Dumourier had
H h 2 attacked,

attacked, and taken Breda, with a strong suspicion of treachery in the governor. He then reduced Gertrudenburg, and laid siege to Williamstadt; but Boetzlar, the brave governor, kept him in play so well, that he was never able wholly to invest it; being protected by the river Maes, toward Dort, Rotterdam and Bergen-op-Zoom. The mouth of the Scheldt was also well guarded, so that the Dutch were enabled to relieve the garrison at pleasure, and to annoy the besiegers with gun-boats, whenever they attempted to make their approaches.

Additional gun-boats, built at Rotterdam, were dispatched to join Admiral Kingsborn's fleet; half of these were manned with British sailors, under Captain Berkley, and those on duty had many opportunities of shewing their courage; but these regretted the loss of that spirited officer, Lieutenant Western, of the Syren frigate, who fell on the 21st of March, being shot through the heart with a cannon ball, just as he was in the act of pointing the gun of his boat against the besiegers' works.

Dumourier made a desperate attempt to take Williamstadt by surprise; and under cover of a dark night, advanced silently along the dyke, with a chosen body of men, but they were most fortunately discovered by sailors on board frigates stationed in the Maes: who suffered them to advance within gun-shot, and then opened a terrible fire upon them with grape-shot; the artillery from the ramparts roared in concert with that of the frigates, and the assailants were driven back with great slaughter.

Dumourier thus failed in the attempt, and was pressingly called upon to command the beaten army, under Valence,

in Flanders; when he left General de Flers with the French, on the frontiers of Holland, and hastened to face General Clairfait, who was driving the French army out of Austrian Flanders, with equal rapidity as that in which they had over-run it.

Dumourier was constrained to evacuate Flanders, but he had the address to form an engagement with colonel Mack, stipulating that his army should be permitted to retreat without farther molestation, after their evacuation of Brussels.

In the mean time, Gen. de Flers continued the siege of Williamstadt, without success, till the situation of the French becoming very critical, on the 23d of March he ordered them to be withdrawn from Williamstadt, and retreat towards Antwerp: throwing five thousand men, with himself, into Breda, while colonel Tilly, with two thousand five hundred, and some cavalry, retreated to Gertrudenburg. Thus ended, for that time, the invasion of Holland, Breda being evacuated, which was the last fortress the French held there, but they quitted it on the 22d of April.

The third regiment of guards was now relieved, by the fourteenth infantry, sent out to increase the British force in Holland: and the whole brigade, except three companies of the third regiment, embarked for Bergen-op-Zoom. Landing there April 1st, the division left at Dort having been relieved by a Swiss regiment, in Dutch pay, followed on the 7th; at which period the allied forces were victorious in every direction, so that Dumourier had retreated from the environs of Tournay, to the strong camp at Maulde; which, by its position, could be defended

fended by eight thousand men, against any force likely to attack it.

Commissioners from the Convention had frequently been in that camp, and Dumourier suspected that his arrest had been determined upon. He was well aware, from the complexion of republican policy, that such an arrest was a certain prelude to the guillotine; which, in French despotism, has been peremptorily and arbitrarily applied, like the bow-string under the Turkish. He therefore resolved to disappoint the plots of his enemies, and march his army to Paris, to suppress the Jacobin faction there; but previous to this, he entered into a negociation to deliver up Lisle and Valenciennes to Prince Cobourg; supposing that if he advanced directly to Paris, the great body of the people, then groaning under a tyrannical faction, would be glad of a deliverer, at the head of an army, which the greatest part of those termed Moderates, were ready to join; for, they had sufficient cause to execrate the democracy then set up, and verging, in many instances, to downright anarchy.

Without doubt, the restoration of royalty in England, by General Monk, occurred to Dumourier's mind; but the cases of these two republican generals were entirely different; for though the republican forces in England were under the orders of their parliament, they had never been under the controul of deputies, sent from that body, even when its generals held commissions under it; and when Oliver turned the parliament out, every species of government which followed afterward, was more or less modelled to divide the power between Cromwell and his officers. Even when he assumed the protectorship, his generals were placed

in the districts of both England and Scotland, with a power much greater than lords lieutenants of counties had ever exercised; and these generals submitted to this measure, as most likely to perpetuate their own power, which constituted a military government, so firmly fixed by his policy, that Lambert, the most ambitious of his generals, had no chance of opposing Cromwell; and the struggle for power only commenced under Richard, his weak successor, who had neither the policy, nor military capacity to manage the commonwealth, and was induced to resign the protectorship.

At this season, Monk knew the people were heartily tired of a military government; and earnestly wished for a return of monarchy. But he had the policy not to declare himself openly, until he had, by previous management, removed such officers, in that part of the army he commanded, as were tainted with republican principles.—When this was done, he marched towards London, with the sole pretence of reinstating the surviving members of the long parliament, which Oliver turned out; to whom he pretended no intention of dictating, till he had quartered his army in London, and they were absolutely in his power.

Dumourier took none of these precautions before he had openly declared his intention of marching directly to Paris; although he well knew the authority of commanders in French armies was frequently controuled by deputies sent from their convention.—He had only time to engage about fifty hussars at his devotion, to arrest the French deputies, and so far succeeded, as to send them under an escort to General Clairfait at Tournay.

After this bold measure, true policy would

would have prompted him to put his army immediately on the march for Paris, the focus of republicanism, and to declare for the members of the convention, who were under controul of the mountain, as the jacobin faction was then called. These had, by secret cabals, introduced an overbearing party into the convention, exasperating all the moderate men, and concealed royalists, who had numerous friends in the army.

Instead of copying the conduct of General Monk, in this state of his affairs, he concluded a treaty with Col. Mack, and engaged to give up Lisle, with Valenciennes, to Prince Cobourg. When addressing his army, at the camp of Maulde, they evinced a transitory disposition to approve of his arresting the deputies, and even to follow him wherever he would lead them, which was agreed upon the 3d of April; but as he was proceeding on the 4th to deliver up the fortresses stipulated by treaty, he fell in with a column of his own troops, marching from Valenciennes. Surprised at this movement, for which he had given no orders, he advanced to question them; but perceiving soldiers at the head of the column, approach with threats, he galloped away with extraordinary presence of mind, toward a broad dyke, which his charger refusing to leap, he quitted, and scrambling over on foot, mounted a horse which belonged to a servant of the duke de Chartres, and very narrowly escaped with his life, from a brisk fire of small arms, until he crossed a branch of the Scheldt, and gained a village in the possession of the Austrians.

He returned, however, the next day to the camp at Maulde, where he was received with apparent joy by his

troops. But Prince Coburg's declaration was then published, importing that he would co-operate with Dumourier, and assist him, if needful, with his whole force, in restoring a happy constitution to France, with peace and tranquillity to Europe.

Upon the appearance of this declaration in the French camp at Maulde, the cannoneers began to murmur, and soon after drew off their guns towards Valenciennes; the national volunteers followed them, branding Dumourier with the epithet of TRAITOR; and it was necessary that he should think of his safety;—so that, accompanied with some generals and officers, he took shelter in Gen. Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay. Such were the circumstances of Dumourier's ill-concerted plan, and hasty flight. But if he had copied more the caution and policy of General Monk, in all likelihood, he might have restored the French monarchy, and prevented that effusion of blood, which followed the unbounded ambition of French democrats; whose power became more consolidated on the failure of this attempt to curb it, and urged them to send their armies at a greater distance from Paris, on the pretence of fraternizing other states, yet in reality to enrich themselves by plunder. But members of the convention have been cautious ever since, of going on mission to arrest generals at the head of their armies, bearing in mind the fate of those sent to arrest Dumourier.

During these transactions, the British guards, and others sent to join them, lay inactive at Bergen-op-Zoom; but were very alert upon an order from thence, nearer the scene of action, in Flanders, expecting to be engaged in some actual service; and quitting Bergen-op-Zoom

gen-op-Zoom on the 9th of April, they arrived by several stages, on land and water, at Orq, near Tournay, on the 25th of that month.

General Dampierre, who commanded the French army, on the flight of Dumourier, had made such frequent attacks on the Prussians, that the British guards, expected soon to be in action, but had not left their cantonments at Orq, till the 7th of May. That morning, the duke of York visited general Knoblesdorf, at St. Amand. The Prussian general hinted an apprehension of a visit from general Dampierre the next morning. His royal highness professed a readiness of sending the brigade of guards, with some Hanoverians, to his assistance; that crafty general, apprehending it would enable him to spare his own soldiers, thankfully closed with the offer; and promised to avail himself of these auxiliaries, which were under arms at midnight, and proceeded through Tournay, to Maulde, where they halted at day-break on the 8th of May.

Dampierre, the French general, had established some formidable batteries, in the wood of St. Amand, opposite to the Abbe Viscoine, with a body of 1000 men, drawn from Lisle, and posted at the Abby de Hannon; whence were able, under protection of the wood, to advance upon the Prussians, and retreat, as they had often done, under cover of it, in case of a repulse. Upon the 8th of May, early in the morning, a general attack commenced; when the British grenadiers, first battalion of the Coldstream, and third of guards, were ordered to a small Prussian camp, near St. Ronand; they remained there till toward evening, when general Knoblesdorf, wishing

one battalion to advance; the Coldstream (first on duty) marched toward Viscoine; the Prussian general himself conducting them along a causeway to the skirts of the wood, he desired they would enter it, then galloped off immediately, leaving colonel Pennington without directions as to farther operations.

The French redoubts were so constructed, as in a great measure to command the causeway leading to the wood, which the Prussian general knew, and was therefore in such a hurry to scamper off. The field-pieces of the guards were planted upon this causeway, and, by a brisk, well-directed fire, kept the guns opposed to them in check; and the guards did not deceive the expectation which General Knoblesdorf had conceived of their courage, but rushed into the wood, and firing a general volley, came to push of bayonet, when the French fled before them; but while they were eager in pursuit, a heavy cannon was wheeled from a battery, which had been wholly concealed from them. A terrible fire was then opened upon our intrepid countrymen, within pistol shot, and in a few moments the companies most opposed to it suffered considerably. The left wing escaped, for so sudden was the attack, that the last division had scarce passed the hedge separating the causeway from the wood, when the foremost were engaged.

A most dreadful carnage must have ensued, had it not been prevented by the presence of mind which Colonel Pennington evinced upon this occasion; for he ordered the drums to beat to arms, lest the French should think the guards retreated, and at the same instant word was passed from man to man, to form back at the colours, which

which he had previously directed to be planted in the rear. Thus, in a most judicious manner, and much to his credit as a commander, he extricated his men from a very perilous situation.

This was the first time the British guards had been engaged, and it was allowed that they behaved most nobly, both in their spirited attack, and the coolness manifested in extricating themselves from a fire of heavy cannon, opened upon them within pistol shot, in which case it was well ordered that ensign Howard carried the colours unfurled, to the rear, when the drums beat to arms; by which means the enemy's fire was attracted from the front, where it did most execution, to the rear at the colours, where the ensign who carried them was wounded, and it was astonishing that the other officers escaped so well as these, most attentive to the critical situation of their men, made up to the colours to rally them there, regardless of their own personal security. The greatest heroism was also exerted by several wounded soldiers, who seemed to vie with each other in manifesting a contempt for danger and bodily pain, exerting what feeble efforts of strength remained to load and fire at the enemy. One brave fellow in particular, having received a wound in the leg, kept loading and firing on his knee, singing with a loud voice, "God save the King," until he fell, dispatched by three successive body wounds.

Such an instance of heroism deserves to be recorded (if the soldier's name had been preserved) to his honour, together with that of serjeant major Darnleys, who died a prisoner in France, in consequence of this attack; for not being able to retreat, he fought

till he was so terribly mangled, that the French, who witnessed his valour, praised it, and it was for some time reported that he was well treated by them, and recovering of his wounds, without any foundation but vague conjectures.

Fortunately, the French gave the Prussian general more credit than his behaviour deserved, for thus sending British troops into the woods, without orders how to act, or taking any measure for their support; so that if Dampierre had known the forlorn situation of the Coldstream, unsupported by Prussians, not a single man might have escaped; but he was deceived by their spirited attack, and finding, by their scarlet uniform, that Knoblesdorf had been reinforced by British troops, the French gave up their intention for that night, and had reason to be on their guard while such troops were present. The Prussians also were lavish in their praises, being sensible that the sharp service put upon them, the road to which was enfiladed with cannon, must have sacrificed them many men, and brought the French out of the wood at their heels; which was only prevented by the orderly and cool retreat of the guards. The Prussians would have flattered them with the honour of such another attack the next day, but general Lake refused it until the duke of York's intentions were known, who politely declined it; but the French, dispirited with numbers killed and wounded, and apprehensive of another attack, withdrew in the night.—General Dampierre had his thigh smashed by a cannon ball, at the close of the evening, (supposed from the fire of a British six-pounder) and died of the wound.

The British being reinforced with light

light dragoons and infantry, with Hanoverian contingents, amounted to 10,000 men, under the duke of York's command, and received his orders to advance on the 29th of April, from cantonments at Tournay, being replaced there by Dutch troops.

Upon the arrival of the British, an attack was planned to drive the French from the wood of St. Amand, and for this purpose, a column of troops, commanded by the duke of York, advanced towards the Rhonelle, conducted by proper guides, without approaching near enough to be discovered by the enemy's out-posts; these lay upon their arms until day-break.

The attack now commenced, and the French picquet precipitately retreating, the column under command of his royal highness the duke of York and general Ferrara, advancing in different directions nearer the Rhonelle, several batteries opened upon them, from the opposite bank of that river, with little execution. Early in that day's action, some squadrons of French cavalry threatened the flank of general Ferrara's column, but these were attacked in a most spirited manner, by Hanoverian life guards, drawn up in the plain below; and nothing could surpass that bravery with which they galloped up the hill, menacing the French, who at length teized by their threats, came down upon them sword in hand, but were met more than half way, both parties urging their horses heads against each other with great animosity, till the French gave way, and were pursued with slaughter; for every broad-sword of the Hanoverian guards was stained to the hilt with blood: nor did this brave corps come off without loss, as three officers were killed, two taken, four wounded, and

sixty-seven rank and file killed, wounded or missing. General Ferrara, after some cannonading, carried the entrenchments in front of the French line with bayonets, having with him the 14th, 53d, and flank companies of the 37th, British, composing the second brigade, under the command of general Abercrombie. Seven pieces of cannon, and above one hundred and fifty prisoners, were taken in the redoubt, for such was the expeditious and forcible charge with bayonets, that general Abercrombie lost only one drummer, one rank and file, killed, with two serjeants, and twelve rank and file wounded. [Note here, that the terms *rank and file*, comprehend corporals and private soldiers only.]

Night coming on, the troops were countermarched, being quite weary with fatigue, for they had been on march the greater part of the night of the 22d, and in action on the 23d, from break of day till sun-setting, with no other refreshment but a little ammunition bread and water, when they lopped off boughs of trees, and plashed them together as a slight cover for night, and were permitted to lie down, without quitting their arms, after strong picquet guards were posted in their front. Such precaution was thought necessary, although in the morning of the 24th, the French abandoned their works in the strong camp at Famars, then deemed impregnable, and withdrew to their grand army.

Colonel Mack, who had planned the attack upon Famars, was slightly wounded on the 22d in the morning, and quitted the field before the victory was completed.

The siege of Valenciennes being undertaken, his royal highness the duke of York was complimented with the

command of the besieging army; and he sent an aid-de-camp with a summons to Ferrand, the governor; which was answered with the insolence of new French citizenship, in a paper tied round with their tri-colours, being a copy of an oath which the garrison had taken, rather to be buried under their ramparts than surrender the fortress; as if an oath could bind men who had already perjured themselves, in breaking the solemn oath which they had taken publicly, to maintain a constitution which they had fabricated themselves in 1789, and soon after broke it, as our republicans of 1641 did their solemn league and covenant.

Upon forming the trenches it was soon perceived that the British guards could do more work than others employed, they being accustomed to great exertions of bodily strength by coal heaving in the Thames, when off duty at home; and by their unremitting labour, dismounting batteries were planted on the third parallel by the 18th of July when a second summons was sent to Ferrand; who answered by a short scrawl, written in French, on the outside of the duke of York's letter, that Custine would give an answer. The duke had little to fear from this threatening, as his works were advanced so close to the covert-way, that bombs of any size could not be thrown with sure effect, insomuch that splinters of shells and stones were substituted on both sides, and it was suspected that the Commissioners from the French Assembly, then in Valenciennes would induce the governor to continue its defence till an actual storm reduced it. Preparatory to this, a battery had been constructed, near the village of Bréquet, by the advice of major Congreve: which so effec-

tually enfiladed the ramparts, that the garrison lost five hundred men the first day it was opened; and it was certain death for any to appear in that direction.

Besides three formidable parallels, by which the besiegers had now nearly advanced to the crest of the glacis, they pushed their works yet farther, and not venturing to break ground, exposed, as they then were, to the fire of musquetry from the covert-way, they proceeded by sapping; for which purpose, a large gabion, upwards of seven feet high, was pushed over the parapet, and miners advancing in armour, proof against rifle shot, rolled it before them, as a cover to their persons, while they filled expeditiously smaller gabions with earth, placing them close together, in a line parallel to the trenches; other gabions were rolled on, and smaller formed, with the like arrangement, till the approach was judged near enough to the glacis. The miners now began the sap, and having completed their excavations, a modern device was adopted by the engineers, first used by the Austrians at the siege of Belgrade; for iron globes were prepared, of a capacity to contain many hundred weight of gun-powder each; these were termed globes of compression, being intended to clear away any countermine of the garrison.

Orders were issued to the troops, on the 25th of July, before the explosion of the globes of compression, to storm the covert-way, and make a lodgment on the horn-work. Detachments of British, Hanoverians, and Hessians, formed general Abercrombie's column, destined to attack the salient angle of the ravelin; 150 men from the brigade of guards, formed the van of this column; these were commanded by colonel



The Bombardment of Valenciennes, which Surrendered July, 27: 1793.

colonel Leigh, of the 3d. The covert-way was just carried in time to prevent the French from springing mines out of the reach of explosion, from the globes of compression; and a subterraneous passage was discovered, leading from the covert-way to the horn-work, and no troops appearing, to interrupt the workmen, a lodgment was made, and a redoubt was constructed, for the purpose of battering in breach, what is termed the counterguard, being a defence between the horn-work and body of the fortress.

The British had their full share of this night's attack, which was a partial storm, and ensign Tollemash, an officer in the guards, was killed by the explosion of a random shell; captain Wad, of the 1st regiment of guards, and lieutenant Dewer, of the 14th, were the only British officers wounded,—the lieutenant most severely. He had the spirit to accompany the storming party as a volunteer, as also captain Whetham, of the guards. The horn-work being carried thus expeditiously, was of great consequence, as it was wholly undermined, and a dreadful explosion prevented. The engineers employed were well convinced that no troops could endure more labour, and stand all risks in a post of danger, than the British, for they constantly placed them where it was of most consequence to form the new approaches, with dispatch and resolution; nay, so little respite was allowed them, that men coming off from night duty, often found themselves ordered on covering parties in the evening, and the British camp was frequently left without soldiers, but those forming rear and quarter guards.

On the 26th of July, his royal highness the duke of York dispatched

a third summons to the governor, and another to the Municipality of Valenciennes, with an assurance, that unless they entered then into negotiation, all future communication would be foreclosed. An answer from the town was thought so favourable, as to cause a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours: and the terms of capitulation were signed on the 28th, by which it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with military honours, by the gate leading to Cambray, and ground their arms near Biquet; being permitted to withdraw into the interior of France, upon the officers giving their word of honour, and soldiers making oath, not to serve against the allies, during the war; which oath was violated, as many of them were afterwards taken prisoners, near Bourlon, on the 9th of August, which was a proof how little dependence is to be placed on democratic oaths.

The most able and experienced officers were of opinion, that after this success, it was necessary to reduce Lisle, and that its surrender would most likely terminate the war with France. But upon a consultation of the generals, the army, which, if kept together, would have amassed a force consisting of 200,000 men, was divided into parties, for the purpose of inclosing the French, and laying siege to Dunkirk, while Lisle was left to threaten Flanders in their absence.

On the 6th of August, a brigade of British cavalry was brought up to join the duke's army; these were the Blues, the 3d dragoon guards, the Inniskillens, and Scots greys; the king's dragoon guards were left in garrison at Ostend.

After some ineffectual attempts to execute the surrounding scheme, wherein the forces of the allies were harassed,

to little purpose, and the cavalry in particular, the reduction of Dunkirk was proposed; and if ever any measure in the present war was dictated by insanity, it was this undertaking, by which an immense force was checked in its full career, and frittered away in partial enterprizes; and the British force separated from the allies in consequence of this fatal consultation, for the reduction of Dunkirk, without any thing like a covering army; yet the British advanced confidently to undertake the siege, marching for that purpose through Fecchin, Marchiennes, and Roubaix; with Lisle on their left, they arrived at Turcoin on the 16th of August, where they had scarce pitched their tents, after a long march, but orders were conveyed to the battalion of guards, to push on and assist the Dutch garrison at Menin, by taking post at Lincelles. Upon this, regardless of fatigue and danger, the brigade advanced so rapidly, that in little more than an hour they were at the post, near six miles distant from the place of encampment.

The brigade having arrived at Lincelles, instantly moved forward to a large open field of beans, in the rear of the village; the beans were grown so high, that they could not see how to proceed, but they found that uncertainty cleared up, by a brisk fire of grape-shot from a post in their front, which, as well as the village, they supposed to be in possession of the Dutch. General Lake looked round in vain for these allies, and was soon convinced they must have retreated precipitately; but as there was no time for deliberation, the men formed in line, as regularly as the deep trenched ground would permit, and unappalled by incessant discharges of grape-shot, rushed onward, cheering each other with loud shouts, and leap-

ing the ditches, in front of embrasures, from whence the guns discharged such destructive volleys, that they in an instant entered different batteries, before the French were able to escape, and drove them through the village with their bayonets; so that in less than half an hour, they had seized their guns, and recovered posts which the Dutch had shamefully abandoned.

General Lake very prudently restrained the guards from rushing on, being well aware that the French might rally, when they knew the inferiority of his force to theirs: but they were in full march to Lisle, with their field-pieces drawn up to cover their retreat, though a party actually advanced to a position, where a six-pounder opened on them, for a moment only, as its ammunition was expended; but this salute, and a well-directed street-fire, made them draw off, and rejoin their flying companions. Had there been one squadron of horse to advance upon them, the glory of that day, at Lincelles, would have been complete.

General Lake dispatched an aid-de-camp to head-quarters to his royal highness at Menin, informing him that the Dutch were fled, and the guards were in a critical situation; upon which advice, the second brigade, and some battalions of Hessians, were advanced to support them, but could not arrive before the affair was terminated.

The siege of Dunkirk now commenced, without heavy cannon, or a sufficient covering army: yet this fatal siege was undertaken before the gun-boats arrived destined to co-operate in it, and the officers expecting immediate possession of the place, advanced the troops without regular approaches, to the ramparts, with field-pieces only.

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The politic governor made no resistance, but amused them with the expectation of a surrender, till he was sufficiently reinforced, and received advice that general Fretag was beaten, with the covering army. The fatal tidings of this being dispatched to his royal highness, nothing but a hasty retreat saved the besiegers from total destruction, at the instant when gun-boats arrived, which might have protected them in drawing off leisurely.

To forward operations for raising the siege of Dunkirk, a general attack was made upon the Dutch posts, by a column of French, drawn from the camp of Madelaine, under the walls of Lisle. Lannoi, Roubaix, Turcoin, and Ronq, were carried by them, but soon retaken. Another body of French advanced at the same time to Werwike, but these were repulsed; for meeting a more formidable reception than they expected, and unable to pass the river Lys, these retreated precipitately.

The retreat from Dunkirk soon became necessary, for, although Field-Marshal Fretag had some prospect of success early in the morning of September 5, on attacking a French post at Emmeke, on the first onset; yet on the 6th, the republicans advanced from their camp on mount Cassel, strengthened with the garrison of Bergues, which sallied forth at the same time; they attacked the Hanoverians, at Wormhout and Esquelbourg, pouring upon them superior numbers, which became irresistible; so that they carried the above posts, and ultimately took possession of Bambecke, Poperinge, and Roushruigg.

A most heavy cannonade commenced that day from Dunkirk, and an aid-de-camp from Fretag acquainted his royal

highness of the defeat; when the troops in camp were ordered under arms, and about two in the afternoon, the guards passing Lefferingboucke, were proceeding, as they imagined, to support the covering army; but a brisk fire commencing from batteries on the right bank of the canal, they perceived that the garrison had notice of Fretag's defeat, and had sallied out; so the brigade on counter-marching was ordered to its former ground. Some Austrian regiments, and the 14th British infantry, became then engaged, and firing continued until dark. The French then were so pressed, that they retreated toward the town, and were followed so closely, that had not the pursuers been called off, they must have entered it with the fugitives, both parties then having reached the crest of the glacis, at the same instant when the want of a co-operating sea-force was severely felt; for the French gun-boats swept off great numbers, then wholly exposed on the strand to their incessant fire.

Colonel Moncrieffe was killed here in his exertions to keep the gun-boats in check, by field-pieces of the troops engaged; and captain Marshal, an Hanoverian aid-de-camp, was mortally wounded, when conveying orders from his royal highness the duke of York; ensign M'Donald lost his life by a shot, when on duty in the batteries. Capt. Garnier, lieutenant Mackenzie, with ensigns Errington, Smith, and Williams, were wounded; likewise volunteers Day and Macgrath. The 14th regiment had one serjeant, nine rank and file, killed; a serjeant, drummer, and thirty-six rank and file, wounded. The other regiments of general Abercrombie's brigade suffered little, as being less exposed. The Austrians had,
by

by their own returns, one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded.

Very little firing took place from Dunkirk on the 7th of September, but on the 8th, Houchard having received the last reinforcements expected from Lisle, Cambray, Douay and Arras, by coaches, carts, and other conveyances, all put in requisition, all pouring out their thousands, in a most compact body, on the center of general Walmoden's line, who commanded in the absence of marshal Fretag; these forced him back to the Bulscamp, with a loss which has never been ascertained. One regiment, in the morning of the 8th completely officered, returned in the evening, commanded by a junior ensign. Sir William Erskine, with some heavy cavalry, was posted near the place of action, but owing to the nature of the ground, these troops were not engaged, though dismounted and ready formed, to act as infantry.

At the instant when intelligence came that the covering army was defeated, orders were given for the besieging army to retreat, which commenced with such precipitation, as to cause greater confusion than British soldiers had been accustomed to behold; for a very insufficient number of carriages and horses could be procured to bring off the baggage; and all the heavy artillery sent from England, nearly forty 24 pounders, with an immense quantity of ammunition, were abandoned to the enemy. Some British officers were of opinion that the retreat might have been deferred for twenty-four hours, in which time the cannon and ammunition might have been brought off; but the French were of another opinion, and Houchard was guillotined, because he did not immediately attack

the besiegers, and drive them into the sea.

On the 8th of September, at midnight, the army was in motion, and the creaking wheels of carriages manifested how greatly they were overloaded, so that the horses could scarcely stir them from the camp; but at last they proceeded slowly, and halted so frequently, that it was long before the column of march could be said to gain ground, and the whole was for some time detained, waiting for the 3d regiment of guards, and loyal emigrants, on picquet at Tetighem. On the arrival of these, with those on duty in batteries, the column resumed its march, in such a slow progression, from the overturning of carriages, and other impediments, that they were all night in advancing scarcely eleven miles; and had they been attacked in that situation, the result must have been most unfortunate.

The rear-guard was conducted by Sir William Erskine, and the loss of baggage fell greatly on the cavalry under his command. That brave veteran exerted himself to the utmost upon this occasion, and the troops had the utmost confidence in his courage and conduct, exhibited in many campaigns. On the 9th of September, the army halted at Adenkerke and Furnes, from whence the baggage was ordered to Ostend; and the consequence of this unfortunate retreat was so much dreaded, that the military chest was conveyed on board a frigate in the port. Preparations were also made to embark the stores. Several batmen, with horses and carriages, were overtaken by the tide and lost their lives, and many who escaped, were unable to save the property entrusted

trusted to them; yet when these came to Ostend, they were refused entrance. The loss of the army by fevers, and the retreat, was very great, and they had to regret their rash advance upon the fortress: when Admiral Macbride appeared off Furnes, at the precise time all was over, and the fleet could be of no service.

It appears from the private letter of an officer, covering the retreat, that there were left at Furnes a regiment of light dragoons, two of infantry, four troops of the greys, and a few Hanoverians, to cover the retreat, in a most perilous situation; but they came off much better than expected, as the French only skirmished in small bodies, and did not attack with their whole force, so that they lost only a few men in three days' attacks, but with an entire loss of their baggage and camp-equipage; so that they were without change of clothes, or any thing to lie down on, nothing to eat, even for the officers, and their men constantly on horseback, and worn out with fatigue, before they were suffered to follow the retreating army.—To sum up the whole, the officer declared, that he had been with a part of the regiment, from the 13th of August to the 18th of Sept. without taking off his clothes, or lying down regularly to sleep, such being their situation at that time, that they could do neither with safety; and after all this fatigue, he lost baggage, with camp equipage, 114l. in value, which was promised to be reimbursed; in the mean time he would take a common dragoon's tent, and lie in it, as he was destitute of both clothes and equipage.

The retreating army moved forward, at four o'clock in the morning of the 10th, and took fresh ground on the

11th of September, when there came intelligence that the French had made an attack upon Ypres, and the army marched to relieve it, but had not reached Furnes before an aid-de-camp brought word that they had abandoned their enterprize, in consequence of a successful attack made on them by general Beaulieu with the Austrians; so that on the 12th, the duke's army marched on to Dixmude, and formed late at Thorout, having been joined on its march by the 19th and 57th regiments, with a detachment of the 42d, from Ostend.

A general attack had been made upon the Dutch posts, at the Lys, on the 12th of September; and they, without making a proper resistance, abandoned Menin, falling back upon Bruges and Ghent. In consequence of this, a consultation was held at Thorout, and the British were ordered, at day-break on the 15th, to Rouselair, for the purpose of co-operation with General Beaulieu to retake Menin, and other posts abandoned by the Dutch. Four battalions of Austrian and Hessian infantry, preceded by four squadrons of British cavalry, pushed on to Leidigheim, and enabled Prince Cobourg, by this means, to reduce Quesnoi, with the defeat of a French party, which lost 3,000 men, with eleven pieces of cannon, near Villars-en-Couchie; hence he was enabled to threaten Lisle, and it was determined to attack the republicans at one instant, in every direction, and force them to retire over the river Lys.

Early in the morning of the 15th, the troops destined for the attack of Menin, were in motion, but were attacked by the French, who, to the number of fourteen thousand men, made a brisk attack upon the left of
general

general Beaulieu's army; but he, by detaching speedy reinforcements, kept the post of Bessingheim, from being forced. Upon this, the French brought up their numerous train of heavy artillery, and by a tremendous fire, endeavoured to dislodge the Austrians from a position beyond the Lauter. But that instant, their left flank was turned, by a corps of Austrian infantry, led on by captain Marksham, of Beaulieu's regiment, who commenced a brisk fire, till they began to waver, when general Beaulieu charging them in front, they fled with precipitation, to the gates of Menin. Then about four in the afternoon, heavy artillery were brought up, and the ramparts assaulted, at the gate leading to Rouselair, till the French, without farther resistance, evacuated the town, leaving only a weak rear-guard, and then passed the river Lys. Two British squadrons joined the Austrian hussars in pursuit of the enemy, towards Ronq. Great numbers of prisoners were taken, besides cannon and ammunition waggons, and many were drowned in their disorderly passage of the Lys.

Prince Cobourg undertook the reduction of Mabeuge, but failed in the undertaking. The duke of York's forces not being employed on this service, were encamped at Englefontaine, till the 10th of October, whence they removed, and were that night encamped at Estabourgh, Pecq, and other villages toward Tournay. On the 11th, they removed to the plains of Cisoine, but halting on the 14th, they marched, and were cantoned at St. Amand. On the 15th they encamped at Soltain, and on the 16th took up a position near Englefontaine, previously occupied by some Austrians, who had been advanced to reinforce general Clairfait.

When this army marched from Menin, the inhabitants foretold that as soon as the French were informed that the British were withdrawn, the French would pay them another plundering visit, and many of them wisely removed their property, under that apprehension. Just as they had supposed, the corps left in that position, consisting of Hanoverians and Austrians, were attacked on the 21st of October, and the French, though repulsed, carried Werwick on the 22d; when the allies took a position to protect Courtray, abandoning Menin, notwithstanding its works had been repaired, and new ones constructed, at some expence and great labour. Cisoine was menaced at the same time, by detachments from the French camp at Madelaine, and some posts were forced, but retaken on the 23d. Their unsuccessful attacks in that quarter, lost the French 400 men at least. The Inniskillens assisted, with the 16th regiment of British light dragoons, in repulsing that attack.

Intelligence being received that Flanders was seriously threatened, the duke's army left Englefontaine, and marched near Valenciennes; but removing from thence, they took ground near Tournay, and halting on the causeway, were much drenched with rain before the lines of encampment could be formed. On the 27th of October, an advanced squadron of the 2d or Queen's dragoon guards, fell in with a picquet of six French officers, with 150 men, at a village, and on their retreat across the plain, they killed 50 on the spot, and with broadswords terribly wounded the rest, for they made a brave resistance, formed in hollow square, so that not above a dozen men of these escaped unhurt. Another squadron of the Queen's, and some Austrian hussars, joining the former

former, advanced farther in pursuit of the enemy, and near 100 prisoners were brought to the duke's quarters, most shockingly mangled; for the hussars keeping aloof till the French were broken, were unpardonably cruel, cutting with their sabres till their hands were tired, and then firing their pistols among heaps of prostrate wounded men. Every possible assistance was given to the prisoners at head quarters, and all the surgeons in the camp were summoned to dress their wounds; food and wine were ordered by his royal highness, to comfort them before they were removed to Tournay. Instances of cruelty committed by the Austrian hussars on disabled prisoners, were frequent in the campaign of 1793.

Nieuport was then garrisoned by the 53d regiment of British infantry, mustering at that time about 400 men, with two weak battalions of Hessian infantry, commanded by Col. Wurmb. Two columns of French, from Dunkirk, invested the place; some emigrants and Hessians occupying Furnes, after a heavy fire, to which they made little resistance, retreated to Nieuport; a few shots and shells were discharged on the town, but the besiegers were driven back, by firing from the ramparts. However, in the night-time they constructed a temporary work, mounting a few field-pieces and howitzers: after an ineffectual summons, they commenced a firing from them, and recourse to inundations by the garrison, forced the French to change their ground, so that filing round by Furnes, they took a position on the east side of Nieuport, and advancing to the number of 2000 men, carried several out-works, keeping up a continual fire of musquetry, from day-break till it was dark at night. On that day,

the 53d lost lieutenant Latham, with 12 rank and file killed; and had captain Ferguson, with 32 rank and file, wounded. During the night, the French, under cover of a farm-house and extensive barn, constructed a formidable battery, and in the morning opened several heavy guns, with mortars, bombarding the place, which was much damaged, and many houses reduced to heaps of ruins.

On the 28th of October, the fire was particularly brisk, but on the 29th, Sir Charles Grey arrived at Ostend with reinforcements, and dispatched general Dundas with the 42d regiment, and four light companies to support the garrison. Ammunition and men were also furnished by admiral Macbride; this supply arrived about noon, and in the night the farm-house, with several buildings in the rear of the besiegers, were seen on fire from the ramparts, which induced the commandant to suppose they had decamped; this on the morning of the 30th was found to be the case. They left behind four of the British iron 24-pounders, which had been abandoned on the retreat from Dunkirk. It was computed, from the extent of their camp, that 8,000 men were collected for this siege, which the French had much at heart; for if Nieuport had fallen, they would instantly have advanced to Ostend, which was the principal deposit of stores for the British, and in a few hours, both these and the shipping in that port might have been destroyed, which could not have been removed in time to prevent such destruction. Therefore the spirited defence of Nieuport, and timely arrival of Sir Charles Grey with forces, prevented great loss to Britain, and much distress to the army.

On the 29th of October, two bat-
 K k talions

talions of Austrians, with two 12-pounders and some howitzers, the flank and third battalion of British guards, a squadron of the 11th, and another of the 15th light dragoons, with two 12 pounders and howitzers, a detachment under general Abercrombie, advanced to attack Lanoi, which the French occupied with a force of 1,500 men, defended by entrenchments. The 12-pounders were brought up within a small distance of the town, and a well-directed fire commenced, which was so briskly answered by that of the enemy, that captain Sutherland, acting as chief engineer, was killed by a cannon ball, when riding in front of the 3d regiment of guards. Lieut. Thornton had the direction of a 12-pounder, from which he had kept up an uninterrupted fire, with such an effect, that it was thought proper for an howitzer to be brought up to that point, as his gun was silenced.—In doing this, he saw French artillery-men traverse the gun opposed to him, and so accurately was it aimed, that his right arm was carried off by the first discharge from it.

The guns being advanced nearer the town, the French gave way, filing off in two divisions towards Lisle and Roubaix. The dragoons then pursued them, leaping over trees that had been felled for defences to the place. Nearly 100 French were killed in the pursuit, and 59 prisoners were brought in by the cavalry. The Austrians took 100; neither them nor the British suffered much, as the place was carried by cannonade, and the foot, forming only to protect the guns, were less exposed.

The night before this affair of Lanoi, Menin was evacuated, and the French retired from Ypres; but Marchiennes

was still in their possession. The Austrians advanced against it in three columns, two of which arrived within a short distance undiscovered, and some volunteers heading the first column, surprized a picquet guard, about two hundred yards from the gate leading to Orchies, and put most of them to the bayonet; pursuing the rest so closely, that they entered the town before an alarm was given. The French assembled in disorder, first in the market place, and then in a convent, where they surrendered, in number 1629 men. Their officers were allowed to wear their side arms. Twelve cannon and twenty-two tumbrils, taken in the town, were brought to the British camp next morning. Thus was the menaced invasion of Flanders frustrated for that campaign; and the late season of the year, with heavy rains, made the generals put the troops into winter quarters.—Those with the duke of York, by continual marching and counter-marching, had been less in action, since their retreat from Dunkirk; but were more harassed upon the whole, from often changing their ground, and were much exposed to rain, with water in their tents, when they lay near Camplain, and so scantily provided with straw, that many sickened and died in that situation, being most scandalously neglected and robbed of the wine served out for their comfort, by those unfeeling wretches, hospital surgeons, who seem destitute of common humanity, with a very few exceptions of some worthy characters.

The British army entered cantonments on the 9th of November, both the heavy cavalry and infantry of the battalions occupying the extensive barracks of Tournay. The guards entered

entered Ghent on the 16th of Dec. where they took up winter quarters, after a most tiresome march in rainy weather: They found barracks there very commodious, and it was a comfort to find themselves so well situated, after a most harassing campaign.

This relaxation from the toils of war could not be of long continuance, for the restless spirit of French democrats, is such as to force their armies into the field, late and early in the year, contrary to former usage of the powers at war, whose sovereigns had some regard for the health and lives of their subjects; but the armies of France experience no such tenderness from their despots, who can in no respect be considered as fathers of their people.—Hence it was, that by the latter end of February in the ensuing year, the allied forces were put in motion, upon advice that the republicans were collecting in force on the frontiers. Upon which, the first detachment from the brigade of British guards, consisting of 800 men, commanded by colonel Drummond, marched from Ghent to Courtray; a second detachment of 200 marched to St. Eloi-Vive, and the whole brigade assembled at Courtray on the 24th of February. The regiments of cavalry in winter quarters with them, were cantoned in the surrounding villages; the second brigade had been only one month in quarters, at Oudenard, and from whence they advanced by detachments. The most formidable preparations were made by the French to open this campaign; their army of the North received a reinforcement from that on the Moselle, of 15,000 men, with a great number from that of La Vendee, and 20,000 recruits from the requisitions, enabling general Pichegru to muster 220,000

men. Their armies of the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees, were all augmented, or re-organized, as they term it, with new levies of requisitionists, or men dragged by main force to join their armies, so as to make a grand total of 780,000 in arms, according to returns of the war minister, exclusive of troops left in the environs of Paris, to overawe the people, who were not then suffered to assemble in mobs, or speak their sentiments freely, or post them up in such incendiary papers as formerly, when the chief demagogues had occasion for their assistance, to fix them in power; which was now exercised with despotism unknown before, either in France or any other European state. A proof of this was manifest in their levies of men, most of them dragged from their families, to fight in a quarrel contrary to their inclinations, and former attachment of the whole community to the French monarchy. Such was the situation of these poor men, constituting the immense numbers with which general Pichegru took the field, and sent this rodomontade epistle to the chief general of the allies.

“ General,

“ I summon you, in the name of the
“ French Republic, to give up immedi-
“ ately La Quesnoi, Condé, and Valen-
“ ciennes, or be assured I shall attack
“ and vanquish you.”

“ PICHEGRU.”

This confident boasting of the French general, might be founded on an assurance that the King of Prussia would withdraw from the allies, as he did, at the commencement of this campaign, and afterwards made a separate peace with France, not without a suspicion of being bribed by the republicans for

that purpose, avarice in the extreme being a known part of his character; and the present rulers of France are much in the habit of applying the plunder of their own and other countries to that very purpose, of detaching particular states from the general confederacy against them, by making separate treaties of peace, which are no sooner concluded, than their emissaries are dispatched, for the purpose of irritating the new confederates to some resentment of ill-usage; which is branded with a rebellion, and made a pretence to introduce troops, and exact heavy contributions.

The siege of Landrecies was undertaken at the commencement of this campaign; 30,000 British and Austrians under the duke of York, formed a covering army toward Cambray; and on the 17th of April, when the brigade of guards approached the village of Vaux, they were formed in a hollow way, being drawn up in four lines, with the flank battalion in front; and to avoid, as much as possible, a heavy fire kept up from the star redoubt, they were ordered to wheel round by divisions, and make their attack upon the rear; the works were evacuated on this manœuvre, and the guards, instead of storming, took possession without opposition. But captain Carleton here lost his life, being shot in the act of most humanely assisting his orderly dragoon, whose horse was unmanageable from the incessant firing. The French lost thirty pieces of cannon, and must have suffered severely, yet only three privates of the British were killed, and but few wounded.

On the 20th of April, a general attack was made by the Hereditary Prince of Orange upon all the posts in front of Landrecies; when he took

possession of a strong redoubt at the village of Eloques, within 600 yards of the fortress, and availed himself of this position, to cover the left flank of the trenches. These were opened that evening, and the duke's army took up the ground it was intended to occupy during the siege, which had been previously marked for it near Inchi, a village upon the causeway, between Cateau and Cambray. This was a situation more advanced than the British had occupied before, but they lived well, being plentifully supplied with provisions from Cateau.

It might be expected, that troops in this advanced position would be constantly apprehensive of attacks; and a slight skirmish took place on the 21st, occasioned by an attempt to reinforce the garrison of Landrecies, in front of the camp at Inchi; where the French were defeated, and driven back upon Cambray. A general attack then commenced upon the covering armies, on April 26th, early in the morning, and the duke of York observing the left flank of the enemy unprotected, ordered the British cavalry to wheel round, and charge home on that side, which afforded them an opportunity of gaining the highest credit for military prowess, by defeating in fact, the whole French army; for such a panic did their charge impress upon their opponents, that a whole battalion on their approach threw down their arms, demanding quarter, which was generously granted; but the squadrons had no sooner quitted them to charge the main body, than they loaded and fired upon those who had spared their lives. Such instances of treachery were commonly practised by the French, and this particular instance of it, made the British cavalry less inclined to spare those

those whom they bore down in the height of their charge and pursuit, so that very few of their swords returned to the scabbards unstained with blood to the hilts, drawn in revenge for that act of French treachery.

General Mansell had the misfortune to fall in this charge of cavalry; in fact, he devoted himself to rescue his character from a stigma, thrown upon it in a case where no blame could be fixed upon him. The affair was thus reported;—The enemy were known to have assembled in great force, at the camp of Cæsar, near Cambray: on this occasion, Prince Cobourg requested the duke of York to make an excursion in that direction; for this purpose, on the evening of the 23d, major general Mansell's brigade of heavy cavalry was ordered to advance about a league from their camp; these lay that night at a farm-house, forming part of a detachment under general Otto.—Early on the next morning, the French being drawn up in front of Villares-en-Couchee, between Cateau and Bouchain, were attacked by the 15th regiment of British light dragoons, and two squadrons of Austrian hussars. These charged the enemy with such force and celerity, that, darting through their cavalry, they dispersed a line of infantry in their rear, forcing these also to retreat, in great confusion, to the ramparts of Cambray, with a loss of 1200 men, and three pieces of cannon. The only British officer then wounded, was captain Aylet: 60 privates fell, and 20 wounded.

Though the heavy brigade of cavalry was formed at a distance, while the light dragoons had such a glorious opportunity of distinguishing themselves, yet this corps was exposed to a brisk

cannonade, and no blame could be fixed upon it, with propriety, for delay in not coming up, as general Otto, who had the command, gave no orders for them to advance. Notwithstanding this circumstance, in itself sufficient to clear up his conduct, either from chagrin that he had missed the occasion of engaging, or stung to the quick with some censure of his conduct, he now rushed into the thickest of the enemy, in this action of the 26th, and, like another of the Decii, devoted himself to death; so that, animated by his example, that very brigade performed such prodigies of valour, as must convince the world, that Britons, once ordered how and where to act, will justify the highest opinion that can be formed of their native courage; nor could such men, under such a leader, be supposed to be ever willingly backward to engage. When gen. Mansell fell, an officer of the third dragoon guards, who had charged up with him, bore off his corpse, and laid it on horseback before one of the dragoons, who brought it up to the brigade, and it was interred on the 28th with military honours. Captain Mansell, his son and aid-de-camp, darted into the thickest of the enemy, to save his father's life, and was missing, none knowing how he had escaped, till it appeared he was carried prisoner into Cambray; and on his exchange, he declared that not a single French soldier was left there on the 26th, as Chapuy had drawn out all the garrison, to augment the force destined for the attack of our camp at Inchi; and had that circumstance been known, a detachment from the British might have soon marched along the causeway, and surprised Cambray, as the French could not have returned in time to prevent it;

it; for they had taken a circuitous rout of some miles, in their retreat back, and were very much disheartened on their defeat. The blues and 3d dragoon guards were the greatest sufferers; the latter lost (besides general Mansell, their colonel) lieutenant Fellows, killed; and captain Pigott wounded by a shot through the body; lieutenant Moore was also wounded, but not dangerously.

The same officer of this corps, who bore off the corpse of general Mansell, their colonel, gives an account of some particulars in that action of the 24th, under general Otto, when a squadron of this corps advanced to support some Austrian hussars, and fell in with three squadrons of French cavalry, who charged them with that superiority of force with such vigour, that one surgeon's mate, one quarter-master, one serjeant, and 56 privates, were cut to pieces; upon this occasion, one man named Barnes, who had been unfortunately reduced from a serjeant to the ranks, had bravely advanced, doing execution on the enemy till his retreat was foreclosed, and he was seen engaged with five French dragoons at once; all of these he fairly cut down, when nine more came down upon him, whom he faced, and fairly kept at bay, till one of them got behind him, and shot the brave fellow on the back of the head, which brought him to the ground, where he expired gloriously on the bed of honour. The 3d regiment of dragoon guards was so thinned in this affair, and that of the 26th, that when they went into action on the following month of May, they could not muster 38 file of men for the whole regiment.

A large quantity of ammunition, and 35 pieces of cannon were taken in the

action of the 26th, with about 400 prisoners, and Chapuy at their head; some new-invented tumbrils, for the flying artillery were also taken. Landrecies had been summoned on the 22d of April, and the governor refusing to surrender, a bombardment commenced, which continued for three days with the greatest severity. On the 30th the garrison demanded a cessation of arms for 48 hours, to draw up terms of capitulation; but on news of general Clairfait's defeat, an hour only was granted, and 8,000 men surrendered prisoners of war; 1,000 men of the garrison, and nearly 200 of the inhabitants lost their lives. There was the utmost necessity for the peremptory demand of its surrender, for Lisle, which was destined to be a thorn in the sides of the allies, had vomited forth plundering excursions from her garrison, committing the most horrible excesses, especially when they supposed the inhabitants of Flanders concealed any part of their property. Priests and religious communities were the marked objects of their ravage, and exposed to frequent butchery. Ever guided by caprice, they would sometimes content themselves with a booty, and retire without committing such atrocities as would probably mark their next visit. To prevent these insults, the Emperor was induced to arm the peasants, at the close of last year's campaign, that they might, under the idea of protecting their own property, assist in the covering his frontiers in Flanders from invasion; and as that country is very populous, great numbers enrolled themselves as volunteers, and received small-arms, taken at Valenciennes, Condé, and Quesnoi; these were sufficient to equip them for that purpose; but when the French came, pouring down

down like a torrent, with irresistible force, upon general Clairfait's handful of men; these newly-armed peasants were of little or no service, and as the inhabitants had, on all occasions, shewn themselves averse to the Imperial government, it was dangerous to trust them with arms; for many so armed, turned them against the allies, and assisted the French to over-run their country; for which treachery they have since sincerely repented, having severely and deservedly smarted.

Previous to general Clairfait's defeat, he had determined to attack the French on the arrival of six battalions of Austrian infantry, which he daily expected; but Pichegru being aware, that on the fall of Landrecies, general Clairfait would receive considerable reinforcements, was beforehand with him, and advanced upon Moucron, at eight in the morning of the 29th of April. The Austrians behaved with great firmness till four in the afternoon, when being overpowered with fresh numbers pouring down upon them, orders were given to retreat, but they fell back in such confusion, that it was not possible either to rally, or bring them off in any decent order.

The British, who had no share in this action, on Clairfait's defeat fell back to Famars, on the 1st of May, and after three hours, arrived by a circuitous march at the gates of Valenciennes, which were shut against them by the Imperialists, who never suffer foreign troops to pass through their garrisons; and the British were considered as such, although they had greatly contributed to the reduction of that fortress. But in the last campaign, when their route lay in the direction of this place and Quesnoi, the British have, on that silly account, been obliged to

make long and fatiguing detours, at times, when on a forced march to co-operate with Austrian generals, for the defence of their own sovereign's hereditary dominions. This behaviour was certainly disgusting, impolitic, and inexcusable in the extreme; and on this occasion the British army, though liable to be in action the next day for any thing they knew, was driven from the causeway into stiff clayey ground, where the horses were scarce able to drag artillery and ammunition wagons, by which hindrances, and frequent halts, it was dark before the army reached Raisimes; then quick flashes of lightning, with loud peals of thunder burst upon the gloom of a very dark night, while a deluge of rain threw the whole in confusion; orders were given to every corps to shift for themselves as well as they could, so that horse and foot were jumbled promiscuously together, and scarce two men of a regiment could be brought to the Abbey Vicoine next morning.

In this confusion, general Lake (deservedly revered as a father to the soldiers) was nearly sacrificed in the tempest, confusion, and darkness of that fatal night. His spirited steed hung back, snorting and affrighted with the thunder and flashes of lightning, and plunged to and fro until he rushed into a ditch and threw the general, who was sore bruised, and lay there for some time in distress, for it was so totally dark, that none knew of his misfortune for a good while: but his condition was no sooner reported, than all the guards hastened to assist him, remembering his courage and conduct at Lincelles.

When the troops were collected in the morning, they proceeded to St. Amand, halting until the 3d of May, and

and then marching to encamp about a league from Tournay, a little to the right of the causeway leading to Lisle; and on the 10th, were attacked by the French at break of day. They drove in the out-posts, and attempted to gain the Duke's left flank: this was however well protected by a thick wood, where the Austrian regiment of Kaunitz was posted. General Harcourt was then dispatched to turn the enemy's right with sixteen squadrons of British cavalry, and two of Austrian hussars; the ground between them and a column of French infantry, had been sown with rape-seed, and was deep trenched, to carry off the wet. The British dragoons not minding this circumstance, made a full charge, and many of their horses fell, which obliged them to fall back, and make their attack upon another quarter, where the French were ranged in a close column to receive them.

Cavalry in general do not attack infantry in a compact body, but wait for an opportunity of doing it when they are broken, either by platoon firing or cannonade; for infantry, if steady, by repeated discharges on cavalry as they come down, and a reserved fire, with bayonets, are above a match for them; especially if their situation is such as to enable them to form the hollow square, and they are alert in the manœuvre of forming and reducing it.—In fact, this infantry stood a first charge, until some artillery was brought to bear upon them, when they no longer stood the brave British dragoons, who came off the field victorious, with the loss only of 1 serjeant, 30 rank and file, with 90 horses killed. They had also 6 officers, 4 serjeants, 73 rank and file, with 188 horses wounded, and 32 missing. The Hanoverians on the right,

were vigorously attacked, but maintained their post. Prince Ernest received a contusion on the elbow, by a spent ball. Major Clinton, aid-de-camp to his Royal Highness, Captain Hawker, and Lieutenant Archer, of the 16th light dragoons, Lieutenant Jones, of the 2d dragoons, Cornet Smith, of the Blues, and Cornet Bond, of the 6th dragoon guards, were all wounded. The several attacks of the French were extended in general from Lanoi towards Orchies. Eighteen pieces of cannon, and 700 prisoners were taken that day, and the enemy's loss was computed at 2,000 in killed and wounded.

On the other hand, the French succeeded in forcing a passage over the Sambre, and obliged General Kaunitz to fall back on Mons, where he occupied a strong position, and was attacked in it on the 14th of May, as he had reason to apprehend would be the case, and had so well prepared against the assault, that the French were repulsed; when he pursued them, and they were forced to repass the river, with a considerable loss of men, and three pieces of cannon. But General Clairfait was again attacked and driven back on the 11th, upon Thielt, between Courtray and Bruges; which determined the Emperor to give up all thoughts of penetrating into France, until the invaders were driven from his own frontiers.

To accomplish this purpose, it was necessary not only that the army under General Clairfait, and that under the Duke of York should join, but also that the whole force of the Allies should be consolidated; for which purpose, the Emperor, leaving his brother to conduct the army near Orchies, sent considerable reinforcements to the corps
of

of Austrians with the British, and went to Tournay with an intent to head them, and attack the French, between Clairfait's army and his own, with the river Lys between them. For this attack, the grand army advanced on the 16th of May, in five columns; two of them on the left were destined to pass the river Marque, by driving the French from its opposite bank, to favour the operations of the other three columns, which were to force the enemy from Roubaix, Waterloo, and Moucron; by that means to favour general Clairfait's manœuvres to cross the river Lys, so that by the intended junction of both armies, the communication between Lisle and the French armies would be cut off.

On the 17th of May the operations commenced, but the passage of the river Marque was forced so late in that day, and the troops were so much fatigued, that they could not accomplish the remaining part of their purposed plan; and the column on the right, finding the enemy too strongly posted at Moucron, to risque an attack, fell back to Warcoin, upon the Scheldt. However, General Otto's column drove the French from Waterloo, passing on to Turcoin, between Menin and Roubaix, while that column under the duke of York, consisting of the guards and 2d brigade, making seven battalions of British infantry, five battalions of Austrians, and two of Hessians, with six squadrons of British light dragoons, and four of Austrian hussars, moved on to Templuve, forcing the enemy to evacuate Lannoi, after a short cannonade, wherein Major Wright, of the artillery, had his thigh so smashed with a cannon ball, that surgical assistance could be of no avail, and he died greatly lamented, as he was an officer

of high esteem for professional merit. Lieutenant Colonel Ludlow, of the flank battalion in the guards, received a wound in the left arm by a grape-shot, which was so severe, as to render an immediate amputation necessary.

The duke of York receiving no intelligence how matters stood on the right or left, after carrying the post of Roubaix, judged it imprudent to advance farther, and he meant to take a position upon the heights beyond Lannoi, leaving the advanced guard, under general Abercrombie, at Roubaix.— Measures were taking for that purpose, when his Royal Highness received a fatal order from the Emperor, to advance and take Mouveaux. Hence the blame of pushing this column so near to the fortress of Lisle, was chargeable on the Emperor only, and not on the Duke; so that the subsequent misfortunes sustained by the troops, were entirely owing to the rashness and folly which dictated that order, and in consequence of it the attack upon Mouveaux was instantly made, by four battalions of the guards, forming an advanced corps, led on by general Abercrombie. After a short, but brisk cannonade, the grenadiers and light infantry pushed into the village, and taking possession of it, Lieutenant Manners, who commanded the light infantry, was slightly wounded. The French fled, leaving three pieces of cannon behind, and were pursued by the light dragoons, as far as a causeway within five miles of Lisle, and Lieut. Colonel Churchill reported great numbers cut down by his men in the pursuit. Lieutenant General Abercrombie remained with the guards at Mouveaux, and four battalions of Austrians were left to cover Roubaix. The 2d brigade

under command of Major Gen. Fox, was detached on the left to take a position near Croix, on the causeway leading from Roubaix to Lisle. The advanced posts communicated with General Otto, on the heights towards Turcoin.

Next morning the French attacked Turcoin, where General Devay was posted, and two battalions were detached by the duke of York to make a diversion in his favour, with express orders to fall back if hard pressed. These, however, joined the Austrians, and thus an opening was made upon his Royal Highness's right, when instantly Lisle poured out its numerous garrison in every direction, while the French from Moucron forced their way through general Otto's position by Waterloo. Thus the British were completely surrounded, and upon endeavouring to retreat, were thrown into great confusion. The guards had fallen back through Roubaix, and passed the gates, when bat-horses, affrighted by the firing, which was incessant, broke in upon their ranks, kicking and plunging, with their loads under their bellies. The brigade, thus annoyed, was formed with as much regularity as circumstances would permit, moving, with the reserve artillery in front, towards Lanoi, supposing it was in possession of the allies. But the Hessians had been driven out of that town by the French, with considerable loss. Lieutenant Colonel Congreve was soon convinced of their retreat, by some French cavalry, at first mistaken for Hessians. These hastened up to cut the traces of gun-carriages, which he endeavoured to turn on the French, when he perceived they were in the town, but owing to a clayey soil, which clogged the wheels, he could not effect

his purpose before the French hussars had completed theirs; on which the troops faced round, retreating with some difficulty, and left their artillery, consisting of some light field-pieces and howitzers.

The battalions finding their retreat cut off, were obliged to cross the country, and get back as well as they could, to their camp at Marquain, with a loss of near 300 men, in killed, wounded, and missing; Captain Drummond, of the flank battalion, was slightly wounded. The Austrian hussars, by riding over infantry in every direction, increased the loss and confusion. These corps are of use only in skirmishes, or pursuit of a beaten enemy, but are anxious at all times to save themselves on a retreat.

The 2d brigade of British did not escape as well as the 1st, being unable, from their situation, to retreat so speedily. Cut off from their communication with the guards, and finding Lanoi in the enemy's hands, they fell back upon general Otto's column, at the village of Liars, clearing their way through repeated opposition, and charging with such fury, that they took possession of some guns. No troops could have behaved better, and their escape was really surprising; but the 53d regiment lost 200 men, the 37th 180, the 14th 150; major Browne, of the 14th, was wounded and taken prisoner, with captain Cooke; also Lieutenants Murray and Cunninghame, of the 37th, captain Brisbane, and ensign Price, wounded; lieutenant Ryland, of the 53d, was missing, with lieutenant Mackenzie, of the 37th; and the light dragoons sustained a considerable loss in men and horses: Mr. Bradley, surgeon to the 15th, was killed, and his mate wounded; 47 horses were killed, 32 wounded, and 117 missing, taking into the account those

those of the artillery, with officers, saddle and bat horses, many of them taken by the enemy, lieutenant Downman, of the artillery, was missing, and lieutenant Rogers, of the same corps was wounded.

In the foregoing state of confusion, the duke of York and a few of his suite endeavoured to join the 2d brigade at Roubaix, but found the French in possession there, and finding by the shot they were enemies, the duke and his suite turned short to a river or canal, which the duke's horse (being unmanageable) refused to pass; when his royal highness dismounted and crossed on foot, and had scarce gained the opposite bank when an eight-pound ball fell near him; by good fortune a led horse was there, belonging to one of the duke's aid-de-camps, on which he mounted, and happily escaped. The aid-de-camp was attended with an orderly dragoon, leading an horse with some body-cloaths, and finding the girths loose, the aid-de-camp dismounted to buckle them tighter, when the horse, alarmed by the firing, galloped off: the aid-de camp, not thinking proper to mount a bat-horse, mounted that of the dragoon, leaving him to take care of the runaway, which he had taken, and it was most providentially ready for the duke to mount when he had just forded the water.

On the 19th of May, the duke's army changed its position, the reserve forming in a line nearly parallel to the causeway leading from Tournay to Orchies. The main body took a strong position toward Pontachin, occupying the villages adjacent as their out-posts. On the morning of the 22d, the French made a general attack with their whole force, computed at 100,000 men; pouring down upon the right wing of the

Imperial army, with an intention of pushing over the Scheldt to invest Tournay. A column from Courtray bore down upon the village of Picq, and another from Menin upon Templeau. These columns brought up cannon of 32-pound shot for field-pieces, much heavier than those of the Allies. This system of warfare was first introduced by Dumourier at the battle of Jemappe, and the prodigious number of requisitioners, continually forced to join the French armies, are compelled to drag them up for an attack, where they are sacrificed without mercy, in reiterated charges, till veteran troops are wearied out; when those of the French line, which have been hardened in many conflicts, advance with bayonets to finish the contest; animated chiefly by a prospect of plunder, which is perhaps the only motive that keeps them united; for it is evident that they have little esteem for their leaders, whom they suffer to be frequently dragged to the guillotine, or controuled in their operations by deputies sent from the convention at Paris; the ruling demagogues there only trusting them, and supplying them with necessaries, as they implicitly obey their arbitrary decrees.

The French, on their endeavour to cross the Scheldt, were saluted with volleys of 24-pound shot, from its opposite bank, which took off numbers of the assailants.—Indeed the firing on both sides was so violent, that torrents of rain descended, which was ascribed in some degree to the explosion of cannon; and certainly, never firing was so incessant as that on the 22d of May. Sir Robert Lawrie, when reconnoitring with some light dragoons on the right bank of the Scheldt, opposite to Pontachin, could plainly perceive

many of the French, not brought into action, lying down on the grass; these were probably troops of the line, for their generals were under no concern to spare any other. Had a few guns been brought to bear upon them, with Richoset-shot, which take ground and rise again, like a stone skimmed on the surface of the water, these must have taken them in flank, and probably made them retire early in the day; but it was late when this circumstance was discovered.

The French were repulsed upon the whole, 500 prisoners and 7 pieces of cannon being taken that day; but with such loss to the British, that the 2d brigade had 123 men killed, wounded and missing; the 14th, 37th, and 53d regiments had lost, since they took the field in 1794, 836 men, in killed, wounded, and missing. The 2d brigade's loss was most in storming the village of Pontachin; Major of Brigade Cockrane, and Lieut. Maclean, of the 37th, died of their wounds. The other officers wounded, were Captain Speed and Lieutenant Mitchell, of the 37th; Lieutenants Rogers and Robinson, with Ensign Pearse, of the 53d. The enemy's loss was about 5,000, in killed wounded, and missing. Notwithstanding this check, it was evident that Austrian Flanders would ultimately fall into the hands of the republicans, as there was no appearance that the stipulated reinforcements of Prussians would come up to co-operate with the allies. General Mack was of opinion that the sluices should be opened, which would have prevented the French from advancing, but the country would be ruined by destroying the land and cattle, with many of the people; which no doubt prevented the inundations, both here and in Holland.

About the 7th of June, the French

laid siege to Charleroi, and crossed the Sambre, to cover the siege, taking a position between Mons and Namur; but on the 16th, the Hereditary Prince of Orange defeated them, forcing them to recross that river, with the loss of 7000 men, 22 cannon, and 35 ammunition waggons. But they crossed the Sambre again, and completely invested the place, while General Clairfait was forced back from Thielde, after an obstinate engagement, in which he lost a considerable number of men, and was obliged to retreat to Ghent.

Charleroi was then bombarded, and Ypres surrendered to the French on the 17th of June, the garrison marched out prisoners of war on the 19th; but the governor might have held it longer, being one of the few towns in Flanders where the works were in some degree repaired. Want of ammunition was a plea for capitulating. Emigrants, forming a good part of the garrison, found no mercy, being shot in heaps as they were collected; and intelligence arriving that Robespierre's motion had passed into a decree of the convention, that no quarter should be given either to the British or Hanoverian soldiers; upon which his Royal Highness the Duke of York gave out the following just, spirited, and humane address to his army.

“ His royal highness the duke of
 “ York thinks it incumbent on him,
 “ to announce to the British and Hano-
 “ verian troops under his command,
 “ that the national convention of
 “ France, pursuing that gradation of
 “ crimes and horrors, which have dis-
 “ tinguished the period of its govern-
 “ ment, as the most calamitous of any
 “ thing that has yet occurred in the
 “ history of the world, has just passed
 “ a decree, that their soldiers should
 “ give

“ give no quarter to the British or
 “ Hanoverian troops. His royal high-
 “ ness anticipates the horror and in-
 “ dignation, which will naturally arise
 “ in the brave troops whom he ad-
 “ dresses upon receiving this informa-
 “ tion. His royal highness, however,
 “ desires to remind them, that mercy
 “ to the vanquished is the brightest
 “ gem in a soldier’s character; and he
 “ exhorts them not to suffer their re-
 “ sentment to lead to any acts of cruelty
 “ on their part, which may sully the
 “ reputation they have acquired in the
 “ world.

“ His royal highness believes that it
 “ will be difficult for brave men to con-
 “ ceive that any set of men, who are
 “ themselves exempt from sharing in
 “ the dangers of war, should be so
 “ base and cowardly as to seek to ag-
 “ gravate the calamities of it upon the
 “ unfortunate people who are under
 “ their orders.

“ It was indeed reserved for the pre-
 “ sent times to produce to the world a
 “ proof of the existence of such atrocity
 “ and infamy. The pretence for issu-
 “ ing this decree (even if founded in
 “ truth) could only justify it in minds
 “ similar to members of the National
 “ Convention, but it is in fact too
 “ absurd to be noticed, and still more
 “ so to be refuted.—The French must
 “ themselves see through the flimsy arti-
 “ fice of a pretended assassination, by
 “ which Robespierre has succeeded, in
 “ procuring that military guard, which
 “ has at once established him the succes-
 “ sor of the unfortunate Louis, by what-
 “ ever name he may chuse to distin-
 “ guish his future power.

“ In all wars, which from the earliest
 “ times have existed between the Bri-
 “ tish and French nations, they have
 “ been accustomed hitherto to consider

“ each other in the light of generous
 “ as well as brave enemies, while the
 “ Hanoverians, for a century the allies
 “ of the former, have shared in the re-
 “ ciprocal esteem of the French. Hu-
 “ manity and kindness have at all times
 “ taken place, at the instant when
 “ opposition ceased, and the same cloak
 “ has indiscriminately covered the
 “ wounded on both sides, when con-
 “ veying to the hospitals of the con-
 “ queror.

“ The British and Hanoverian armies
 “ will not believe, that the French na-
 “ tion, even under their present infatu-
 “ ation, can so far forget their charac-
 “ ter as soldiers, by paying any atten-
 “ tion to orders, as injurious to them-
 “ selves, as disgraceful to the persons
 “ who issued them.

“ In this confidence his royal high-
 “ ness trusts that the soldiers of both
 “ nations will confine their sentiments
 “ of resentment and abhorrence to the
 “ national convention alone; persuad-
 “ ed they will be joined in them
 “ by every Frenchman who possesses
 “ one spark of honour, or one principle
 “ of a soldier; and his royal highness is
 “ confident, that it will be only on
 “ finding, contrary to every expecta-
 “ tion, that the French army has re-
 “ nounced every title to the fair charac-
 “ ter of soldiers, in submitting to, and
 “ obeying so atrocious an order, that
 “ the brave troops under his command
 “ will think themselves justified, and
 “ indeed under a necessity, of them-
 “ selves adopting a species of warfare,
 “ for which they will stand acquitted
 “ to their own consciences, to their
 “ country, and to the world.—In such
 “ an event, the French army alone
 “ will be answerable for that tenfold
 “ vengeance which will fall upon
 “ themselves, their wives and children,
 and

“and their unfortunate country, already
“groaning under every calamity, which
“the accumulated crimes of unprin-
“ciple ambition and avarice can heap
“upon their devoted victims.”

About the time when this sanguinary order of the French despots was given, the Emperor seemed inclinable to give up Flanders; and a council of war was held at Tournay, to consider what troops should remain there in garrison. This council was a mere farce, for the duke of York saw the Austrians filing through the town while the matter was debating; and justly incensed at the Emperor's former conduct, in ordering the British so near Lisle, where they suffered greatly, was now most highly provoked at a proposal made by general Coburg, to leave him with his troops in garrison at Tournay, on the instant of that sanguinary decree, not to give the British or Hanoverians quarter. On this account, his royal highness peremptorily refused to garrison Tournay, and marched his army from thence on the 25th of June to Roubaix.

A reinforcement of British troops, under Lord Moira, arrived at Ostend on the 26th of June, without tents or baggage, but what every one, even officers, carried, that they might join his royal highness more expeditiously, and each man, on quitting the transports, received a blanket, a canteen, (or receptacle for water or spirits, of wood or tin) holding about three pints; they had also a haversack, or canvas bag, slung over their shoulder, to carry bread or provisions. These, with their knapsacks, arms and accoutrements, were all their equipage.

Thus ill provided, were these unfortunate troops destined to join a retreating army of their countrymen,

with the greatest probability of their being harassed or cut off in their rout, for Ostend, where they had but just then landed, was evacuated on the 1st of July, colonel Vyse having with the greatest activity embarked the garrison, and the 8th, 33d, and 44th regiments of British infantry, with the artillery stores and ammunition, were saved by the exertions of Mr. Popham, lieutenant in the navy. All the ships too were cleared out, except an old Indian-man, which could not be removed, from the wind shifting full into the harbour. The garrison of Nieuport might have been withdrawn at the same time, but was overlooked in the hurry of withdrawing stores from other places; and 500 emigrants, found in Nieuport after its surrender, were drawn up in the dry ditch, exposed to the fire of artillery with grape-shot. Captain Wilson, who had bravely defended Nieuport in October 1793, was made prisoner of war, with a few British artillerymen, and the rest of the garrison; though assured on the capitulation, they should be enlarged on their promise not to serve against France during the war.

Flanders was now to be evacuated; for the emperor was irritated at the want of energy in some, and turbulent disposition of others, and determined that they should experience the difference between his mild government, and the despotic sway of Robespierre's faction; and if it could afford any consolation to the Emperor, under his losses, to know, that these his late subjects smarted under the fraternal gripe of republicans, his revenge was complete. For every young man, capable of bearing arms, found himself in requisition; the current money was called in, and exchanged for assignats, enforced arbitra-

arbitrarily to have the same value. Merchandise and private property were seized indiscriminately, and a revolutionary tribunal was in constant employment, to fraternize and unite the country, by a new name of Belgium, to France. Ghent was then taxed seven millions of livres; (a French livre is ten-pence English money) the convent of nobles was to pay one million; that of Bedeloo 800,000; and mercantile houses in proportion; such being the French rapacity, that where no money was to be found, goods were seized, and all carriages put in requisition, their owners being ordered to send them to the abbey of St. Pierre, then converted into a repository, until they were employed to carry the produce of harvest to the interior of France.

Bruges was taxed at four millions, Ostend at two, and the numerous warehouses there put in requisition. Every other town, and even villages, shared the same fate, according to their size. Dunkirk and Lisle were places where the plunder of this unhappy country were chiefly deposited.

The brigade of British which had been under Clairfait, consisting of the 12th, 38th, and 55th regiments of infantry, with a part of the 8th and 14th light dragoons, fell back upon the remaining British on march from Renaix to the heights of Grammont. The whole proceeded on the 4th of July to Wambeke, and on the 5th to Asche, between Dendermond and Brussels. A heavy cannonade was heard toward Brussels, and the duke of York offered assistance to prince Cobourg by uniting both armies, but that Austrian commander gave up Flanders as lost; and, not disposed to risque another engagement, fell back upon Louvain and

Tirlemont, entering Brussels on the 8th. The duke's army marched through Malines to Contiq on the 9th, and Clairfait's filed off towards prince Cobourg's position, encamping in a strong position to cover Namur; while lord Moira's army, much harassed, marched from Ghent, and fell in with that under the duke, at Malines: his lordship conducted thither ten regiments of British infantry, in a most wretched condition, without tents or baggage, and being aware that it was of the utmost importance to bring up speedily the reinforcement entrusted to his care, had advanced, by forced marches, through a country nearly overrun by the French, at that critical period, and exhibited a proof of military conduct, which merited applause rather than the unpleasant consequence of joining an army on its retreat, without ever an opportunity of joining it in action, and but ill prepared for a winter's retreat through an hostile country, without tents or baggage, as they were, for a hasty march to join the duke's army. Now, leaving Brabant, the troops marched towards Rosendaal, in Holland, on the 25th of July, where the different corps were encamped in order of battle, forming two lines and a reserve, the British upon the right, the Hanoverians on the left, and Hessians in the centre. But on hearing the French advanced from Antwerp, which place they possessed on the 24th, the brigade of guards, and some light cavalry forming the reserve, were ordered to reconnoitre on the 30th in that direction; but the country was found clear, considerably beyond the outposts, and no movement took place till the 4th of August, when the army marched through Breda to Ousterhade.

Lord

Lord Moira's force was now incorporated with the duke's, and the whole brigaded afresh; in addition to the ten regiments brought up by his lordship, the 8th, 33d, and 44th intended to join them, but detained in Holland: another detachment joined at Roesendaal, consisting of the 3d, 63d, and 88th, left to garrison Bergen-op-Zoom, until the army had passed the Waal. The whole force at that time under the duke of York, was 33,000 effective men, including Hanoverians and Hessians.

The French advancing to invade Holland, Sluys surrendered on the 26th of August, after a very steady resistance. It had been besieged from the 27th of July, but when Cadsandt, fell, it enabled the French to cut off all communication between Sluys and Holland; they then invested it, covering the siege with an army of 20,000 men. Governor Vanderdun's defence was distinguished by a singular stratagem; for he ordered several fires to be kindled in different squares of the town, and when these flamed the highest, he threw open the gates and let down the draw-bridges, so that the French thought their shells had caused this conflagration, and advanced rapidly to take possession of the town; but were suddenly saluted by a well-directed fire of grape and round shot from the ramparts, when nearly 2000 fell, or were drowned in attempting to cross the inundations.

The troops in garrison at Sluys were made prisoners of war, and the French advancing to Hoogstraten, the duke of York's army retreated from the district of Breda; moving from Ousterhade at half past two on the morning of August 29th, they encamped at Helvoort

about four in the evening; but on the 30th the tents were struck, and they marched again, the left column passing through Boisleduc, and they encamped at four in the morning near Berlicum.

The French, well aware that it was too late to attack the strong fortresses of Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom, evidently prepared to attack the duke of York's army, covering Holland, and made every effort to overrun the Dutch provinces. Previous to this, they had forced the post at Bostell, which the duke endeavoured to retake in vain, and the army under him moved to Grave, and passing on, crossed the Maes on the 17th, when the different corps took positions on its banks, to defend the passage of that river. The British extended from Grave to Afforden, the Hanoverians and Hessians were posted from thence to Venloo.

Toward the end of November Dutch levellers openly avowed their principles, while the Stadtholder's party decreased daily, and dissensions prevailed in the principal towns. The dykes had been pierced, and inundations round Boisleduc succeeded in some extent; but the French took Crevecour, a small fortress between Bommel and Boisleduc, which commanded the sluices. This enabled them to draw off the water, and invest Boisleduc: the bombardment of this place scarce commenced, before its governor capitulated, under a strong suspicion of bribery. Here 400 unfortunate French emigrants were given up to be butchered, at the head of the French army.

On the 18th of October, the whole French army crossed the river Maes in different directions, and on the 19th a desperate assault was made upon the out-posts of the duke's right wing between Tiel and Nimeguen. The pic-

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quet, most advanced, defended its post with the 37th regiment, under Major Hope, at Druiton, for near four hours, when Applethorre, a post occupied by a detachment of emigrant hussars, was forced, and they retreated on a dyke along the river Waal: when, unfortunately, a squadron of French hussars, (mistaken for those of Rohan) was suffered to come too near the line of their march, and from the narrowness of the dyke, the British were driven off its sides; being thrown into great confusion on their charge, Lieutenant Wadman was dangerously wounded on the head, and rendered, by trepanning, incapable of doing duty afterwards. Captains Baird, Henly, and Duff, lieutenants, Thomson, Colquhon, Mitchel, and Murray, with quarter-master Duxel, were made prisoners. The regiment lost its colours and field-pieces, not more than 50 men reaching Wordt, where many, supposed to have been taken, arrived in straggling parties daily. The posts on the southern bank of the Waal, were abandoned as untenable; general Walmoden staid at Nimeguen to defend that town, with a corps of Hanoverians, augmented with detachments from the British, under general de Burgh; and the army took up different cantonments to defend the Waal, as intelligence came that the French, to the number of 30,000, had passed the Maes, between Ruremood and Venloo; which force assaulting the Imperialists in front and flank, made them fall back to Cologne, and abandon their position for the defence of Juliers. Their defeat happened on the 2d of October, previous to which, general Clairfait had meditated a junction with the duke of York, in order to risque another engagement.

The French had formed the siege of
12.

Nimeguen, and on the 4th of November, the garrison made a desperate sally, with a force consisting of the 8th, 27th, 28th, 55th, 63d, and 78th regiments of British infantry, with the two battalions of Dutch, supported by the 7th, and 15th British light dragoons, four squadrons of Hanoverian cavalry, and the legion of Damas, in Dutch service. The troops advanced under a heavy fire, and, without returning it, leaped into the trenches and drove the besiegers from their works, at the push of bayonet, with a loss of 500 men. General de Burgh was slightly wounded, and some other officers. But on the 6th, the French opened two batteries on the bridge of boats and the town, when the allied forces passed the Waal, and marched to Thiel, leaving picquets of 2,500 men, under general de Burgh, to maintain the places until the Austrian movements could be ascertained, but Nimeguen was abandoned on the night of the 27th of November.

The Dutch head-quarters were now fixed at Gorcum, to protect Bommel, against which fortress the French bent all their force. The prince of Orange by his left wing communicated with the duke of York's right, which extended along the northern bank of the Waal, and had good quarters; but the frost set in early, and its approach was marked by a sickness, which increased rapidly, so that several battalions could scarce muster half their numbers fit for duty.

Nimeguen, Boisleduc, and the whole country surrounding Grave, from Breda to the Waal, being in the enemy's hands, it was evident that Holland would be lost, except the inundations checked their progress. But these were in no case so general as they ought to
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to have been; add to this, the ingratitude of the Dutch to British soldiers, sent on purpose to protect them, was apparent; for they would not assist them with provisions for money, and the British were worse treated in their march through Holland, than if they had been retreating through an enemy's country: but the French have paid back this cruelty upon their country since they fraternized it.

On the 7th of December, and on the 11th, the French made unsuccessful attempts to cross the Waal: but on the 15th, a severe frost set in, so intense, that the Maes and Waal were frozen over, and a strong body of French passed the Maes on the 27th, and became masters of Bommel waert, whereby they had some command of the sluices; and in the beginning of January it was determined to give up the position upon the Waal entirely, and soon after Holland was left to its fate, upon a resolution that the British and their auxiliaries would not risque any more engagements, unless molested during their retreat. The situation of the Prince of Orange at Gorcum became on that account extremely critical, as the French possessed the whole of Tullier waert. The Stadtholder had in vain endeavoured, by the offer of great rewards, to induce the inhabitants, in a general mass, to rise in his favour, for the greater part were avowedly disaffected, and most of those who were possessed of property, were not disposed to stay and risque it there, but anxious to preserve it from the gripe of republican plunderers, escaped to Britain or Germany. Immense sums of money were vested in our funds by Dutch fugitives, and the French upon seizing the bank of Amsterdam, found nothing but paper securities.

When there was no longer any prospect of covering the Dutch provinces, general orders were given for removing the sick, which hastened the death of many miserable patients; and their sufferings during the retreat to Deventer, were intolerable, being constantly removed in open waggons, exposed to a most keen frost, drifting snow, sleet, and rain, and frequently without food or medicine, till the army halted, and then but scantily provided, being littered like cattle upon a scanty allowance of dirty straw, in cold churches, few of them enjoying a single blanket, to repel the vigorous attacks of the night air; so that it was no wonder they expired by hundreds, martyrs to the most unpardonable neglect. Doubtless there were at this time worthy and respectable men in the medical department, whose conduct formed a striking contrast to that of those greedy wretches who infest in such swarms, the general hospitals of a British army; some, indeed, exerted themselves so as to call down blessings upon their heads by the expiring sick; but these were never accustomed to join their Bacchanalian mates in their debaucheries over the very wine of which they robbed the poor sufferers.

On the 15th of January, the army passed the formidable lines of Greb, constructed in the year 1745, for the protection of the United Provinces. The day following was peculiarly marked by more distressing scenes than any during the retreat; for the troops were put in motion at day-break, with the purpose of reaching Loonen, about 23 miles distant, but owing to uncommon severity of the season, snow which lay deep on the ground, was drifted in the men's faces by a strong easterly wind,

wind, and they were so exhausted with fatigue, that it was thought necessary to halt some regiments at two villages, nine miles short of their destination; but the whole of the British could not possibly be accommodated, and it was left to their commanders either to march forward, or take up such situations in hamlets on the road as they could meet with; some regiments proceeded even after sun-set, with their field-pieces, and were entirely dispersed, as they could not trace out any path-way over a dreary common. Great numbers of the men were unable to bear up against the fatigues they underwent. Several women and children were frozen to death in their attempts to discover the track the battalions had pursued. The 88th regiment was so scattered, that no return whatever could be given of its numbers the next morning, the few straggling parties which joined giving a very melancholy account of the main body.

An officer of the guards was sent out on the morning of the 17th, to trace out a road over this dreary common, by which the army and artillery might safely proceed to Loonen. When he set out with a party it was scarce light, but when day broke, dismal scenes were presented to their view, a shocking proof of the winter campaign: On the common, above half a mile out of the highway, a baggage cart was perceived with a team of five horses, in distress; the officer galloped to it, and found the horses frozen stiff, but not dead, the hoar frost on their manes plainly shewing they had been exposed there all night; no driver was with them, and the officer struck the flat of his sword repeatedly upon the tilt, enquiring if any person was in the cart; at length a feeble voice answered, and

some one under the canvass endeavoured to rise, but his legs were naked, and frost-nipt so that he could not stand. He gave an account that he belonged to the 54th regiment, in following which he lost his road, and turning into another, the horses were incapable of clearing the carriage from the ruts, and that he and two comrades were left to shift as they could; but though they endeavoured to preserve vital heat as well as they could, the two men lay dead in the cart. The party placed the poor survivor on one of his horses, and led him forward till he joined the battalion: but when put in the hospital his toes fell off, and his whole mass of blood corrupted. The party could not proceed an hundred yards without seeing the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horses. Near another cart they found a stout looking man, a beautiful young woman with an infant at the breast, all three frozen stiff and dead; the mother had certainly expired in the act of suckling her child, as she lay with one breast exposed; the infant seemed as if its lips were just disengaged, and reposed its little head on the mother's, with an overflow of milk, frozen as it trickled from its mouth; all their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, like those of persons in a profound slumber. Advancing fifty yards, there was another dead man, with a bundle of cloaths and a few biscuits, evidently belonging to the woman and child; a little farther was a horse, lying down, but not quite dead, with a pair of panniers on his back, one of which contained another child's body, wrapped up in flannels and straw. These, as the party learned afterwards, were the whole of one family, belonging to a serjeant of the 55th regiment, and

the man with the horse and bundle staid behind to assist them; he had gained sight of a distant hamlet, where they might have found shelter, but they had not strength to reach it.

The retreat was continued through Loonen, Appledom, and Vaessen, to Deventer, and part of the army passed by a very elegant castle at Kenningsloo, belonging to the prince of Orange, memorable for having been a favourite hunting-seat of king William. The 27th of January was marked by a quick and seemingly thorough thaw, but on the 29th the frost set in as violent as before, when the army proceeded toward Westphalia, marching in detachments to Delden, on the river Regge; on the 31st they halted, and were cantoned at Oldennaal and along the Dutch frontier, till on the 5th of February they were again put in motion towards Osnaburg, head quarters having been previously established at Rheine, and great numbers of sick, whose cases would not permit a farther removal, were left behind at Deventer, Zwol, and Zutphen, when the magazines, and stores, considered as too cumbersome to be conveyed in the lines of march, were destroyed.

In the mean time, the whole family of Orange were forced to fly precipitately from their country, and arrived safe in England on the 19th of January, with their plate, jewels, and archives; the Stadtholder and his two sons followed soon after, and had a very narrow escape, for some French hussars entered the Hague on one side, as the princes fled through the opposite gate, and the disaffected inhabitants all along gathered in tumultuous crowds to prevent their departure; they reached Scheveling just in time to procure a boat, and the populace gathered on the shore to pre-

vent their embarking, insomuch that the Stadtholder's body guards were obliged to fire upon the mob, and a serious conflict ensued, in which several lives were lost.

Utretcht surrendered on the 16th of January, Dort on the 19th; on the 20th, in the evening, Pichegru made his triumphal entry at the van of his army into Amsterdam. Feastings and rejoicings preceded the demand of heavy contributions, and the inhabitants in return for French federation, were forced to supply their conquerors with wheat, hay, oats, straw, cloathing and oxen, to the amount of 1,403,054l. sterling. Such were the first greetings conveyed to the Dutch, under the impression of equality, unity, liberty, indivisibility, and fraternity.

The British kept moving on for Osnaburg, and the main body of the army preceded general Abercrombie's corps, which followed on the 6th of February, passing into Schuttorp, where they halted on the 10th, being checked by a prodigious flood, occasioned by a sudden thaw; for the bridge over the river Vecht, at the extremity of Schuttorp, being choaked up with ice, there was not sufficient space for water to flow through the arch, consequently the causeway and surrounding country were completely overflowed. The flank battalion and first regiment of guards passed the water, almost up to their knapsacks, and several of the men were in danger of drowning, from the great difficulty of stemming the current over the causeway, where quantities of loosened ice had sunk, and rendered their footing extremely slippery, hence it was necessary to break the enormous masses of ice, and clear a passage for the water through the bridge, that the road might be practicable

ble for the artillery and bat-horses, in which service the troops were busily employed for two days. However, on the 12th they crossed the Ems at Rheine, and approached Osnaburg, where the head quarters had been fixed; part of the army was fixed in the town, the remainder was cantoned among the boors, in the miserable hamlets of the country, where the rustics' whole stock of cattle, pigs, and poultry, are usually littered together with the men, women, and children; yet these honest German peasants treated the soldiers with a kindness and hospitality which made a pleasing contrast to what they experienced among the Dutch.

On the 24th of February, the French advanced upon the posts of Nieupaus and Velthuys, occupied by the loyal emigrants, with a detachment of Rohan and Bouille's corps, forcing them, after an obstinate resistance, to fall back, with the loss of 100 men killed and wounded. General Abercrombie, who commanded at Bentheim, in that vicinity, made proper dispositions to re-occupy the posts, but on the 26th, the French retreated toward Hardenbury, and soon after quitted their position in the province of Gronengen, and fell upon Zwoll. The British battalions were again in motion on the 4th of March, until the 7th, when they halted near the state of Diephoet.

The division of British under lord Cathcart experienced more difficulties in their march than any other detachment, during their retreat from the Rhine to the Ems; this brigade consisted of light cavalry, with the 27th, 28th, 80th, and 84th regiments of infantry, and made a circuitous march through West Friesland, along the confines of Gronengen, entirely wide of

their main body, and skirted by the Zuider Zee, proceeded above one hundred and fifty miles through that dreary country, with a view of ascertaining whether the minds of its inhabitants were tainted with the prevailing disaffection to the Orange family; and upon their arrival within two leagues of Gronengen, they received a deputation from that city, with an offer to open their gates, but requesting they would not enter, as the town was then divided in two parties. The rear of this corps was continually harassed by advanced parties of French, yet the greater part arrived safe on the right bank of the Ems, having crossed that river at Meppen.

It was now determined to withdraw the British infantry from Germany, as the king of Prussia, instead of reinstating the stadtholder, made peace with the French.—Transports were accordingly stationed to receive the sick at Embden, with part of the troops, and the main body of the army were ordered to embark at Bremer Lehe, for which purpose necessary dispositions were made, and the army was in motion again on the 23d of March.

Some apprehensions were then entertained for the safety of the 12th and 40th regiments, as they had been in an advanced position; these however made good their retreat, when the light infantry and grenadiers covering their march, they proceeded to Bremen, where they were quartered on the 27th; between which period and the 10th of April, great numbers of men who had been returned missing, or were left behind sick, joined their respective regiments, and it was then found that many who had first embarked, had borne up through the great fatigues they underwent, while the recruits sent out afterwards,

wards, whose constitutions were not hardened in the service, in general fell sick, and had but little chance of recovering in general hospitals, where they fell into the hands of unskilful surgeons' mates, and unfeeling nurses usually attendant there.

The troops were comfortably lodged and well treated at Bremen, and on the 10th of April a joyful movement to the transports took place, and in the morning of the 14th the different brigades embarked for England, leaving the cavalry on the left banks of the Weser, to co-operate in the protection of Hanover.

We have accompanied the British through their retreat, to their embarkation, and shall now advert to other operations of the war, during the time they were employed upon the continent of Europe.

On the 15th of April, 1793, the French island of Tobago was taken by major-general Cuyler, in concert with vice admiral sir John Laforey, and the French garrison made prisoners of war. The island of St. Pierre and Mianlon was also taken by brigadier general Ogilvie and captain Affleck, without any resistance. The French island of Martinico was likewise taken by general sir Charles Grey, in conjunction with admiral sir John Jervis; in this capture, captain Faulkner, of the Zebra, greatly distinguished his courage and conduct, for the Asia and his ship being ordered to enter the carenage to batter a fort and cover the gun boats; the Asia missed the entrance, which captain Faulkner observing, although the Zebra had been for some time under a shower of grape shot, which his officers and crews stood with remarkable firmness, yet he deter-

mined to execute that service alone; and executed it with matchless courage and conduct, running the Zebra close to the wall of the fort and leaping overboard at the head of his ship's company, assailed and took the post, before the boats could make a landing, though they were rowed with all the animation which characterizes British seamen. This island was totally reduced and surrendered March 22d, 1794.

Upon the first arrival of notice that hostilities had commenced between Britain and France, the East India Company's forces reduced Pondicherry on the 23d of August 1793, in consequence of which the fort of Mahé and the French factories at Surat fell under the East India Company's power.

Nothing could have happened more fatal to the French marine than the possession of Toulon, with a number of their capital ships, given up by agreement of the temporary governors, (there appointed by the French,) to admiral lord Hood, who on the 29th of August, 1793, moored his fleet jointly with that of Spain in the outer road of Toulon: it was agreed that all the ships of war should be considered as the property of France, if her monarchy should be restored.

But St. Julien, a furious democrat, kept possession of some, until the admiral sent him a peremptory message that such ships as should not proceed into the inner road, and put their powder on shore, would be treated as enemies, and all but seven, whose crews ran off with St. Julien, removed in the course of that day to the inner road.

Possession was kept of this port, and the shipping, till December the 17th, when a numerous republican army attacked



Shute & Co.

View of the Town and Harbour of Toulon from the Gun Wharf.

tacked all the advanced posts, and some of the forts with such fury, that they were abandoned with some loss.

In consequence of this, a council was held by the three generals who commanded the British, Spanish and Neapolitan forces, and it was determined that all merchant ships and transports of whatever nation, being more than a hundred in number, should get out of the port, and place themselves under the protection of British and Spanish squadrons at anchor under the fort La Malgue. All the royalists were suffered, at the same time, to embark in them, and escape from danger. This embarkation was performed with the greatest order and expedition. When their baggage was on board they sailed, but with so little wind that it was nine o'clock at night before they were above three miles from the road of Toulon. The other ships, and all the French men of war, were left in the great road.

The embarkation of the troops, and many naval stores was compleated, but it was necessary to spike the artillery, and leave that behind. In the morning of the 18th an insurrection of the inhabitants in the city succeeded. These taking advantage of the disorder and flight of the royalists, fell upon them with swords and what other weapons came to hand, and killed or dispersed many, in order to seize their property.

Before Toulon was evacuated, the generals ordered the most important parts of the port to be set on fire, and by break of day, a most terrible conflagration commenced, which consumed the arsenal, some fortifications, and basons of the port. It was so furious that it soon communicated to the city,

and two great shocks were heard, being the explosion of the powder in the arsenal, and two large ships, on board of which lord Hood had deposited all the powder found on board of the French fleet.

The combined fleets had not yet abandoned the most eminent posts, having kept possession of fort Malgue, from whence the boats of the British and Spanish fleets carried great quantities of ammunition, ship stores, and provisions. A constant fire of artillery was kept up from this fort upon Toulon.

During the embarkation of the troops the scene was calamitous and affecting: many inhabitants of Toulon, not decidedly against giving it up, foreseeing they must be left behind, thronged in immense numbers to the water side to be taken in, but the boats and ships could receive no more. The weighing of anchors, and the unfurling of sails, added to their distraction. Many returned to the city, where a battle ensued, in which great numbers fell on both sides.

Sir Sydney Smith was employed in the Vulcan fire-ship to burn the French ships, when ten ships of the French line, the arsenal, hemp-house, mast-house, great store-house, and other buildings, were totally destroyed. The Commerce de Marseilles, Puissant, and Pompée, all of the line, with the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaz; likewise several large corvettes were brought off, and joined the British fleet.

That infamous wretch Marat, who had been a chief instigator of massacring the prisoners, was assassinated by the hand of a woman on Sunday, July 14th, in the following manner:

This virago, a woman of respectable appearance, arrived at Paris the preceding

ceding Thursday, from Caen, in Normandy. On the two succeeding days she was employed in enquiring about the various crimes imputed to her destined victim, and was certified that every thing she heard of him was true, she gained admittance to him, and stabbed him so effectually, that he died upon the spot. Her name was Charlotte Cordé, a woman in a respectable station of life.

Upon her trial the following day, her appearance at the revolutionary tribunal struck every person with awe, and the public accuser questioning why she had done such a deed? she replied with calmness, but firmness, "I came to Paris on purpose to glorify myself by this deed, to deliver my country from such a monster, and stop the wounds his atrocious hands had opened."

The accuser replied, "Are you not ashamed to become a common criminal for this assassination?" She said, "It is a crime to commit murder, but no disgrace to ascend the scaffold for this act."

The accuser said, "Do you recognize this bloody dagger?"

She said, "I bought it myself in the Palais royal; it is the same which I plunged into his heart, and I am satisfied."

Her trial lasted two hours, during which she behaved with the utmost firmness, till sentence was pronounced that she was to be guillotined at eight o'clock that evening, at the Place de la Revolution, the notice whereof she heard with remarkable calmness.

Her execution produced a scene truly magnificent and awful; vast multitudes attended to witness the courage of this lady in her last moments.

It was with much difficulty she was conducted through the populace to the

scaffold, which she ascended with intrepidity, and took off her bonnet and handkerchief herself, but innate modesty made some resistance when the executioner went to bind her legs. "Are you so bad," she exclaimed, "as to expose me here?" "No, no," he answered, "it is to bind you." "Do it then," she replied firmly.

The monster of an executioner, when shewing her head to the populace, slapped it twice on the cheek, for which the tribunal which condemned her to death sentenced him to 12 years imprisonment in irons.

The queen of France also suffered on Wednesday, 16th of October, 1793, and when the sentence of death was read to her as the widow of Capet, she cast down her eyes, and did not again lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply upon the determination of the law?" said the president to her: "Nothing," she said. "And you officious defenders," he said to her counsel. "Our mission is fulfilled with respect to the widow Capet," said they.

Nothing can give a stronger contrast between the boasted French liberty, and that which is secured by law to the British, than this answer of the counsel. By the British constitution, a false name, or what is called in law a misnomer, quashes an indictment, and the criminal escapes, however presumed to be guilty; which is the reason of inserting every name which some notorious bad characters have assumed, in an indictment, with an *alias*, signifying, otherwise so and so called.

Now the king of France's real surname was Bourbon; and he, on his examination, disowned the surname of Capet, urging that the appellation belonged only to one of his distant ancestors, which was a known fact. Yet the



Capt. Sir Edward Pellew boarding the Acopatra Brigate.

the counsel had nothing here to urge against the misnomer of widow Capet. But we can scarce imagine what a rout some counsel would make in an English court of justice upon such an occasion, both to demand and procure a criminal's release, though charged with high treason.

This proceeding of the French despots was founded on the machiavalian craft of misleading the people, whom they knew paid a kind of adoration to the name of Bourbon, while that of Capet was indifferent to them. They had also put the people upon giving him the nick-name of Monsieur Veto, upon his putting a negative on their decrees, although his prerogative was reserved to him by the constitution of 1789, which they had solemnly sworn to preserve inviolate.

The queen was executed at half past eleven in the forenoon, on the 16th of October. The whole force of Paris attended from the Palace of Justice to the Place or Square de la Revolution. Maria Antoinette, (so the queen was called) had on a white loose dress, and her hands were tied behind her back. She looked firmly round on every side, and was accompanied by the former curate of Saint Landry, preserving, even upon the scaffold, her native dignity of mind. After the execution, three young persons dipped their handkerchiefs in her blood, and were immediately arrested, as intending to keep them for a memorial of this sanguinary proceeding.

The most remarkable naval transactions this year, and the beginning of 1794, were the capture of the French frigate *Cleopatra*, by Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Nymph* frigate; and the wonderful escape of the *Juno* frigate, captain Samuel Hood, from Toulon,

having entered the harbour, not knowing the British had evacuated it.

The commencement of an action between the frigates *La Nymphe* and *Cleopatra*, was something singular, and preceded by a kind of challenge; for the French captain ordered his ship to be manned, and coming forward on the gang-way, took off his hat, crying out "*Vive la Nation*:" this was repeated by his whole crew, and three cheers. Captain Pellew then ordered his men from quarters to the shrouds, from whence they gave three loud huzzas to *Long live King George the Third*. The captain then put on his hat, and gave the signal for close action, which was so well obeyed, that for most of the action, both ships were yard-arm and yard-arm, so close that any might have been killed by pistol shot. The action continued obstinate on both sides, when the mizen-mast and tiller of the French ship's rudder fell foul of captain Pellew's, and became entangled in her shrouds, when instant orders were given to board, which was done with such intrepidity, that the British sailors attacked the French at their quarters, drove them from their guns with great slaughter, and struck the French flag themselves. The British frigate carried 36 guns, and 250 men. The French ship had 40 guns, and 320 men; her captain was killed early in the action, and her second in command died of his wounds. This brilliant action procured captain Pellew the honour of knighthood.

Captain Samuel Hood sailed in the *Juno* frigate from Malta, on the 3d of January, 1794, having on board 150 supernumeraries, 46 of them officers and marines of his majesty's ship the *Romney*; the remainder were Maltese sailors, intended for the fleet which the

captain

captain supposed yet in possession of Toulon; and on the 12th of January, at ten o'clock in the night, on finding he could enter Toulon if he wished it, not liking to stay till morning, he got in as expeditiously as possible, and entering the outer harbour, cast anchor.—Not having a pilot on board, he placed two midshipmen, with night glasses, to look out for the British fleet; but not discovering any ships till he got near to the entrance of the inner, he supposed they had moored there. Then seeing one vessel, and several lights, supposed of the fleet, he entered the inner harbour, under topsails only, and finding he could not weather a brig, he was about to tack, when the brig hailed; but not understanding, he told them it was a British frigate, called the Juno; and enquiring what the brig was, they seemed not to understand him, but on passing their stern, called out, “Luff,” which made him think there was shoal-water near. The helm was immediately put a-lee, but the ship was aground before she got her head to the wind, of which there was but little, and the sea smooth. The sails then were clued up, and handed: at this instant a boat was rowed from the brig to the town. Before the Juno’s men were well off the yards, the frigate was found to go astern very fast; the driver and mizen were then hoisted, keeping the sheets to windward, and a little wind that came down the harbour, contributed to give the ship’s stern way farther from the shore. Upon the instant when the frigate lost her way, the best bower anchor, was let go, when she tended head to the wind, the after-part of the keel being aground, the rudder being immoveable. The launch and cutter were then hoisted out, with the kedge anchor and two

hawsters in them, to warp the ship farther off. By this time a boat came along-side, and hailed, as if there was an officer on board; the people in the boat were all anxious to get speedily on board, and two of them seemed to be officers. One of those told captain Hood, it was the regulation of the port, by the commander’s orders, that he must go into another branch of the harbour, and perform ten days quarantine. The captain kept asking where lord Hood’s ship lay; but he gave no satisfactory answer: and one of the midshipmen observing they wore national cockades, the captain looked stedfastly at one of their hats, and by a gleam of moon-light saw the three colours. On captain Hood’s enquiring again about Lord Hood, one of them said, “*Sejez tranquille, les Anglois sont des braves gens, nous les traitons bien, l’Amiral Anglois exporté il y a quelque tems.*” In English, “Be quiet, the English are brave people; we shall treat them well: the English admiral has quitted this port some time since.” Surprized at this report, the captain came round to know their situation. At that instant a flaw of wind came down the harbour, and Mr. Webly, third lieutenant of the frigate, said to the captain, “I believe, sir, we shall fetch her out if we can get under sail.” The captain immediately perceived a scheme of saving the ship, and ordered all hands to their respective stations, and the French to be sent below. These perceiving some hurry, two or three began to draw their sabres, when some of the marines were ordered with half-pikes to force them down, which was soon done. All the Maltese were likewise ordered between decks, to prevent confusion. Such a change from a state of uncertainty and despair could scarcely

scarcely be conceived, for in a few minutes every sail was set, and their yards ready for casting. As soon as the cable was taut, and all things in readiness, the captain ordered it to be cut, and had the pleasure to see his ship start from the shore; the head sails were filled, and a favourable current of wind coming on, gave the frigate good way, so that there was a favourable prospect of getting out if the forts did not disable them. This mischance the darkness was likely to prevent; and that the ship's way might not be retarded, her own boats, and the French one, were cut adrift. On the moment they began to loose sails, the French brig was getting her guns ready, and lights were seen on all the batteries. When our ship had shot far enough for the brig's guns to bear on it, about three ships length, she began to fire; also a fort upon the frigate's starboard bow, then other forts on both sides, as they could bring their guns to bear. As soon as the sails were in good trim, the captain beat to quarters, that the guns might be in readiness, not with intent to fire until he was sure of getting out. When abreast of Cape Sapot, he was apprehensive there would be a necessity of tacking; but making ready for this purpose, near the shore, the ship came up two points, and just weathered the cape. As she passed close along the shore, the batteries kept up as brisk a fire as the wetness of the weather would permit; and when the frigate could be kept a little from the wind, some guns were fired at the battery that had just opened on her abreast, which checked them a little. The frigate then ceased firing until she could be kept away with the wind abaft the beam, when a brisk firing commenced from her for a few minutes upon the last battery she had

to pass, which otherwise might have done her much damage; but about half past twelve that night, being out of the reach of their shot, the firing ceased, and without any person being hurt, the frigate escaped.

In the mean time, Paris was frequently convulsed by the struggles for power, which commenced among the Brissotines, Girondists, and Hebertists; till Danton, with his colleagues, who had prepared the way for Robespierre's advancement, were guillotined by his procurement; and that demagogue's reign of terror commenced.

Brissot and his adherents were first guillotined, and it is remarkable that the principal accusation against him, was precipitating the French nation into a declaration of war against both Britain and Holland. Twenty more suffered with Brissot.

On the 25th of March, 1794, Hebert, Rousin, Momore, Vincent, Du Croquet, Rocq, a Dutchman, Colonel Laumur Bourgeois, Mazuel, Ancard, Le Clerc, Prolly, Desfieux, Anacharsis Cloots, Pereira, Florant, Arma, and Descemables, Dubuisson, and the wife of general Quiteneau, were guillotined. Le Boreau was acquitted.

On April the 5th, Danton, Camille, Desmoulins, Herault, Sechelles, Philippeaux, Lacroix and Fabre de Eglantine, were all guillotined in the evening. These demagogues had refused to answer any question put to them by the revolutionary tribunal, but in the presence of their accusers, with Robespierre; and insulted both the president and members, wherefore they were condemned as contumacious.

Robespierre then became for a short space the ruling demagogue; it was generally said and believed, that his true surname was Damien, but changed

from that, on account of Damien, his uncle, who attempted to assassinate Louis XV. king of France.

He was now forty years of age, and born of poor parents, but brought up in a genteel manner by the care, and at the expence of the bishop of Arras, who observing some striking traits in his features, brought him up as an advocate. The same bishop countenanced him as an ingenious man, being sent to the national assembly through the bishop's interest.

In November, 1792, he was silent in the convention, and when Marat made his appearance about the latter end of that month, he came forward a little, but in the most cautious manner. It appears that he withstood every temptation that wealth, beauty, or the plunder of France could hold out, while the rest of his associates and opponents yielded to them.

He was a keen observer to get possession of facts, which he might at any time convert to his own use, and acquired such a decided reputation for frugality and honesty, as to be almost adored by the populace of Paris, who would even think he would perish before he would touch a farthing of public property; but few could think so of the other demagogues. When others of them indulged in feasts and women, he kept aloof from every public amusement, and watched with care every motion of those men whom he wished to get rid of. With all the appearance of unguarded republican enthusiasm, he was cautious in the extreme, that his real character should not appear, being in this respect a very counterpart to Oliver Cromwell.

What endeared him most to the party which he espoused, was an at-

tempt to assassinate him; the fact as reported is, that a young woman only twenty years of age, went on the 23d of May, 1794, at night, to the house of Duplin, with whom Robespierre lodged, and begged to speak with the latter: upon being told he was not at home, she said; "It is truly astonishing that he, a public functionary, is not at home; as a public functionary, he is bound to reply to all those who shall address themselves to him."

This reply exciting suspicion, she was arrested and carried to the committee of general safety. On the way she said to her guards, that under the ancient government an audience could be obtained, and she would spill the last drop of her blood to have a king.

Before the committee she said, "my name is Aimé Cocile Regnault; I am twenty years of age, the daughter of a stationer in the street La Lantorn, near to Marmousets, in the section of La Citie."

Being questioned why she went to the house where Robespierre lived? She said, to speak with him.

On asking if she knew him, she said, no; for what purpose, it was then asked, did you want to see him? she answered, to see if he suited me; upon being asked what she meant by that expression? she said, that does not concern you. This question was then put to her, Did you say that Robespierre, as a public functionary, ought at all times to be ready to see those who had business with him? she answered, I did. It was then questioned, whether she did not declare that she would spill every drop of blood in her body to have a king? She said, yes, for you are fifty thousand tyrants, and I went to the lodgings of Robespierre, to see of what a tyrant was made.

A packet

A packet was found on her with a complete woman's dress: being asked why she carried it about her, she replied, as she expected to be confined, and wished to have a change of linen.

She had two knives, and being questioned what she intended to do with them? replied, she did not wish to use them to the injury of any one.

If this attempt upon Robespierre was real, a contrivance was annexed to it, which appeared to be a stratagem to include those whom he wished to get out of his way; for in a few days, on mere suggestion of a conspiracy to assassinate Robespierre and Collet de Herbois, fifty-two demagogues and this young woman were executed. Whatever remorse might accompany the rest in their last moments, the young woman suffered like one that acted from a principle.

On the 1st of July, Robespierre delivered at the sittings of the Jacobins, a speech, full of that cool ferocious eloquence which characterised all his harangues, against those whom he called moderates. He complained that several members in the committee of public safety, reproached him as a tyrannical, bloody minded despot; but his declamation made not the least impression on the audience. He then threatened to quit the committee and the management of the state, but no voice was heard to solicit his continuance at the head of affairs.

Perhaps so complete a villain scarce existed before, and the malice which marked his railing against all moderate characters, proved that he was acquainted with his own sanguinary one, and the opinion which the bulk of mankind had formed of it. He talked of the stations which he occupied as public burdens, which he wished to resign, but

no one believed him, knowing by what villany he obtained them, and the terror of that ferocity by which he sought to keep possession of them.

While Robespierre plotted the downfall of the Girondists, Hebertists, and Dantonists, he was seldom seen in public, and his subaltern demagogues only appeared; but at this time he was scarce ever absent from the club of the Jacobins. Formerly, he never appeared but to decide the arrest or death of his adversaries; now he had not authority sufficient to imprison those whom he denounced as villains and conspirators, in the midst of the Convention, but he no longer durst name them, even when he threatened them with the fury of the populace; and the silence with which he was treated, threatened his speedy downfall, which was effected at the close of this month.

For Barrere and Collet de Herbois, perceiving that the credit of his party declined daily, and that the deputies, whose deaths had been secretly plotted by them in concert with Robespierre, had augmented the complaints of the disaffected, apprehended that they might, by assisting him longer, subject themselves to the fate of Danton, Hebert, and Brissot; they therefore formed a coalition with the party of Talien, Merlin, Bourdon de la Oise, La Cointre, Dubois, Crance, and Fonche, Barrere being then president of the Convention.

Robespierre and his associates were plotting a sanguinary massacre, but their plans were discovered, and they were ordered to be arrested. They had, however, framed the commune, consisting of the sections of Paris, with several of the officers military and civil in their favour.

In

In consequence of this, Robespierre on the night of the 27th, when his arrest was decreed, found a temporary asylum in the hall of the commune, where the officers of the municipality agreed to protect him, and ordered the tocsin, that dreadful signal for massacre, to ring. Then setting themselves up in opposition to the Convention, they proceeded to invite all constituted authorities to make oath that they would defend the commune. However, the voice of the people was against them, for all the sections of Paris went in succession to the Convention, and swore to defend the representatives of their country from the dangers which threatened them, from the tyranny of Robespierre; the armed force declaring against him, new leaders, members of convention, were appointed to the command, the hall of the commune was forced by the conventionalists at three o'clock in the morning of July 28th, 1794. Those who agreed to defend it, fled at the approach of such a force sent against it. Le Bas, who was there, killed himself, the Robespierres senior and junior attempted to do the same, but only wounded themselves. Henriot, when he knew that his arrest was decreed, still threatened the Convention; at length being forsaken by his accomplices, he tried to dispatch himself by running against a wall, and then concealed himself in a common sewer, from whence he was dragged out all over blood, and carried in a litter to the Convention. The president refused to admit him, and he, as outlawed, was condemned to the guillotine, together with Robespierre the elder and younger, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, commander in chief of the Parisian armed force, Lavalette, Damas, Floriot, mayor

of Paris, Payan, jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal, and one of the national guard of Paris, Veviers, judge of the criminal tribune, and president of the Jacobins, Simon, a shoemaker, governor to the dauphin, and others of less note.

At the execution, all eyes were fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, covered with blood from the wounds which they had given themselves. The heads of several were held up and shewn to the people, who testified their abhorrence of the victims and their ferocious characters. On the 29th, 68 municipal officers, who were collected in the hall of the commune to defend Robespierre, were executed. A deputy also who had been with the army, and a general officer, suffered with them.

Upon a retrospective view of these successive sanguinary executions, all in the space of a little more than four months, we manifestly perceive the baneful effects of French philosophy, liberty, equality, and the rights of man, to which the republicans of that insatuated nation have formed so arrogant a claim, exclusive of other states. A philosophy which could prepare, digest and execute such a system of cruelty, despotism and anarchy, can only be ascribed to men who were become reasoning savages, and as such, far more ferocious and mischievous than lions and tygers roaring and roaming in search of their prey; the liberty which they boast of is estranged in their practice, any pretence being sufficient to decree an arrest, when these demagogues convict and execute, without the allowance of confronting witnesses, or disproving writings which appear to be mere forgeries; so that instead of equality, men of the same form

form and national republic, even deputies returned to the convention by the people, are most unequally dealt with, upon any accusation, true or false, so that the rights of man are trampled upon, however they may boast of them; and that incendiary who pretended to explain them here, and became a member of the convention in France, might have been executed with the other demagogues, if the consideration that it would have gratified the English nation, where he was outlawed and his work detested, had not prevented such a catastrophe.

This despotism of the French demagogues, and their sanguinary proceedings, were so contrary to the lenity exercised in the course of those trials for treason which took place in the same year here, that they form a most remarkable contrast, of which Mr. Erskine's exordium in his defence of Hardy, is a striking proof, and may be considered as the confession of an adversary to the British constitution. We shall extract his own expressions from the printed trial.

He addressed the court and jury in this manner:—"Before I proceed to the prisoner's defence, as it regards the law and the evidence, I wish to follow the liberal example that has been set by the attorney-general, in his opening speech, on putting aside every thing collateral to the question. But first, both in the name of the prisoner, for whom I stand, and for myself, I desire to subscribe to all that eulogium pronounced by the attorney-general on the constitution of this country, as handed down to us by our ancestors, the result of their superior wisdom and virtue, and entitled to the esteem and veneration of all posterity."

"The attorney-general seemed to lay

great stress on the anarchy and confusion of France, on which he descanted at length. Into that subject I will not at present enter, I will neither enquire into the cause by which they were first produced, nor the circumstances from which they have proceeded to such an extent. But what is it that the French have chiefly to deplore? they are at present under the dominion of a barbarous necessity, in consequence of which no man's life, liberty, or property is secure, or at his own disposal for a moment. The first instant that a charge of incivism, federalism, or moderation is brought against him, the sentence of the revolutionary tribunal follows—quick as the thunder-bolt pursues the flash, and he is doomed to behold his friends and family no more. But is any comparison between that country and this to affect the life of the prisoner? it is necessary that you, gentlemen of the jury, should guard against this source of delusion and injustice, it is necessary, in the decision which you are called to give, that you stand on the strict and unequivocal letter of the law; the prisoner holds his life from the law, and by it he demands to be tried—this fair trial I ask first from the court—I ask it more emphatically from the jury."

Could it be imagined that this same orator was a staunch partizan of that demagogue, who declared the French republic was the product of superior wisdom; and degraded himself so far as to be a chief partizan in the celebration of these orgies and feasts, on the return of his birth-day? But counsel, like the man in the fable, who was entertained by a satyr, can blow hot and cold from the same mouth. Thus here in the fervour of his zeal, he characterises the French anarchy in a glow

a glow of oratory, like that of the lightning and thunder-bolt to which he compares its effects, to excite the compassion of the jury for a prisoner who was charged with practices too much like those which introduced the French anarchy, and for which the laws would have convicted him of high crimes and misdemeanors, if the indictment had been for them, instead of treason.

While the French demagogues were employed in a continued series of accusing and exterminating each other, as if the divine vengeance was already visiting them, the superiority of our naval force manifested itself, first in an engagement of some British frigates, commanded by sir John Borlase Warren, with a number of French frigates; of which he took the *Pomona*, of 40 guns, the *Engageant*, of 28, and the *Babet*, of 22. And in August he captured the French frigate *La Felicité*, of 40 guns, *Le Espion*, of 18, and the *Alert*, of the same number. But the complete triumph of our naval force this year was effected in a general action between the British fleet, commanded by admiral earl Howe, and that of France, commanded by admiral Joyeuse. For some days the French fleet seemed shy of coming to action; but on the 31st of May, they were joined by a squadron, which had captured captain Trowbridge and his convoy, from Newfoundland; and then out-numbering the British fleet by four ships, they now seemed to bear down confidently for action in the evening. Lord Howe was not disposed to have a partial action in the dark, seeing their intention for engaging, being resolved to have a whole day's work of it, and carried lights during the night, that the enemy might perceive he was not for baulking their purpose.

The glorious first of June commenced; when, at a quarter before six in the morning, thirty-four sail of the French were counted by the British; the French were then about four leagues to leeward, when the British chased up to, and closed with, at half past eight, to give them battle, with signals for the centre to engage their centre, and our rear their rear. About nine o'clock, the action commenced by the French with three ships in the van. Lord Howe made a signal to engage closer, and by a quarter past nine the action commenced in the rear by the French. A signal was then thrown out for the British to make more sail, till about half past nine our admiral engaged the French admiral's second in command.

Earl Howe broke the French line in a noble manner, engaging with several of their ships as he passed them; he pushed on for their admiral, whose second seeing his danger, made sail to close in with our gallant admiral, who steered the *Royal Charlotte* so close between them, that the boom of the French admiral passed over the stern of the *Royal Charlotte*, which poured a broadside into both, and pelted them for near an hour. The French admiral's ship, the *Montague*, bore away from this terrible fire, with a number of men killed; the second admiral had his main-mast carried away by the board; victory then declared for the British fleet.

The French line was broken in three places, when three of their ships bore away, six were dismasted, and one sunk; they then gave way in all quarters. The *Marlborough* was for some time jammed in between two of their ships, one of which she completely dismasted, and then obliged the other to sheer off. The French now gave

gave way every where. The Marlborough was for some time jammed in between two of the enemy's ships, one of which she completely dismasted, and obliged the other to sheer off. The Brunswick, capt. Harvey, sustained a most tremendous conflict, being singly engaged for a considerable time with three French seventy-fours. One of these, called the Vengeur, she sent to the bottom; another of them, supposing her to be much weakened by her exertions, attempted to board her; and with yards and shrouds manned, bore up, with a view of running alongside, and entering her all at once. Capt. Harvey, perceiving their intention, with the greatest coolness and intrepidity, reserved a whole broadside, waiting for her approach. The enemy then drew near, and at one discharge, the Brunswick brought down every mast by the board, and scattered her crew like drowning mice upon the ocean. The other seventy-four which remained, then attempted to close with the Brunswick, now much harassed and weakened by her amazing efforts. At this juncture the Ramilies, commanded by captain Harvey's brother, running in between his ship and the enemy's, received her fire, and relieved the Brunswick in good time, for her situation was extremely critical, having been at times so closely engaged; that she was unable to open her lower deck port-lids, and, in consequence, to fire through them; nine of which were in consequence torn from their hinges, and the last broadside she discharged, every muzzle of her lower-deck guns touched the copper of her antagonist's bottom.

The sinking of the Vengeur was one of the most awful sights imaginable. This ship and the Brunswick had, by some means, fallen aboard of each

other. The Brunswick lost her mizen-mast, before she got clear, and left the Vengeur a wreck of horrible ruin. Her yards and masts all shot away, her decks and sides torn to pieces, she was left sinking gradually. The French on board her then hoisted an English jack, and called for quarter. But the Brunswick's boats being full of shot holes, she could neither take possession nor save any of the Vengeur's crew, so that soon after six in the evening she went down into the deep, and all on board perished.

The most obstinate contest was between the Defence, of 74 guns, captain J. Gambier, and the Jacobin, of 110 guns. These ships continued in close action for more than three hours, and in the close of it the Jacobin sunk. The Defence was also become so unmanageable, that she was towed out of the line by the Phæton frigate. The Jacobin lay without masts or helm, wearing round by mere force of the water, which rapidly entered her shot holes, and ran over her galleries, so that she quickly went down. Yet, so obstinate was the spirit of her crew, that they actually fought her upper deck guns when the water was rushing in at the lower deck port-holes. It appeared that they had previously agreed never to strike, and had nailed their flag to the staff, which was flying when she went down; and those on the upper deck, one and all, refused to be taken into a cutter. Nay, when water rose to the places they stood upon, they took off their hats, gave three cheers, and cried out, "Vive la Republique! Vive la Liberté."

It is allowed on all sides, that this was an hard fought action. The French fought desperately, and never stood such close fighting before. Their ad-

miral (Joyeuse) had, previous to the engagement, received a decree from the convention, that no ship was to strike, on pain of eternal infamy to its commander, and instant death if ever he fell into their hands.

The *Mutius Shacvola*, of 74 guns, was one of the best fought ships belonging to France in this engagement, being in action with the *Orion*, captain Duckworth, of equal force, for five hours; during one of them so close, that men might have been killed at their guns with even pistol shot. The captain of the French ship was a man of fierce courage, inclining to brutality, for, during the action he ran twenty of her men through, for attempting to desert their guns. He was particularly distinguished by a large red bonnet, ornamented with gold fringe, and had only one arm; whether he lost the other in the engagement is not known, for his ship escaped.

Part of the French fleet had been detached to intercept the ships from Newfoundland, which they had captured, with the *Castor* frigate, which convoyed them, commanded by captain Trowbridge. Lord Howe had retaken the Newfoundland ships before the action, and destroyed them, as likely to weaken his fleet if those were manned, or encumber it if he went into action. The detached French ships which had taken the *Castor*, had joined their fleet, before the engagement, with captain Trowbridge, of the *Castor*, and his crew, on board of the *Sans Pareil*. Captain Trowbridge stood near the French commander, at the arm-chest, during the whole action, which was so severe, that the decks were twice totally cleared, and at last the survivors refused to come up to quarters.

Captain Trowbridge seeing the aban-

doned state of the ship, and the extreme distress of her captain's mind, intreated him to let the colours be lowered down. But the French captain replied, they should not, so long as he lived. The *Royal Charlotte* at this instant was ranging up along to pour her whole broadside into the *Sans Pareil*, when captain Trowbridge snatched up a speaking-trumpet, calling out, "Is lord Howe well?" Astonished to hear such a question in English, from an enemy's ship, Sir Roger Curtis asked from whom it came? and on being informed, desired to know where the *Castor's* crew were? "Here on board," was the reply. "Take immediate possession of the ship," said Sir Roger Curtis. "That is impossible," rejoined Captain Trowbridge, "for I am here only a spectator upon my parole of honour." "You are commanded to do it by lord Howe," said Sir Roger Curtis, "to save the lives of his majesty's seamen, as well as those of the enemy." On this, Captain Trowbridge turning to the French captain, said, "Sir, you have done every thing becoming a gallant officer; therefore, permit me to save the ship and crew, by taking possession." The French captain at length bowed consent. The *Castor's* crew were released from under hatches, and British colours hoisted on board the *Sans Pareil*, thus providentially saved from perishing, both with her crew and those of the *Castor*, by the instantaneous presence of mind which captain Trowbridge manifested on this occasion. The *Sans Pareil* carried 80 guns.

Upon the whole, this action was considered as a decisive proof and trial of courage, and skill in manœuvres, between the two contending powers; and serves to convince even our in-
terate

terate enemies, that against a superior force, conducted with all the temerity of enthusiastic zeal and intrepidity, the British navy must ride triumphant on the ocean, and conquer or consign her obstinate enemies to the relentless gulph of the deep.—This, indeed, was literally accomplished in the present glorious victory; for when the firing ceased, and smoke dissipated, the total of wrecks that appeared, was most astonishing, more than a dozen ships had every mast cut, sheer and clean from the decks, yet some kept firing as an opportunity offered. Two of the wrecks only were British, the Defence and the Marlborough, which were taken in tow, together with six ships of the enemy. Nineteen of them made off, three of them dismasted totally, and two three-deckers had lost both main and mizen-masts.

When we behold every thing the most minute formed by the infinite wisdom, and ordered by the divine providence, we can allow nothing to happen by chance. The Sans Pareil in this action in all appearance was devoted to destruction, but was saved by the instantaneous presence of mind wherewith providence impressed captain Trowbridge. It may seem that nothing like chance contributed to procure this glorious naval victory, as every movement was directed by the most consummate wisdom, experience, and bravery. But it will be allowed, that those requisite for success, are only communicable, as the Lord of Hosts judges proper in the course of his general providence, of which truth baron Nelson of the Nile was so sensible, as to preface the account of his great naval victory, by observing that God Almighty had given that success to his majesty's navy.

Before the action, lord Howe never refused an opportunity of engaging, but the French avoided it till they had a superiority in shipping, in which case, seeing them disposed to fight, he was resolved to have the course of a whole summer's day, in order both to give them a total defeat and secure his prizes. He laid no arbitrary injunctions on his captains, to fix them in particular stations of the line, but made signals for them to take the places most convenient. Whenever the signal for the line was displayed, a signal flew on another mast for breaking the enemy's line, as well when to windward as to the leeward. By this manœuvre no time was lost; and the enemy could take no advantage of our ships backing, or filling their sails for the purpose of falling back from the van to the centre, or passing from the rear to the van, manœuvres formerly considered of great consequence in naval tactics, and which, had they been strictly insisted upon here, might have rendered the victory less important.

The most remarkable transactions in Britain this year, were the trials of Hardy, Horn Tooke, and others, upon indictments for treason, and the examinations taken concerning a plot, to assassinate his majesty, by a poisoned dart, lanced out of a brass tube, constructed for that purpose, and intended to be concealed in a walking cane.

The whole substance of the charges for treason, is contained in the attorney general's opening, which was so far from being inflammatory to exaggerate facts, that Mr. Erskine, as we have observed before, allowed it to be an instance of liberality, which he was inclined to follow, upon opening his defence in behalf of the prisoners.

The Attorney-General commenced, by observing that in order for the jury to understand the law of treason, he should take the liberty of stating to them, that law of treason was made for the protection of his majesty's person. The constitution of this country, he said, vests the power of making laws in his majesty, by and with the advice of his lords and commons in parliament assembled. But the enforcing of such laws, when made, devolved upon his majesty himself.—The laws, which the constitution enacted, were made by the king, lords, and commons assembled in parliament, according to the custom of England. But to execute the law thus made, was the duty of his majesty, as the conservator of public peace; and it was one condition upon which his majesty held the sovereignty of these realms. Any law, therefore, or any attempt at making one independent of this authority, and of this form, his majesty was bound to resist. He pledged himself to resist it by his coronation oath.—He would therefore now say, that any attempt to create such a power as that which his majesty was called upon to resist, was treason, according to the statute 25 of Edward III. In the king was vested the executive power of the state; this power was to be executed according to the laws and customs of this realm. To him we owed allegiance, on condition of the protection which we derived from him, by his thus executing the laws, and those who conspired against his person, his crown, or his dignity, were guilty of treason; according to the statute, a breach of this allegiance was high treason; and the execution of the lords and commons in parliament assembled, was one of the

rights and securities of the subject, on the due observation of which by his majesty was founded the just claims which he had upon us for our allegiance. All these were secured to us by law, and they were secured to us as rights. The crown which his majesty wore, by hereditary authority; the limitation of which was one of the rights of the subject, all were secured to us by that statute, upon which the law of treason was formed, for it protected both. The law that settled the hereditary right of the king, also ascertained his duty, which it was incumbent on him to execute. In consideration of this, his character was clothed with dignity. The duty of the king to execute the law made by the king's majesty, by and with the advice of the lords and commons in parliament assembled, and according to the custom of this realm, was as well known and understood as the allegiance of the subject. In the oath which the king took at his coronation, he swore to execute the law as thus described, for it was expressly declared by that oath, that he shall cause justice to be done, and that he shall maintain the law, and the established religion.

The Attorney General then proceeded to quote the opinion of Mr. Justice Foster, on the law of treason, which he said was a solemn recognition, not only of the king's duty, but also of the rights of the people; it imposes upon him the duty of governing according to the laws and customs of this kingdom, and no other. In a situation of this kind, we could not suppose it to be possible for the king, consistently with his own oath, either to act of his own will, or suffer others to act contrary to such laws. Now no laws could be made but by the king's majesty, with

with the advice of his lords and commons in parliament assembled. It seemed then a necessary conclusion, that those who conspire to drive the king out of that mode of governing, must drive him out of the government altogether, for they could not divide him from his parliament. In endeavouring to alter any of the laws so made, persons so doing must necessarily be resisted by the king. He must—he is bound to resist such an attempt; that resistance, if it does not succeed, must necessarily lead to his deposition. The law and the constitution had assigned him grave council, and very responsible persons as his advisers, and this for the support of our civil liberty. By a fiction in law, we say, the king never dies; that in form he is the author of law, the fountain of honour, the conservator of the public peace, and the protector of our religion. All these are the rights of his people, and they were due to his subjects. He is also the governor of domestic peace, and our protector in public danger. These are duties of the king; and it is the interest we have in them, that forms the duty of our allegiance. It was on this account that such extraordinary fences are cast about his person; and that compassing or imagining his death, was attended with such severe penalties. So far he quoted the opinion and authority of Mr. Justice Foster.

The Attorney General then adverted to the opinion of Mr. Justice Hale, who said, on treason, that it was against the person and government of the king, and a better authority could not be stated. The language also of the counsel for lord George Gordon, on that trial admitted, that any attempt against the government, was the same

thing as an attempt against the king himself, for that the life of the king and his government were so interwoven together, that an attempt upon one was an attempt on the other.

The Attorney General then proceeded to consider the indictment, affirming, that he should not advance one tittle beyond what the law warranted.—The defendants wished to be tried separately; this they had a right to, if they chose it, notwithstanding their being included in one indictment, and he had no inclination to oppose it.—The indictment stated that a convention was to be held, in defiance of the authority of parliament, and to depose the king, and for having formed resolutions, orders, writings, &c.

If the jury should not be satisfied that the calling together a convention, was in itself an act to compass or imagine the death of the king, having stated to the jury, that such a conspiracy was an overt act of treason, what would be the crime, he demanded, of subverting the whole monarchy, and including in it the whole existence of the state, in which the king was necessarily embodied? Read as they were in the history of their country, they would have no difficulty in saying, that a conspiracy to depose king William and restore king James, must, without doubt, have been high treason. If a convention was formed to alter the legislature, otherwise than by the legally constituted authorities of this realm, that must be in effect to depose the king, because the king was bound to resist that attempt, for he was sworn by law, to govern by law. There could not be two sovereign powers in one state; there might be two members making and constituting a sovereign power. What if there had been a convention,

convention, as intended, to compel the legislature to alter the law; either the one or the other must fall, either the king and his parliament must be obedient to the meeting, or the meeting be obedient to the king and his parliament. The attorney general thought that the jury would find the whole of the plan of the convention, was to alter the whole plan of government in this country, and to establish a form of government, founded on the unalterable and imprescriptable rights of man, together with universal suffrage, annual parliaments, &c. and the indictment stated, that this convention meant to carry every thing by force: in fact, the application to parliament was only intended as a colourable thing, and done with a view to have it rejected. There was a certain use to be made of such rejection, to compel the king, in the exercise of the highest and most essential act of his functions, into their measures. This finally was treason, if any thing could be so; it was compassing his death, for his death was almost sure to follow his refusal, if the party opposing had him in their power.

But whether they had the power or not, was matter of no importance in the discussion, for the intention constituted the guilt, after an overt act was proved to manifest that intention. The jury might possibly reason in this way:—When the indictment stated, that a few individuals had formed an idea of deposing a monarch, reigning in the hearts of a great majority of his subjects,—what was the evidence of the probability of success? The question was not here, whether their means were adequate to their end, and whether they had reason to think so, but what their intention was. If the jury

should be satisfied that they had that end in view, and attempted to carry it into effect, they must be found guilty of treason.

The attorney general then adverted to the progress of the French revolution, and the cause of it; in the course of which, he maintained, that the different societies of this kingdom, were connected with affiliated societies in France; and that the addresses, penned chiefly by Horne Tooke, with whom the prisoner Hardy, was connected; and these addresses were adopted by the different societies; and had some effect in producing the decree of their fraternization, which the French pronounced in their convention; by which they declared war against every state that would not adopt their principles, and called upon subjects to rebel against their lawful sovereigns, or to depose and murder them, as the French had done their own monarch. He then proceeded to read different papers of the societies, and maintained that these proved, from the approbation given in them to Paine's Rights of Man, first and second part, and above all, to the Address to the Addressers, the publishing of which he considered to be high treason; but as others doubted it, the book was only treated as a libel.

He then went through various accounts of the London corresponding society; the society for constitutional information; the Sheffield, Manchester, and other societies, mentioned in reports of both houses of parliament, by the committee of secrecy. Here he read nearly all the papers of these societies, and maintained that from the tenor and purport of them, the intention of the members who composed and published them, was nothing less than

than what the indictment stated as imputed to them, namely, that of altering the government of this country, and to compass the death of the king.

For this purpose, illegal meetings were formed, and their first measure was to stile themselves the British convention of the delegates of the people, for the purpose of obtaining annual parliaments, and universal suffrage. Thus they were not content with stiling themselves delegates of their own societies, but also assumed to themselves the title of delegates of the people. Thus centering in themselves the functions, and arrogating the name of the representatives of the nation.—They proposed an act of union, not of their own respective societies, but of the two nations England and Scotland.—To manifest their disposition, they began immediately to adopt French practices. They divided their societies into sections, the nation into departments, had their patriotic gifts, their committee of secrecy, &c. In case of a convention bill, like what had passed in Ireland, being proposed in this country, or if foreign troops landed here, or an invasion, they were to proceed immediately to the place appointed by the convention; where the first seven members were to declare the sitting permanent, and that twenty-one should proceed to business. Thus they were not to wait till a convention bill was passed, but to consider even the circumstance of parliament's agitating such a measure, as a signal for open resistance; and when they talked of assembling, on the event of an invasion, coupling this resolution with their former expression of a desire to co-operate with the French, in the cause of freedom, with hands, violence, and

troops; what interpretation could the jury put upon their conduct?

The violent and illegal proceedings of the convention at Edinburgh, at last called for the interference of the magistrates, and the members, on that occasion, had certainly been treated with a much less degree of severity than had been fully warranted by their conduct. Their dispersion, however, did not induce the societies to lay aside their object. They were sensible that, if they were desirous to carry their views, it was necessary they should again undertake the same work at the same hazard. Accordingly they began to concert the means of assembling a convention in this country: but first, in order to shew, in a more strong light, what their views were, he would read some of their own letters.

He then read two letters of Margat to Hardy, in which he states, that the cause was in great forwardness in Scotland, that nothing but sufficient supplies of money were wanting to avow their views with success, and that a very short time indeed would be sufficient to put things into such a train, as would completely exclude the possibility of a failure.

He then read a letter from Hardy, in which he mentions a report of fifty sail of French ships having been at sea, with a number of transports, and infers from this circumstance, the probability of an intended descent. He concludes this letter with an exhortation to fresh ardour and perseverance in the cause of freedom. How comes it, said the attorney general, that this mention of a French descent is so closely followed by an exhortation of this nature? It is to be inferred, that the two ideas were connected in the mind of the writer, and that the prospect of a French

French descent gave them additional spirit, and taught them to expect a more speedy accomplishment of their views.

He then went into a long recital of the proceedings at Chalk Farm, and the Globe Tavern. He adverted to a letter written by Margarot to Hardy, in which he tells him that some strong resolutions were wanted. This desideratum was soon supplied. The dinner at the Globe Tavern produced some strong resolutions indeed. In these resolutions they treated the government of this country as plunderers, enemies, and oppressors, to whom it would be in vain to apply, and from whom they have no redress to expect. Indeed the reasoning upon the paper is so entire, its expressions of hostility to the constitution are so decided, that it is impossible for any ingenuity to surmount its contents. Of this paper they ordered 100,000 copies to be printed and distributed. The toasts which they adopted upon this occasion, breathe the same spirit with the resolutions to which they are attached.—Among others he commented upon the sentiment of “Success to the arms of freedom, against whomsoever directed.” The application of this phrase was obvious with respect to his majesty, from their previous declaration to the French, “That if ever the elector of Hanover should forget that he was king of England, they would know what conduct to pursue.”

At this dinner also, they expressed their approbation of a character that had already satisfied the justice of his country, as he had already suffered the punishment inflicted for his offence against it.—He alluded here to Frost, whose health was drank, and drank, no doubt, from an approbation of the

sentiments he had expressed, of “No king, and no parliament; liberty, equality.” He then read a letter from Martin, who was chairman, giving an account of what had passed at the dinner.

It was in vain that they continually affected to make use of the words, loyal and constitutional, while the things which they did, as well as the manner in which they were done, were clearly illegal and unconstitutional; for from all the transactions of these societies, which he had occasion to mention, it would afterwards appear from the evidence, that the prisoner at the bar had been the most zealous and active.

The meeting at Chalk Farm, was evidently only a step preparatory to assembling the proposed convention; it was intended to sound the temper of the people, and ascertain how far they were prepared to enter cordially into the views of those societies. It is of extreme importance to reflect on the measures that preceded this meeting, and the circumstances with which it was accomplished. They carry with them an air of concert and preparation, which could only be the effect of deliberation and time. On the same day meetings in the open air took place at Leeds, Wakefield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, &c. The prisoner sent a circular letter for the purpose of calling together those conventions. In this letter, he assumes a tone of greater boldness than he had before been used to employ. The critical moment, he affirms, is at last arrived. Formerly they had agreed to rise only on the eve of passing a convention bill, but now the moment is to be anticipated.

There remained only one other point, and on that he would but slightly touch,

touch, as it would be better established by particular proof. He meant, whatever related to the subject of actual military preparations that had been made by those societies; and it was surely a singular fact, that in different parts of the kingdom, London, Sheffield, and Edinburgh, there should be found arms of a peculiar construction, and such as of late years had been only heard of in France. It seemed probable, that on the dispersion of the British convention, perceiving that they could no longer trust to naked numbers, they deemed it necessary to have recourse to arms. There were some circumstances from which, indeed, the charge received a high degree of probability. Could a supposition of this kind be too harsh, when there appeared on the secret records of the corresponding society, a proposal for guillotining George's head in a basket?—Thus shewing a disposition to strike at the sacred person of his majesty.

Mr. Thelwall too, after the meeting at Chalk-farm, took up a pot of porter, and cutting off the froth with a knife, said, "thus would I serve all kings." Mr. Yorke stated, that "he was going to Belgium, in order to bring the true defenders of this country, the true defenders of liberty." We find, indeed, the society at Sheffield, pursuing the same objects, by the same means, as the corresponding society, with an exactness which cannot but appear the effect of concert. We find the most active members of both societies directing and superintending the fabrication of pikes. And we find a society at Lambeth practising military exercise, and ordering a plate, representing the different positions and manœuvres, to be actually engraved for their own use. The prisoner at the bar (Hardy) gave di-

rections for guns and pikes to be made for those societies, and stipulated that the person who was to make them, should become a member of the society. He wished only to give a general idea of the subject, because it was of that nature which would be much better substantiated by particular proof, and then said, but if you, gentlemen of the jury, find persons of a lower order talk of seizing august personages; if you find them talking in a stile of the most contemptuous rudeness of respectable members of the legislature; of having the means to watch their motions, and controuling them; you must then draw inferences for yourselves of the necessity to preserve the respect due to public justice. Miserable, indeed, would be the situation of this country, if that respect were either weakened or lost. If you should find the facts charged against the prisoner, substantiated by evidence, amount to the crime of high treason, you will then, no doubt, by your verdict, discharge what you owe to your country, your posterity, and yourselves. But if, after the case being fully stated, and attempted to be proved, you shall be inclined to form a contrary opinion, I have done my duty, and have only to join in the prayer, "God send the prisoner a good deliverance."

Here the attorney general closed his opening speech for the crown, having spoken longer than perhaps had ever been known on any former occasion. The court then adjourned for a short space, during which the judges retired, and the jury took some refreshment in their box.

The court was resumed, and the counsel for the prosecution proceeded to exhibit papers found in the custody of different persons, and seized under
P p a warrant

a warrant of the privy council, to be produced on the trials.

The seizure of these papers was sworn to, and the hand-writing of the prisoner proved. But it is remarkable, that the counsel for the defence refrained from cross-examining any of the witnesses respecting these papers, which were very prolix, and took up much time in the reading. Their tenor and tendency to fix the crime charged, is well detailed in the attorney-general's opening speech; and as they were printed in the appendix to the report of the secret committee of the house of commons, we shall omit the insertion of them, and go on to the oral evidence, where it is to be observed, there was room for quirking, and legal distinctions; when the prisoner's counsel proceeded in their cross-examination, and defence of their client.

Accordingly, the most material witness to their proceedings, Henry Alexander, was charged by the counsel, on his cross-examination, with being a spy, in plain English; that the odium might be fixed with the consequent execration of such a character, when taken up in an enemy's quarters. Now, in plain English, such odium can never attach upon a person who has ventured into an enemy's quarters, and procured such information as might manifest their designs, and posture of defence to his party. King Alfred entered the camp of the Danes in the disguise of a common minstrel; under which assumed character, he was enabled to survey their whole camp, and facilitated the means of their consequent defeat, and expulsion from hence. This act of his is celebrated in history, to his honour. And the attempt of major Andre to negotiate with general Arnold, cast no

odium on him as a British officer, although he was hanged as a spy, for being taken disguised in the enemy's quarters.

The odium of this character, as estimated among enemies, was thus urged by the counsel, against most of the oral evidence, in a country and a court of justice, which they had so far benefited by their information, as to have been the means of seizing the papers, and crushing a conspiracy pursuing, step by step, the same measures which had brought about the French revolution; for which practices the law (as we before observed) might have inflicted condign punishment upon them, which they only escaped by being indicted for treason, of which the jury found them not guilty.

The special commission for hearing and determining matters in these trials, was dated on the 10th of September, 1794; and on the 27th of the same month, John Pierce Le Maitre, and William Higgins, were apprehended, in consequence of a warrant issued by the duke of Portland, on a charge of having concerted a plan to assassinate the king. The mode by which this diabolical scheme was to be conducted appears to be as follows:

One of the party (they being four in number) made the discovery to government of the plan, which was to be at the theatre, on the first night of the king's visiting it. The alarm of pick-pocket was to be vociferated, and while the audience was in a bustle, a poisoned dart was to be lanced through a brass tube, at the breast of his majesty. Otherwise it should be lanced at his majesty on Sunday, if he should, as expected, make his appearance on the terrace at Windsor.

Le Maitre was an apprentice to a watchmaker, in Denmark-street; Higgins, who proposed to poison the arrow, was an apprentice to a chymist, and was taken at his master's house, in Fleet-street. They were examined before the lords of the council, and their examination lasted from eleven in the morning, till five in the afternoon, when Le Maitre was ordered into close custody, at Clerkenwell prison, and Higgins at Tothill-fields Bridewell.

The privy council met on Monday, and proceeded to the further examination of Le Maitre and Higgins. Higgins appeared to be a member of the corresponding society, and actively employed to visit Muir and Palmer, when on board the hulks; he was likewise active in plans going forward among the Scotch conventionalists.

Smith, a bookseller, was then apprehended, his papers seized, and he himself examined, with a view to search this affair to the bottom. It appeared from successive examinations, that Higgins was to have poisoned the arrow, Le Maitre to have shot it, and Smith to have raised a disturbance in the pit, for the purpose of favouring their design. The informer's name was Upton, a watchmaker by trade, who laid before his majesty's ministers a model of the arrow, &c. with which the intended assassination was to have been effected.

Messieurs Barkley and Jackson, chemists, in Fleet-street, were summoned to attend, and on being interrogated concerning the character of Higgins, stated, that he had been with them seven years, during which time his behaviour was exemplary, until the

last half year, in which a striking alteration had taken place, such as had determined them upon dismissing him, when they should be able to procure a shopman equally skilful.

Le Maitre was from Jersey, and a delegate from one of the principal clubs; a young man of considerable address. Mr. Mortimer, an ingenious gunsmith, attended the privy council, to give his opinion of the arrow or dart, which was to have been shot at his majesty. Being asked whether he thought it calculated to produce the horrid effect? he answered, that he saw no reason to think it could fail of it, for the dart, he said, was one of the most curious pieces of workmanship he had ever seen, though not quite perfect. The manner of lancing it must have been from a person situated above the level, otherwise the liquid poison would not have taken the effect: but when it had once wounded in a slanting direction, it was supposed to be fatal. The barbs would close into the dart, in its progress through any substance, and fly open whenever it should be lodged, and when they were closed, the poison, circulating through the tube to its point, would be absorbed by the flesh, wherein the head of the arrow would remain unmoveable. The tube from which it was to be lanced, was made of brass, about two feet in length, and seemingly designed to be concealed in a walking-stick. There were some contrivances to discharge the dart, all constructed with fiend-like malice.

After several examinations before the privy council, Smith, Higgins, and Le Maitre, were committed on the 10th of October, to take their trials

for high treason. Upton, the informant, was also fully committed to take his trial for the same offence; but this seemed to be done, only to insure his appearance against the others. Smith was conducted to Newgate, Higgins to Tothill-fields Bridewell, Le Maitre and Upton to the New Gaol, in Spital-fields.

In preparing the evidence for this prosecution, it was found to be perplexed, intricate, and contradictory. Upton upon his examination prevaricated, and was found to contradict himself in various circumstances; being re-committed on that account, no wonder can be made if he was bought off by the societies, as full proof of fact was likely to inflame the minds of the jury, on the ensuing trials. Whatever was the case, there is a strong probability of such an intended attempt, for the apparatus was produced, and, upon examination, pronounced most likely to effect the intended purpose. Upton, the informant, had no share in the fabrication, nor was he to lance the arrow; the parties concerned were members of seditious societies, and might suppose the depending trials would be prevented upon the king's demise, as the commission for hearing and determining upon them would cease, unless renewed by his successor, a thing not probable on such changes of the ministry, as might then be expected.

The French on the commencement of a war with Britain, had reckoned much on the captures they should make of our merchants' shipping, and the consequent annoyance of our commerce, by their swarms of privateers and frigates, one of which (*L'Engageante*), alone had captured sixty-six

prizes, but was at last taken with other frigates, being a detachment of the Cherburgh squadron, bound from Cancalle, to join the grand fleet at Brest.

These frigates were chased by a detached squadron of frigates, from rear admiral Macbride's fleet, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren, having with him five frigates, namely, the *Flora*, of 36 guns, his own ship, the *Arethusa*, of 38, captain Pellew, the *Concorde*, of 36, captain Strachan, *La Nymphe*, of 36, captain Murray, and the *Melampus*, captain Wells. This squadron being on a cruise off Cancalle bay, discovered, in the morning of April 23d, 1794, four frigates coming out from thence; a signal to chase was made by sir John, which the French discovering, drew up with great resolution in a line of battle, prepared for action; but soon finding they were likely to be overpowered, they crowded sails, and endeavoured to escape; upon which a running fight commenced, which continued till three of the clock in the afternoon, at which time *L'Engageante*, of 38 guns, was captured off the Isle de Bass, but not till her masts were carried by the board, and she had been engaged yard-arm and yard-arm by the *Nymph*, and the *Concorde*, to the latter of which she struck, but not till her remaining crew were absolutely driven from their quarters. Monsieur Le Garthe, her commander, was killed by the second broad-side from the *Concorde*.

Sir Richard Strachan behaved most gallantly during the whole action. He first brought the *Concorde* along-side the *Babel*, and kept up so tremendous a fire that she struck; he did not stay to take possession, but left her to be boarded

boarded by frigates astern, making sail to get up with *L'Engageante*, and prevent her escape; soon getting along side, by excellent manœuvres and a well directed fire, he presently succeeded so as to see the French frigate's masts go one by one over the side, and her colours hauled down. She had four carronades mounted on her quarter-deck, loaded with canister shot, called the cap of liberty; the cases were made of tin, containing some hundred small balls each.

Sir John Borlase Warren engaged two other frigates of this squadron, for nearly three hours, in the *Flora*, when the *Pomone* struck as well as the *Babet*. He made the signal for those frigates coming up to pursue and engage the rest, as from the situation of his ship, having led the line into action, he was rendered incapable of continuing the pursuit. Sir J. Warren owned himself much indebted to Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Arethusa*, his second astern, and to the other officers of the ships who exerted themselves in pursuing and engaging the French, who were allowed to fight with the most determined bravery; and such was their frenzy after their capture, that they even concerted a scheme to carry off *L'Engageante*, notwithstanding she was then an entire wreck, and a very old ship, but she had captured so many British merchant ships, that the hearts of her crew seemed so devoted to her preservation, as rather to sink with the ship than suffer her to be taken.

On the 8th of June, 1794, Port-au-Prince, in the island of St. Domingo, was surrendered to the British, under command of brigadier-general Whyte and rear-admiral Ford.

This place was reduced with only the loss of one captain and eight rank and file killed, and one captain, with two rank and file wounded. The general and admiral acted in the greatest concert and cordiality, for the fleet were ordered to Tiberoon bay; but the general, comparing the different accounts from the Mole, and sensible of the common danger, requested the admiral to sail direct for the Mole, who readily acquiesced, for the reasons stated to him, and they were welcomed by the British there as their deliverers.

A quantity of ordnance and stores were taken, and twenty-two ships or brigs in the harbour of Port-au Prince, mostly laden with sugar and coffee, some of them with indigo on board. Nearly the same number of ships, brigs, and sloops, and some old vessels careening in the harbour, were also secured; making in the whole a total of 45 vessels, and 14,600 tonnage.

Sir John Borlase Warren sailed in the *Pomona*, on the 12th of February, 1795, having under his command the *Galatea*, *Anson*, *Artois*, and *Duke of York*, lugger; but the weather being thick, with fresh breezes and a heavy sea; the *Anson* carried away her top-mast, which obliged the commander to heave-to, and bear down for two days, as she drifted considerably; and not being able to repair her damages at sea, he ordered captain Durham to proceed with her in all speed to Plymouth.

On the 18th, he fell in with three sail of French transports, part of a convoy from Brest; and hauled his wind to get in with the land: on the 21st he discovered the fleet, with a frigate, their

their convoy, close in the shore, and pursued in sight of the isle of Aix; and the tide of flood setting strong up, with the wind right in, he was obliged to tack; but captured and sent to England the sloop L'Epetit Jean, brig Saint Pierre, ditto Deux Freres, ship La Petit Magdalene, the Pagnet boat de Cayene, conventional schooner La Curieuse, of eight brass guns, lugger La Liberté, lugger La Glorie, the brig transport La Biche; having burnt seven others and scuttled four brigs.

Captain Burlton, of his majesty's frigate the Lively, of 32 guns, sailed on the 27th of February, under the orders of captain Stirling, in his majesty's ship the Jason; but was separated from her in a gale of wind on the 1st of March, and using his best endeavours to gain their cruising station, he saw about nine in the evening on the 2d of March, a sail coming down upon him, which proved to be an armed vessel: he gave chase and captured her, when she proved to be L'Espior, of 18 six-pounders, and 140 men, out five days from Brest, on a cruise, in perfect good condition, having been lately a British sloop of war.

The Favonius, of London, was also retaken by the same captain, and the brig Joseph, of Halifax, laden with indigo and coffee, and bound to London. The Favonius was of 300 tons burden, laden with timber and deals; but captured in June, 1794, by Le Bon, French frigate, and carried into North Bergen, in Norway; where she was frozen up, together with other captured vessels, for several months; when she sailed with them under convoy of the Tartar French frigate, the Montague corvette, and other armed ships; but she was retaken by the Lively, Captain Burlton, about six

leagues west of Ushant. He also brought the French frigate Le Tourterille, to action on the 13th of March, she carried 30 guns, and 250 men; the engagement lasted from half past ten in the forenoon, till half past one, when she surrendered to the Lively, with the loss of only two men wounded; whereas the French had sixteen killed and twenty-five wounded, which remarkable difference can only be accounted for from the unskilfulness of French crews in manœuvring, being for the greater part men not expert in working a ship, but mere landmen, forced on board to make up its complement.

The intended nuptials of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Caroline of Brunswick were celebrated in April, this year, 1795. On the 5th she arrived at the apartments prepared for her, at St. James's Palace, being Sunday afternoon; she having landed about noon of the same day from on board one of the royal yachts, at Greenwich hospital.

Upon the Wednesday following the marriage ceremony took place, the archbishop of Canterbury officiating, with most dignified solemnity, read the service in St. James's chapel; the marriage ceremony commenced at half past nine in the forenoon, and concluded a quarter before eleven. The royal family then withdrew to the queen's house, where a magnificent supper, was prepared, at which there was a superb bride-cake, divided into twenty parts; the infant son of the prince of Orange was included in the drawing, and all the royal party, except the bridegroom and the bride, drew for the wedding ring.

The prince of Orange and his family were compelled to quit Holland, as we

we have before observed; and the Emperor being obliged to leave Flanders to its fate, the French, who had now fraternized, and in some degree ruined both countries, by making them subservient to their politics, made peace with both Spain and Prussia. In consequence of these circumstances, hostilities commenced with both Spain and Holland, by the British, so that our fleets and separate cruisers had now a more extensive sphere of action. The peace made between Prussia and France could not affect our maritime operations, and had the good effect of suspending a heavy monthly subsidy paid to Prussia, the shuffling conduct of which power being manifest, and always suspected, had prompted the British minister to stipulate monthly payments instead of gross sums: and this peace between France and Prussia dispensed with the farther payment of them.

The long depending trial of Warren Hastings, esq. upon an impeachment from the house of commons, before that of the lords, ended on April the 23d, 1795, when he was voted not guilty of the charges brought against him, by the managers, Mess. Sheridan, Fox, and Burke.

These gentlemen had acted in concert, both in urging an impeachment, while it was agitated in the house of commons, and supporting it before the peers; but, as the trial was considerably long, and a difference in politics happened among the managers, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox neglected the business, which was only prosecuted to the end by Mr. Burke, whose talents and resolution were inexhaustible, for the trial lasted nearly two sessions of parliament, and cost the nation near 250,000 pounds sterling. It was

brought before a house of peers, consisting of 254 members, and after all this expenditure of time, talents and public money, when a verdict of guilty or not guilty was to be pronounced, it was given by twenty-nine peers only present, some of whom could scarce have an idea of proceedings in a trial of such long duration.

Sir Richard Strachan, of his majesty's ship *Melampus*, with a squadron under his command, descried thirteen sail of ships on the 9th of May, this year. Upon a signal to chase, they all got close in shore, under a small battery, protected by their armed vessels, a brig and a lugger. Sir Richard made a signal for the boats to assemble for boarding them, and worked up his own ship, the *Melampus*, to cover the attack, firing on the battery, and was soon followed by the other ships as they came up; the French abandoned their vessels, and the boats from the squadron boarded them. All were brought off but a small sloop, which they burnt, as the tide had left her; three armed vessels and ten others, laden, their convoy, were brought off on this occasion; and in the former month of April, sir John Borlase Warren captured the *Le Jean Bart*, of 26 guns, and the *Expedition*, of 16 guns; with two sloops that were loaded with fish; a ship and a brig were likewise chased on the rocks and lost there. About this time also the *Ca Ira*, of 80 guns, and the *Censeur*, of 74, two French ships of the line, were taken by a squadron under the command of vice-admiral Hotham, in the Mediterranean. The French fleet suffered these two ships to be cut off rather than stand a close action, and they had a number of troops on board; for the *Ca Ira* had 1300 men, and the *Censeur* had 1000, on

on which account their defence was so obstinate, that they lost between three and four hundred men killed and wounded. The French fleet were one ship of the line stronger than the British; each of the ships in the line had 1000 men at least on board; the Sans Culotte, of 120 guns, had 2000, and other three of 80 guns had 1300 each; two of which, the *Ca Ira* and the *Censeur*, were suffered to be taken, rather than they would risque a fair trial of the issue, in a well fought battle.

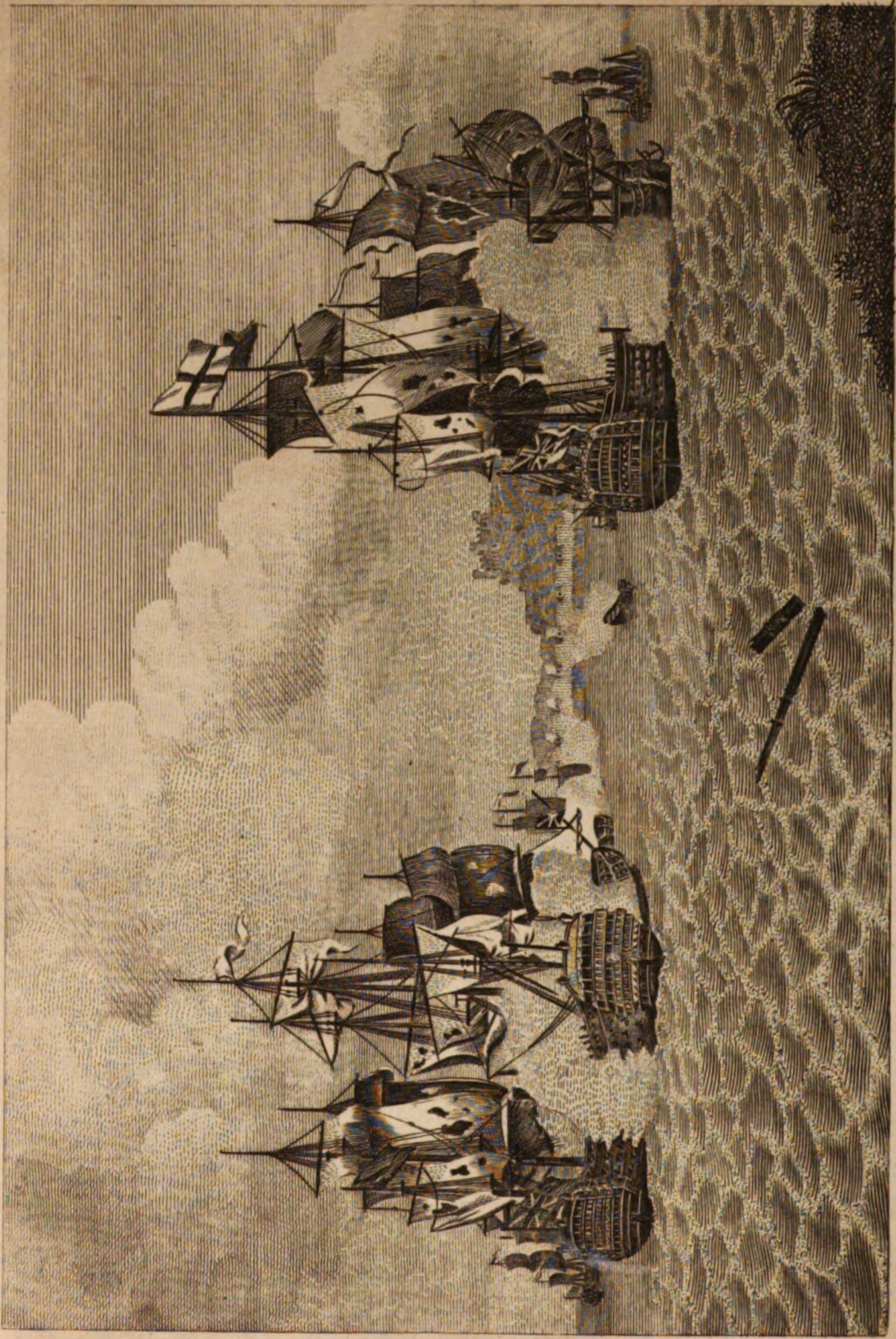
His majesty's ships the *Hannibal*, the *Astrea*, and the *Robust*, were ordered by signal from rear-admiral Colpoys, to chase three French frigates, on the 10th of April, which they captured; one of them, the *Gloire*, mounted 26 twelve-pounders on the main deck, ten six-pounders and four thirty-six-pounder carronades on the quarter deck, with two six-pounders on the forecastle, and 275 men on board: after a close action of 58 minutes, she struck to the *Astrea*, lord Henry Powlett. The *Gentille* frigate, of the same force as the *Gloire*, was also taken by the *Hannibal*, the other frigate, *La Fraternité*, escaped. They had been three weeks out from Brest, and had captured only a small Spanish brig.

On the 23d of June, lord Bridport attacked a French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, with eleven frigates and some small cruisers, close in with Port L'Orient. The particulars as stated in lord Bridport's letter were: that on the 22d the *Nymph* and *Astrea*, being the look-out frigates ahead, made signal for an enemy's fleet; and as the admiral soon perceived they had no intention to meet him in battle, he made signals for four of the best sailing ships, the *Sans Pareil*, *Orion*,

Russel, and *Colossus*, to chase, which continued all that day, and during night with little wind; but early in the morning of the 23d the headmost ships, being the *Irresistible*, *Orion*, *Queen Charlotte*, *Russel*, *Colossus*, and *Sans Pareil*, were up with the enemy, and the action commenced a little before six, which lasted till nine in the morning, when the *Alexander*, the *Formidable*, and *Le Tigre* struck, and were retained with some difficulty, as the French were sheltered and protected by the land; which prevented farther captures, or in all probability most of their line of battle ships might have been taken or destroyed.

On the 8th of June, 1795, death put an end to the persecution and captivity of the Dauphin, son of Lewis the XVI: and on the 17th news of this event arrived at the prince of Condé's army, who dispatched a general officer to Verona for orders how to act, from late monsieur, now Louis XVIII. king of France. The prince of Condé celebrated a solemn service in his camp for the soul of the late Louis; after which, the army being ranged in order of battle, the prince made the following proclamation.

"Gentlemen, scarcely had the tombs of the unfortunate Louis XVI. his august consort, and his respectable sister been closed, when the young descendant of so many kings, whose birth alone could secure the happiness of his subjects, as the blood of Henry IV. and Maria Theresa flowed in his veins, has sunk under the weight of his fetters, and of a miserable existence. It is not now, the first time, I have called to your recollection this principle, that the king of France never dies. Let us therefore swear allegiance to that august prince, now become our king; that



A representation of the capture of three Ships of the line by Admiral Lord Bridport.

that we will shed the last drop of our blood in proof of that unbounded fidelity, that entire devotion, and unalterable attachment which we owe to him, and with which our hearts are penetrated. Our wishes are about to be manifested by that exclamation which comes from the heart, and which a proper sense of duty has rendered so natural to all good Frenchmen, by a cry which was always a presage, and the result of your successes, and which regicides never have heard without stupor. Having invoked the God of mercy in behalf of the king we have lost; let us intreat the god of battle to prolong the life of the king now given to us, to secure the crown of France upon his head, by victories if necessary, and more if possible by the repentance of his subjects; with the happy union of clemency and justice.—Gentlemen, Louis XVII. is dead, long live Louis XVIII.”

Captain Towry, of his majesty's ship the *Dido*, having the *Lowestoffe*, Captain Middleton, under his command, saw and chased two French frigates, which, after some manœuvres, stood toward them, and at a quarter before nine in the morning of June 24th, the *Dido* leading, came to a close action with the headmost ship, which falling twice on board, was soon much disabled from the loss of her bowsprit, fore-mast and main top-mast. The *Dido*'s mizen-mast being shot away, with her fore and main top-sails quite useless, she no longer kept to; at which time the *Lowestoffe* opened a well directed fire; the second frigate then passing and exchanging the opposite broad-sides, our ships were kept upon the same tack until she went about; when Captain Towry apprehending she might stand to assist the

dismasted ship, sent the *Lowestoffe* in chase; but the French ship escaped by mere dint of sailing, and left her partner to be raked in a very judicious manner, by the *Lowestoffe* on her return; to which ship she struck, and proved to be *La Minerve*, a new ship of 42 guns on the main deck, and 330 men, a remarkable fleet sailer. Her consort was the *Artemisé*, of 36 guns.

Admiral Hotham, commander of his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, discovered on the 13th of July, at day-break, a French fleet, consisting of 23 ships, of which 17 proved to be of the line. The wind at this time blew strong with a heavy swell, so that six of our ships were forced to hand their top-sails, being split by its force during the night.

Notwithstanding this disadvantage, the admiral caused the fleet to form with all expedition, carrying all the sail possible to preserve order and keep the wind of the enemy, with intent to cut them off from the land, it being then only about five leagues distant.

At eight o'clock, finding the French had no other view but to escape an action; he made the signal for a general chase, and for the ships to take suitable stations for their mutual support, as they came up engaging the enemy; but baffling winds and alternate calms so far opposed his design, that only a few of the van ships could get up with the enemy's rear about noon, which they plyed so warmly, that one of their ships, the *Alcide*, struck her colours; she carried 74 guns. The rest of their fleet, favoured by a shift of wind, got so far into Frejus-bay, while ours was becalmed in the offings, that nothing farther could be effected, and the admiral, perceiving the ship which engaged too near the

shore, thought proper to call them off by signal.

To heighten his disappointment, the captured ship, the *Alcide*, about half an hour after she had struck, by some accident took fire in her fore-top, and the flames spread with such rapidity, that the whole ship was soon in a blaze; boats from the fleet were dispatched to rescue as many of her people from the flames as possible; and in consequence of their exertions 300 of their lives were preserved, when the ship blew up with a most awful and tremendous explosion, and between three and four hundred of her crew perished.

On the 25th of August, the squadron under command of admiral Duncan, in the North seas, captured two French national brigs, one named the *Suffisante*, mounting fourteen eight and six pounders, the other called *La Victorieuse*, carrying fourteen twelve pounders, destined to cruise in the North seas.

On the 22d, captain Alms, of the *Reunion*, with the *Isis* and *Vestal* under his command, discovered two French ships and a cutter, standing in for the shore; and his majesty's ship the *Stag*, having joined him, captain Alms made the signal to prepare for engaging. The *Stag* having the advantage by a shift of wind, got up with the sternmost ship, at a quarter past four in the afternoon, when she began the action, and a quarter past five her opponent struck to her; during this transaction the other British ships were endeavouring to cut off the foremost frigate and cutter, but to their great mortification, these escaped into the harbour of Egmont. The frigate taken was called the *Alliance*, of 36 guns, and 240 men; that which escap-

ed was the *Argo*, of like force, with the *Nelly* cutter, of 16 guns.

In April this year, lieut. Pearce, of marines, met with brigadier general Alava, an officer appointed by the court of Spain at Nootka, for finally terminating the negotiations concerning that port, where the lieutenant having satisfied himself with respect to the state of the country, at the time when the Spaniards arrived, preparations were immediately made for dismantling a fort which guarded the mouth of the harbour, and embarking the ordnance on board Spanish ships, when, on the 28th of April, the Spanish general and British officer met, agreeably to their instructions, on the place where the British buildings had formerly stood, and there exchanged the declaration and counter-declaration, for restoring to his majesty those lands as agreed upon by the two courts; after which the British flag was hoisted in token of possession, and the Spanish troops embarked.

On the 28th of August, it was judged at Coblenz, that from the disposition of the French army, and their preparations, an event of the utmost importance would take place in the course of that night; for the republicans having made peace, both with Spain and Prussia, now prepared to cross the Rhine, at Botbery, near Urdingen. This passage was effected with the utmost celerity, and the loss but of few men, insomuch that they were in possession of Dusseldorp, by two hours after midnight. They reduced some other places, but received a check in their advance, and were constrained to fall back in October and November, as we shall hereafter relate.

The Dutch began now to feel the bad effects of French fraternization,
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and their expulsion of the Stadtholder, in the capture of Simons Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, for vice admiral Elphinstone took possession of it in August. He found the Dutch entrenched in a strong position at Muysenberg, being well furnished with cannon, and having a steep mountain on their right, and the sea on their left, which by its shallowness, and a high surf on the shore, rendered the post difficult of access. But the necessity of possessing it, made it so obvious, both to the vice admiral, and major general Craig, that it ought to be attempted.

For this service, the admiral prepared a gun-boat, and armed the launches of the fleet with heavy caronades, landing two battalions of seamen, in number 1000, under the command of captains Hardy, of the Echo, and Spranger, of the Rattlesnake. Ships also were dispatched, frequently round the bay, in order to prevent suspicion of the intended attack, when a favourable opportunity might offer.

Upon the 7th of August, a favourable breeze sprang up from the North-West, and at twelve o'clock, the preconcerted signal was made, when major-general Craig, with his accustomed readiness and activity, put the force which was on shore instantly in motion, and at the same moment, commodore Blanket, equally zealous in the America, with the Stately, Echo, and Rattlesnake, got under weigh, while the gun-boat and launches preceded the march of the troops, about 500 yards, to prevent them from being interrupted as they advanced to the attack.

About one o'clock, the ships being abreast of an advanced post, fired some shot, which induced those in charge

of it to retreat; and on approaching a second post, the same effect took place, from a few shots. On standing farther in off the Dutch camp, their confusion was manifest, although the ships were not so near as might have been wished, as the shallow water prevented a closer approach.

The Echo, led in command by lieutenant Tod, of the Monmouth, and anchored in about two and a half fathom; she was followed by the America, which anchored in four and a half. Then the Stately and Rattlesnake anchored nearer, proportionably to their smaller draught of water, to the enemy's works. A fire from these works then commenced, which was returned from the sloops, but an increase of wind prevented the larger vessels from acting, till they had carried heavy anchors out.

In a few minutes after the fire commenced, the Dutch abandoned their camp with the utmost precipitation, and major-general Craig took possession of it, after a most fatiguing march, over sandy ground. Five large Dutch ships were detained in this bay, of Saint Simons.

The possession of this bay facilitated the reduction of Cape Town, the principal settlement which the Dutch had possessed in those parts, in the month of September following, when the East India company's ships arrived with troops on board for that purpose, and entered Simons Bay, on the 4th of that month. Major-general Clarke, who commanded those troops, on his arrival found the admiral in possession of the harbour, and major-general Craig, in the strong post of Muysenberg, with a corps composed of seamen and marines from the fleet, six companies of the 78th regiment, and a detachment

detachment of the East India company's troops from Saint Helena, amounting in the whole to about 1900 men. The Dutch had peremptorily rejected all attempts for negotiation, and were in a state of active hostility against the British, hence it became necessary for them to proceed without loss of time, and the best arrangements possible were made for transporting their provisions, guns, stores, ammunition and necessary articles, which service could be no other way possibly effected, but by dint of hard labour in the men.

On the 14th, they marched from Muysenberg, leaving a sufficient protection for the stores and camp at that place. The Dutch saw all their motions, and were likely to incommode them much, the country through which they were to march being very favourable to that kind of warfare, it was their business to pursue, for many of them were on horse-back, and had guns that kill at a great distance; hence the British expected to be greatly harassed, but their loss proved fortunately trifling, from the shyness of the Dutch, while the British proceeded to the post of Wynberg, where the Dutch had determined to make a stand.

The British were then formed from columns, to march into two lines, detachments being made from right and left, to attack both their flanks, and the main body advanced with cannon in front, well-served by major Yoakes, against their center, which was so pressed by the British, and alarmed by the appearance of commodore Blanket, whom the admiral had dispatched with three ships into Table Bay, to make a diversion on that side. This so much alarmed them, that they

fled, with the loss of a few men, from the British cannon, before the top of the hill was gained, and they were followed close for two miles, but darkness coming on, and great part of the troops being much fatigued by the burdens which they carried, and harassed by the swamps through which they had passed in the course of that day, the general determined to halt them for that night, in a favourable position he had taken, with the intention of prosecuting his march in the morning.

While in this situation, an officer with a flag of truce, came charged with a letter from governor Sluisken, asking a cessation of arms for 48 hours, to arrange and offer proposals for the surrender of Cape-Town, but it was not thought proper to grant more than 24, in which time articles of capitulation were concluded upon, stipulating that the town and castle should be surrendered to his majesty's troops, and the garrison made prisoners of war, amounting to about 1000 regulars. The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, naval and other stores found there was considerable. The ship *Castor*, and *Star* armed brigs, late belonging to the Dutch East India company, were found at anchor in Table Bay, the latter was commissioned, being fit for service.

Trincomale, in the spice island of Ceylon, which had afforded the Dutch a monopoly of cinnamon for a long time, was taken on the 26th of August, by colonel Stuart, the eighth day from opening the trenches. Fort Oustenburg, in the same island, surrendered on the 31st. Great advantages accrued from the surrender of this fort, in an uninjured state, at that advanced season of the year, as both places afforded

forded security from the enterprize of any enemy, with the possession of the only safe and fine harbour on that side of India, being a chief object of the expedition, highly to be estimated, as it affords the best security to navigation, for the coast of Bengal and Coromandel. The island was early celebrated for its beauty and fertility, insomuch, that the antient Indians named it Tamaras'n, or the Land of Pleasure; producing the best species of cinnamon, it was regarded as the most important settlement of the Dutch in the East Indies. Fortunately for the British, the king of Ceylon has been lately disaffected to the Dutch, so that the present change may be highly acceptable to the natives. The Dutch lost in October, an East India ship and a South Whaler, captured by his majesty's ships; also their sloop of war the Comet, was taken by the Unicorn, a rich Dutch East India ship was also captured by the Sceptre, but lost on the rocks of Scilly, many of her crew perished.

The operations on the Rhine were carried on with vigour, between the French and the Austrians, which latter power, by the 10th of October, recovered from the consternation which had followed upon the sudden passage of the Rhine by the French forces, and they now began to take active measures for opposing their progress. The troops under general Wurmser, effected a junction with those under Clairfait, and were mostly cavalry, but eleven battalions of grenadiers were upon the march to join them, so that the whole reinforcement would amount to 30,000 men, and a strong body of troops from Bohemia, had also received orders to join general Clairfait. In the mean time the strong fortress of Ebreinstein

was unreduced; the garrison of which baffled every attempt of the French, to make themselves masters of it.

On the 18th of October, general Wurmser obtained a signal advantage over the republicans, in the vicinity of Mannheim, for, on the preceding night, that part of the Austrian army stationed near Mannheim, assembled in five columns, under the command of general Wurmser in person, to attack the different posts which the French occupied, in the front of that place. The disposition of the Austrians was masterly, and the spirited manner in which the orders were executed, answered fully to the wish and expectation of general Wurmser, for after a severe action, all the works which the French had thrown up were carried, very much baggage taken, with some cannon and ammunition waggons.

An impenetrable fog continued all night and a great part of the morning, on which account any communication between the different columns was extremely difficult, insomuch that the generals charged with particular orders, could not conduct their attack with any degree of certainty, and this very circumstance enabled the enemy to get off most of their artillery, and prevented the Austrians from following them into Mannheim, as general Wurmser intended, but in consequence of this victory, it was closely invested and preparations made to bombard it.

Before the end of October, general Jourdan's left column, which had directed its march towards Cologne, re-passed the Rhine, and likewise all the French who had retired upon Neuwied, thus verifying the old observation, that when they cross the Rhine, however victorious at first, they are sure

sure to meet with a check, and such subsequent losses as force them to retreat and recross that river, which in this respect seems to set a natural boundary to their ambition.

By accounts collected from the different corps, it appeared, that the Austrians had taken during the enemy's retreat, about 4000 prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon, and 200 ammunition waggons, a great quantity of military stores was destroyed by them, which they could not carry away. It is not possible to ascertain with any precision their number of killed and wounded, but they must have been very considerable, more especially as the peasants rose on them in many places, on account of their cruelty, for the whole country through which they passed, bore evident marks of their depredations. Not a village, scarce a house, but what had ample reason to lament their barbarity, for however short their inroad had been, the effects were likely to be felt for years to come, as the inhabitants were plundered unmercifully, all their cattle, grain, and whatever could be found valuable were seized, and in many places what could not be carried off was destroyed. Even women and children had been murdered, and their manifold acts of atrocity proved in the clearest manner, to be such as could be only perpetrated by savages, lost to every sentiment of humanity. The Prussians, with whom they had concluded a peace, had some troops on the line of demarkation, but the guards which they stationed at different places, for the purpose of affording protection, were ill treated and driven away from their posts by the French, with expressions of resentment and contemptuous reproaches.

Field Marshal Clairfait attacked the French camp before Mayence on the 29th of October, and gained a most complete victory. The republicans had taken a position upon the heights in front of Mayence, with their right to Lanbenheim, and their left to Birdenheim, which villages are both upon the Rhine, the former above the latter, below Mayence; and from the time that they first occupied it, till nearly the day of attack, they were constantly employed in constructing and perfecting the most formidable entrenchments, consisting of two lines: the first was composed of large detached works closed in the rear, and joined with each other, being covered with three distinct ranges of what the French call, *trous de loups*, or pit-falls for wolves. These were round pits of considerable depth, placed irregularly but close together. The second line was a complete connected entrenchment, covered in the same manner with the first. The ditches of both lines were of a breadth and depth far surpassing what is usual in field works, and every advantage had been taken of the ground, which was particularly favourable for the formation of a fortified camp, insomuch, that the French had been known to boast that they considered this situation as wholly impregnable.

But marshal Clairfait having forced Jourdan to repass the Rhine, returned with part of his army to the camp of Wickert, about five English miles from Mayence; and being informed that the enemy intended to reinforce their army before that place considerably, he determined, without waiting for those troops which had advanced beyond the Lhan, to attack general Schaal, who occupied the entrenched camp above

above described, with fifty-two battalions of infantry, and five regiments of cavalry.

The Austrian force destined for this desperate attack, consisted of 32 regular battalions, some light infantry, and twenty-eight squadrons of cavalry, taken partly from the garrison of Mayence. These were formed into four divisions, one of ten battalions and six squadrons, under general New, another of ten battalions and six squadrons, under general Mader, one of five battalions and sixteen squadrons under general Colloredo, and a body of grenadiers, consisting of seven battalions, under general Wernock.

Generals New and Mader were ordered to direct their march, the former toward the heights above Lanbenheim, and the latter towards Helig, Crenth, and Old Church, in front of the enemy's right wing. They were to form their infantry in three lines, and attack the enemy's position on the right, in immediate connexion with each other, while the Wanesdine light infantry were to get round the village of Lanbenheim, and 1000 Sclavonians were to be embarked on the Rhine, under the protection of six gun-boats, and landed behind the enemy's right, where the gun-boats were to commence and keep up a heavy fire, for the purpose of diverting the enemy's attention from the main point of attack.

General Colloredo was to march towards Bretzenheim, a village in front of the enemy's centre, from whence he was to detach a part of his troops, particularly to co-operate with general Mader, and with the remainder to make efforts towards different parts of the French centre, while two of his battalions and two squadrons, with a

considerable proportion of heavy cannon, were to make false attacks upon Manbach and Gunseinheim, two villages in front of the enemy's left; some light infantry were likewise to land behind the left of their position for the same purpose; general Werneck's division was to remain upon the glacis of Mayence as a reserve.

These orders seem to be given with a precision so exact, that a good idea may be formed of the action which followed, especially if the above description of the French in their fortified camp and entrenchments is attended to; and the particular detail of these orders rendered them easy to be comprehended, for which there was the utmost necessity, upon the attack of an entrenched position, which the enemy thought was impregnable.

The attack commenced at half past five in the morning, and the disposition above described, was executed with the utmost accuracy, so that in a very short time the battle was decidedly in favour of the Austrians, who displayed most exemplary instances of discipline and bravery. The general officers, finding that they could not advance on horseback, by reason of the pit-falls, before noticed, dismounted and entered the entrenchments on foot, at the head of the troops.

The republicans, did not in the least expect to be attacked, but certainly had some time to prepare for it, from the difficulties which the Austrians experienced in approaching the works, yet it was much owing to the circumstance of surprize, as well as the uncommon valour of the assailants, and the prompt execution of their intended plan of attack, that the success of it may be attributed, in consequence whereof the French abandoned, without

out much resistance, one of the most formidable and strongest positions that ever was occupied.

One hundred and six pieces of cannon, two hundred ammunition waggon, about two thousand prisoners, including two generals and sixty other officers, were immediately conducted into Mayence, and great quantities of stores collected for the siege, fell likewise into the hands of the Austrians. The French were supposed to lose in killed and wounded three thousand men. General Nunendorf crossed the Rhine that afternoon, with a part of his troops that had been stationed at Gerau, and took possession of Oppenheim. Marshal Clairfait encamped in front of Mayence, while his light troops pursued the French in all directions.

At the expiration of this year, a truce was agreed upon between the Austrians and French generals, with liberty for either party to put an end to it upon giving ten days notice; and on the 9th of January, 1796, the princess royal of France arrived at Vienna, accompanied by the arch-duchess Maria Christiana.

Her French attendants were the same that left Paris with her, being madame de Sonci and her family, Monsieur Hue, late valet de chambre to her father, and two domestics; but these instead of continuing to wait on the princess and being lodged in the palace, were conducted to an inn. Madame de Sonci entered the presence chamber with the princess, but was rudely put back, and with the rest of the princess royal's attendants sent to the inn, two officers of the police being stationed there to keep them from communicating with the emigrants: neither was the princess royal suffered

to have any communication with them, not even with monsieur Hue, who never quitted Louis XVI. but even attended him in prison, and whom that unfortunate monarch recommended to his family in his will.—Perhaps this singular conduct of the court at Vienna, arose from an apprehension that any particular indulgence shewn to the princess or the emigrants might irritate the republicans, so as to put an end to the truce just agreed upon, with an express condition, that either party might commence hostilities again upon giving ten days notice to the other.

Miss Williams, an English lady, was confined in the prison of the Luxembourg, at Paris, in consequence of an order for all the English to be arrested. Here she observed that the generality there confined were fine gentlemen and ladies, who had held the highest rank and estimation at court. It was impossible not to sympathise with some, when they related what they had suffered, and all they had lost, by the revolution. Yet in others, the danger of their situation could not check that vanity with which they retained their former titles of madame la Duchesse, monsieur le Comte, &c. though the French demagogues had proscribed the use of those titles, and made terror the order of the day, to enforce their decisions; but there were among the nobility so confined, some persons who observed a different conduct, for though they had previously been zealous partizans for a republic, and had made important sacrifices to support it, yet these were arrested and confined by revolutionary committees, on pretences the most trivial, sometimes on mistakes the most ludicrous.

Such was the case of a count and his

his countess, who had been distinguished by their zeal for the revolution, and their many civic donations, on which account they lived undisturbed in their splendid hotel, and might have continued so, had not the countess sent down to her chateau, a fine marble hearth, which by some accident was broken in the carriage. The steward sent her a letter, importing that the foyer must be repaired at Paris, (now foyer is French for a hearth,) and happened also to be a name imposed by the republicans, on the central parts of their system. The letter being intercepted, was read in the revolutionary committee.—

“Here,” they exclaimed, “is a daring plot indeed, a foyer of a counter-revolution to be repaired at Paris.” The supposed authors of this plot, were seized, and in vain did the countess relate the state of the hearth, urging that no conspiracy could lurk in the marble, both herself and the count were arrested, and conducted to the *Maison de Arret* of their section, from whence they were brought to prison, at the Luxembourg, at the midnight-hour, with about sixty other persons, having been led through the streets in procession, by the light of many flambeaus, and guarded by a whole battalion. Such were the means employed to excite the people’s fears, when the French demagogues made terror subservient to their infamous policy.

Amelot, ex-minister, was confined in the same prison, at the Luxembourg, who is here said to have distributed letters de cachet while in power, so liberally, for the confinement of state prisoners formerly in the *bastille*. The lady, the relater of these scenes in the prison of Luxembourg, seems to have

imbibed the common notion, impressed upon the French people, that the *bastille* was a den of horrors, and confinement, there something equal to, or worse than that of the inquisition; whereas nothing could be more different; for the *bastille* was a prison only for state delinquents, particularly of such as had offended the court, the favourites there, or officers of the police. The prisoners so confined were allowed a good table, and an attendance suited to their rank. No kind of torture, nor death, was inflicted in this prison; nor was it ever known to be thronged with prisoners, even in the despotic reign of Louis XIV: and when it was demolished even to the foundations, no vestiges of prisoners were found that had been put to death secretly, and buried there. When it was seized by the military under Fayette, in conjunction with the populace, there were only six prisoners found there; one of them, who had refused to pay a gaming debt to some courtier. The defence of this fortress was only then entrusted to a few invalids, so little was Louis XVI. disposed to rule by terror. Yet, if the Swiss regiments which he had then at command, had been previously stationed there, a fortress so strong in all respects, was capable, not only of repelling the assailants, but of beating the houses of Paris about the ears of its citizens, and chastising the madness of the people. But a more terrible chastisement was now reserved for them; and instead of confinement, now and then of a state prisoner, by order of the king, numbers were now confined on pretence of the public safety; till the prisons were so crowded, that murder, or in fact, massacre, was concluded to be the readiest method of gaol delivery.

This lady, though confined on no other account but as an English woman, was so far fond of republican principles, as to expatiate largely on the characters of Sillery and La Source, both members of the convention, but confined at the Luxembourg, for shewing some detestation of those proceedings with which the demagogues in power had discredited the revolution. And yet, La Source made mention of an incident which seemed to strike his mind with a superstitious foreboding. The case was this: some days after the execrable 10th of August, he dined with several members of the legislative assembly, who were exulting in the birth of their new republic, and the glorious characters which they expected to act, as its founders, when a citizen of the Fauxbourg, who had been invited to partake of the dinner, observed, that he feared a different fate would attend them. "As you have been founders of the republic," he said, "you will also be its victims; for in a short time, you will be obliged to lay restraints and duties on the people, to whom your enemies and their's will represent you as having demolished regal power, only to establish your own. You will be accused of aristocracy; and I foresee, with much concern, you will all perish on the scaffold."

The company smiled at this prediction; but during the next winter they trembled, when they found the political horizon overclouded; and a few days previous to the 31st of May, when the convention was, for the first time, besieged, La Source called to mind the predictions, and asked Virginaud what he thought of the prophet of the Fauxbourg? The prophet, he said, was in the right.

When more than one person were to be executed, as they could only suffer in succession, those who were to suffer last, were condemned to suffer repeated deaths at the sound of the falling axe, and upon sight of the bloody scaffold. To be the first victim, was considered as a privilege, which had been allowed to Madame de Roland; but a man being her companion, she beheld his dismay, and said to him, "Allez le premier, que je vous epargne la don leur de vois couler mon sang." In English, "Go first; let me at least spare you the pain of seeing my blood shed." She then turned to the executioner, and requested this indulgence for her fellow sufferer. The headsman urged his orders to execute her the first. "But you cannot, I am sure," said she, with a smile, "refuse the last request of a lady." This softened his heart so much, that her companion was guillotined the first; and when she was tied to the fatal plank, she lifted up her eyes to the statue of liberty, near to which the guillotine was placed, and exclaimed, "A liberté, comme, on t'a jouée. "Oh liberty, how hast thou been sported with;" and instantly her head was severed from her body. Her husband could not survive her loss, as she had predicted; for Roland, who had concealed himself, no sooner heard of her execution, but he put an end to his life; and his body was found in a wood between Paris and Rouen, near the high road. The papers found in his pocket book were sent to the committee of public safety, but never published; containing truths, no doubt, which those sanguinary demagogues were afraid should be made known.

If France, during the tyranny of Robespierre, exhibited crimes scarce credible, it also produced some of the most

most extraordinary virtue, with the most affecting instances of magnanimity and love of kindred. Of this nature was the conduct of a young man, who being prisoner with his brother, happened to be present when the names of the victims were called over, to be dragged before the sanguinary tribunal. The young man found his brother's name was mentioned in the list, who was absent at that moment, when he answered to the call, and was executed in lieu of his brother. A father made the same sacrifice for his son, and was taken in his stead; for that execrable tribunal being negligent of forms, it was not difficult to deceive its vigilance.

Among the victims of those tyrants, women have been peculiarly distinguished for their admirable firmness in death. Perhaps this was owing to the superior sensibility of their minds.—When the governor of Longwy, who surrendered that city to the Prussians, was condemned to die, his wife, a beautiful young woman, about 24 years of age, upon hearing the sentence pronounced, cried out in a tone of despair, “Vive le Roi.” The inhuman tribunal, instead of attributing her conduct to distraction, sentenced her to die with her husband, who was filled with astonishment and anguish when he saw his beloved wife led with him in the cart to be executed. The populace, shocked at the spectacle, thronged to the scaffold, exclaiming, “Elle n’pas mérité la mort;” she does not deserve death. “Mes amis,” said she, *c’est ma faute, je ai volus périr avec mon Maré.* My friends, it is mine own fault, I was resolved to perish with my husband.

The fury of these sanguinary monsters was directed with peculiar viru-

lence, against that sex, the weakness of which men are destined by nature to support, and the scaffold overflowed daily with the blood of women. Some who had been condemned to die, were respited on account of their pregnancy, and dragged to death immediately after their delivery. The wife of a peasant had been brought to Paris, with nineteen other women of the same class, and condemned to die with her companions. She heard the sentence without emotion, but when they took her to execution, and snatched the infant from her breast, she rent the air with a strong shriek of instinctive affection. But in vain were these throes of maternal tenderness, her child was torn from the breast which nourished it, and the mother's agonies only ended in her death.

The guillotine exhibited a family piece, enough to break the heart of humanity, when the worthy Malesherbes, who had been counsel to the late king upon his trial, was condemned to suffer there, at eighty years of age, with his daughter and son-in-law, his grand daughter and grandson. His daughter seemed to have lost sight of every object, but her venerable parent; on the way to execution she embraced him, bathing his face with her tears, and when the executioner dragged her from him, she exclaimed, “Wretch, are you going to murder my father;” forgetting that her death would soon follow, on the bloody scaffold.

Amboyna and its dependencies were delivered up to the British forces, on the 16th of February, 1796, and Banda, with its dependencies, on the 8th of March following. There was found in the treasury at Amboyna 81,112 rixdollars, and in the store 515,040

pounds weight of cloves: In the treasury at Banda 66,675 rixdollars, and in the store 84,777 pounds of nutmegs, with 19,587 pounds of mace, besides merchandize and other stores, found at each place not estimated. The reduction of these settlements has entirely deprived the Dutch of the market for nutmegs, cloves, and mace, as that of cinnamon was lost by the reduction of their settlements on the island of Ceylon; all which spices they had wholly engrossed, and for fear that they became too cheap, they were known to burn what was superfluous; for on the 10th of June, 1760, Monsieur Beaumare reported that he saw at Amsterdam, near the admiralty, a fire, the fuel whereof was valued at 8,000,000 of livres, and as much more was to be burned the day following. The spectators' feet were bathed in the essential oil of these aromatics, yet no person was suffered to preserve any of it, much less to take any of the spices out of the fire. A poor man, some years before, upon a similar occasion, and at the same place, had taken up some nutmegs which happened to roll out of the burning, and Monsieur Beaumare was informed the man instantly was seized, condemned, and executed.

The Dutch having lost their monopoly of spices, and the Cape of Good Hope, were yet further mortified in the course of this year, by the capture of an entire fleet in a bay of this latter place, without loss to the British; for the Dutch fleet had entered Saldana Bay for the purpose of recovering their settlement at the Cape Town: As they were known to be off the coast with this intention, admiral Elphinstone had put to sea with full purpose of engaging them, but in his absence they

entered Saldana Bay, and the British at Cape Town were alarmed, yet great exertions were made to oppose their landing. Before this could be effected, admiral Elphinstone entered the bay with his majesty's ships the *Monarch*, the *Tremendous*, *America*, *Stately*, *Ruby*, *Surprize*, *Trident*, *Jupiter*, *Crescent*, *Spynx*, *Moselle*, *Rattlesnake*, *Echo*, and *Hope*, a force so far superior to the Dutch fleet at anchor there, that they were compelled to surrender on the 17th of August, with no opposition; for the British squadron stood into the bay, and anchored within shot of the Dutch fleet; but night coming on, admiral Elphinstone, conscious of his great superiority in force, and willing to prevent the effusion of blood, resolved to address the Dutch officer in command for this purpose, and forwarded a letter to him by lieutenant Coffin, of the *Monarch*, with a flag of truce. To this a verbal answer was returned, that a positive reply should be sent at day-break in the morning: accordingly, by nine o'clock in the forenoon of August 17th, a Dutch officer came on board of the *Monarch* with a flag of truce, presenting terms of proposal for capitulation, which were settled by five in the evening, whereby the Dutch fleet was to be surrendered to the British, but their ships could not be taken possession of till the 18th, on account of the stormy weather. Their number and rate of guns were as follow: The *Dordrecht*, of 66 guns, the *Revolution*, of 66, the *Admiral Tromp*, of 54, the *Castor*, of 41, the *Braave*, of 40, the *Bellona*, of 28, the *Sirene*, of 26, the *Havie*, of 18, and the *Maria* storeship. Two of these names seem to have been imposed by their new Frenchified rulers. The Revolution

tion, to make the stadtholder's expulsion, and the Sirene, a name wholly French, and not likely to be adopted by the Dutch before that æra, so ruinous to their trade and colonies, which the British continued reducing through the course of 1796; for the forces under major general Stuart reduced the fort of Batecaloe, in the island of Ceylon, on the 18th of September, and disembarked at Point Pedro, about twenty-four miles from Jassnapatam, which important place they took possession of on the 28th of the same month; and upon their return from Point Pedro to Trincomale, they took possession of the factory and military post of Molletivoe, on the 1st of October, and on the 5th the fort and island of Manar fell into their hands, in consequence of their having obtained possession of Jassnapatam.— This last is a seaport in the island of Ceylon, from whence tobacco is exported in great quantities, and some elephants, the most docile in the world. Manar lies on the eastern coast of Ceylon. Advice from Madras also, dated October the 17th, stated, that Molucca and its dependancies surrendered; that Chensurah likewise had been taken, and the Dutch forces there made prisoners of war. Molucca is the capital of a large peninsula, containing several kingdoms, whereof the Dutch had possessed the sovereignty: Chensurah was a rich town of theirs, in the province of Bengal.

Hostilities again commenced between the imperialists and republicans, who attacked an advanced post of the Austrians, at half past ten o'clock on the 31st May, this year. This post was stationed at the village of Walhausen, on or near the source of the Nahe; but the French were repulsed, losing

from sixty to seventy killed and wounded, with near 400 taken prisoners.

The Austrian general Schellenbergh, at the same time took possession of Kern, upon the Nahe; the enemy made several unsuccessful efforts to dislodge him from that post, and sustained a considerable loss; and on the 1st of June, a part of the Austrian Hulus, and Salkborough light infantry, attacked and carried one of the French posts, near Steinberg, towards the source of the Bless.

On the 4th and 5th prince Ferdinand of Wertemberg, stated, that two divisions of the French, in the vicinity of Dusseldorf, being considerably reinforced from the army of the North, marched toward the Sieg, and after some severe skirmishes, forced his advanced posts to quit that river. He then took a position at Crobach near Hackenburgh, having an advanced guard at Alikirchen, but on the 3d of June, the French attacked this post, and carried it with great loss after the most obstinate resistance, wherein nothing could exceed the bravery of the defendants, who were overpowered by a great superiority of numbers, for the assailants brought the principal part of the force, which they had on the right bank of the Rhine, against that one point.

General Wetzlar was ordered by the Archduke, to push his advanced posts across the Lhan and the Dille, and to proceed with his whole corps from Wetzlar, on the 15th of June. To support this manœuvre, some Saxon troops were directed to be at Wetzlar upon the same day, and general Kray to occupy the heights, between Braun and Leuhn, on the Lahn. The French general Le Fevre, was in march with a large corps at the same time for the same

same object, and the heads of his columns attacked general Werneck's advanced guard, which, after a very long, and most obstinate resistance, gave way to a great superiority of numbers.

The republicans then occupied the above-mentioned position, with their right to the Lahn, and their left to the Dille, when they began a severe cannonade upon the Austrians; who though at the foot of the heights, with the rivers in their rear, had formed again and stood firm. The Archduke arrived just when the advanced guard was retiring, and ordered the Saxons to accelerate their march, and the cavalry in particular to advance with all expedition. He then ordered general Werneck's corps which had remained on the left bank of the Lahn, to join the advanced guard, containing the detachments of his left opposite to Altenborough, and on the right at Aslar, near Hermanstein, as they had been posted at first, in order to secure his flanks. In this very critical situation, his highness continued to answer the enemy's cannonade from a battery of twelve-pounders, and determined to attack them as soon as the head of the Saxon column should have passed Wetzlar.

The position that general Le Fevre occupied was composed of a range of heights, which were difficult of access, from the broken ground in their front. Here he waited for the arrival of some troops, and had these come up before he was attacked, the Austrians must have retired to Wetzlar. The Archduke, well aware of this circumstance, resolved to attack, as soon as the Saxon cavalry arrived, which was not till seven in the evening, when the following disposition was made for the attack.

Three squadrons of the Austrian cavalry, the regiment of Carachy, supported by that of Nassau were to charge the left, and the Saxon cavalry in the front of the heights above Hermanstein, while the Austrian grenadiers should attack the enemy's centre in a wood, the left wing being kept back. The regiment of Carachy advanced through hollow ways and ravines, and arriving at the summit of the height, charged with a degree of intrepidity which gained them much honour, but as they were much broken by the badness of the ground, and a numerous body of cavalry, in perfect order, to overawe them, they fell back, and by this time the regiment having reached the summit, received that of Carachy, which rallied under their protection, and being reinforced with part of the regiment of Nassau, charged the French on their flanks, and part of their second line, with so regular and vigorous shocks, that they proved victorious, even before the Saxon cavalry had reached their point of attack, or the imperial grenadiers had arrived at the wood.

The French finding themselves thus taken in flank, and vigorously pressed, retired their first line, with precipitation, from their salient point in the centre, and their repulsed cavalry in disorder took shelter in a wood behind their infantry. Part of the regiments of Carachy and Nassau pursued, and cut to pieces a battalion, which had formed, where the road leading from Wetzlar to Grieffenstein enters the wood. Beside these exploits, they took several cannon, but in the ardor of pursuit, were received by the second line of French infantry, which by a severe fire, compelled them to quit the wood and form again. However
3 they

they brought off all the cannon and ammunition waggons which they had seized. In the mean time, the republicans still kept their station on the heights of Altenbourg, with their line extended from thence toward Alstedin on the Dille.

The Austrian grenadiers now attacked and defeated the French infantry in the wood. The village of Binghausen upon the Dille, was in the rear of their left flank, about two English miles distant; and in the vicinity of that village, the wood retires from the Dille, in the form of a half circle, leaving a considerable space of open ground. —Through this ground, the road passes, by which general Le Fevre's left was obliged to retreat. It enters the wood again, over an height which affords a good position for infantry, from being immediately on the skirts of the wood; and more especially, as the foot of the ascent is covered with a ravine, in the greatest part of its extent, very difficult to pass in the presence of an enemy posted on the heights.

Upon this height, the republicans had formed three battalions, with a battery, to receive the fugitives that had been defeated by the Austrian cavalry and grenadiers. At the same time, finding their left defeated, they withdrew their right from the heights of Altenbourg, forming the troops which had composed it, in the thick wood, on their rear. But four squadrons of Saxon cavalry determined to emulate the prowess of the Imperial troops. These being joined by a squadron of cavalry, advanced through that part of the wood which had been cleared by the grenadiers; not waiting for further support either of infantry or cannon, defiled along the road, cross-

sing the ravine at the front of the ascent, under the enemy's fire; then forming, they attacked the French position above described, and after some loss of men on their side, broke the French three battalions, cutting down every man that could not save himself by flying into the wood, when the victorious cavalry seized the cannon which the French had deserted.

Night coming on, put an end to this brilliant affair; wherein nothing could surpass the steadiness and intrepidity with which both the Austrian and Saxon troops executed the archduke's orderly, masterly, and decisive manœuvres. General Le Fevre having failed in his attempt to occupy this important position, Jourdan determined to raise the siege of Ehrenbretstein, and recross the Rhine; and four of the six divisions which composed the army, marched to Neuweid; the two others towards Seigburg, Cologne, and Dusseldorf. The archduke followed them, but nothing like an action took place, after that of the 15th, as the French retired on all sides, with the utmost precipitation. But on the 19th, the archduke marched his advanced corps, under the command of general Kray, by break of day, in pursuit of those republicans; who, after they had united at Altenkirchen, were retiring under general Kleber, toward Siegburg on the Sieg, with an intention of proceeding from thence to Cologne and Dusseldorf.

The French general was under a necessity of halting that day, upon the heights that lay between Kirpen and Ukareth, upon the great road to Siegburg. This was necessary, that time might be given for his reserve, ammunition, and baggage, to pass Sieg. For this reason, he occupied the very advantageous

vantageous position which those heights afford, with about 24,000 men. The front of both his wings, and his flanks, being covered by two deep ravines, that could only be passed in a few points. The approach to his centre was about 300 yards broad, and ran along a ridge that connected this position with the heights of Kirpen, where the two ravines above mentioned take their source. At the village of Kirpen, there is another range of advantageous heights, parallel to those where the French were posted. The right of these heights, towards Ukareth, terminates in a deep ravine; the left of them on a plain, opposite to the enemy's centre, and bounded by a small wood, extending toward the ravine which covered the right wing of the French, leaving the approach to their centre close up to the right of the wood; from whence a long range of inclosures, small copses of thickets, two villages, and several scattered houses extended, in a parallel direction, to the right of the enemy's position, nearly on a line with the heights of Kirpen. Upon the Alterkirchen side, above seven hundred yards from Kirpen, there is a third range of heights, which take exactly the same range of direction as those before described; their right being covered with a deep ravine, their centre and left falling gradually into a plain, bounded by Kirpen, with the villages and inclosures above mentioned.

General Kray's corps consisted of about 11,000 men, with which he advanced, and the Austrian hussars fell in with a large patrol of the enemy at the village of Weyberbuch, and drove it back to Kirpen, where they came up with general Kleber's posts, which they quickly forced back to his position; and general Kray's advanced

guard, composed of Sclavonian infantry, a Walloon battalion, several squadrons of light cavalry, and some horse artillery, formed upon the heights of Kirpen.

General Kleber, who could easily discover general Kray's strength, instantly determined to attack; and part of the infantry composing his right wing, advanced into the wood that bounded the plain below Kirpen, and into the inclosures and villages which extended from thence between the two positions. The cavalry also of that wing marched in the rear, to attack general Kray's left, as soon as the infantry had established itself along the edge of the plain. A small part of the infantry from their left wing was advanced through the ravines, against general Kray's right, to prevent detachments from it, while general Kleber's choice body of cavalry, supported by nine battalions of infantry, and a great proportion of heavy artillery, marched from his centre against the heights of Kirpen.

The Austrian cavalry, posted near Kirpen, attacked that of the French, as they were forming; but partly from the fire on their left flank out of the wood, and chiefly from a very great superiority of numbers, they were repulsed. Notwithstanding this check, the battalion of Walloons and Sclavonian light infantry, kept their ground, while the cavalry rallied under their protection; and in this situation, the advanced guard waited for the enemy's main attack.

The republican cavalry, when its formation was completed, advanced against the heights of Kirpen, and, supported by a part of their infantry, drove back the Austrian posts, the Sclavonian battalion, and the artillery, all which

insults; in addition to this circumstance, the merchants had no encouragement, either to take out letters of marque, or fit out privateers, as few French merchant ships were to be found, exclusive of those under convoy, from their colonies. They having, in fact, adopted the notion of ruining our commerce by this predatory system, instead of preserving their own; Britain, in this case, had no other alternative but to increase the number of her cruisers, consisting of frigates, sloops, cutters, and other armed vessels bearing the king's commission. These soon captured several of their stoutest privateers and frigates, in consequence of which our merchant ships were better protected, and their ablest sailors sent prisoners to Britain, so that they could neither man their ships of the line sufficiently, nor send out privateers of any consequence; being reduced to the necessity of continuing their depredations by row-boats, and other small vessels, disguised like English, or fishing vessels, and manned mostly with landmen, placing their whole prospect of success in the surprising and boarding of such weak-manned merchant ships as they could adventure to attack, and even this low estate of the French predatory system was found so disadvantageous, that it was condemned in the convention, as not only an obstacle to the manning of their fleets, but as ruinous to the little commerce left to them, insomuch that the carrying trade was wholly transferred from them and the Dutch to Britain, the manufactures of which country were still worn and used in France, notwithstanding a strict prohibition of them, then existing, while the British enjoyed the price of freightage to Hamburg, and the entire profits

upon them, all chargeable on the articles, together with commission to their correspondents at Hamburg, and what charges, moreover, occurred in the circuitous detours they might undergo, before they came into the hands of the last consumer.

We shall give an account of some captures in the course of this year, which began to cripple their predatory system, antecedent to its final declension, of which the following capture is an early instance: His majesty's sloop, the *Racoon*, captain Roe, took, in the beginning of April, a French lugger privateer, with thirteen men, armed only with blunderbusses and muskets, out from Dunkirk five days, but had taken nothing; captain Carpenter, of his majesty's ship the *Intrepid*, being stationed to cruise off Old Cape Francois, in the West Indies, fell in with a French frigate, which after ten hours chase he drove on shore, when the crew abandoned her, but she was brought off without damage, and it appeared by the log-book, she was called the *Percant*, mounting 20 nine-pounders, and six brass two-pounders.

On the 13th of April, captain Cole captured the national frigate, *Le Unité*, from L'Orient to Rochfort, mounting 38 guns, twelve and six-pounders, with 255 men, nine of whom were killed, and eleven or twelve desperately wounded. This frigate was accounted to be one of the fleetest sailers in the French navy, only seven years old. Madame Le Large, lady of the governor of Rochfort, was on board with her family, but the British captain very politely dismissed her to France, in a neutral vessel, with her son, an ensign, taking his parole not to serve till duly exchanged. Captain Cole after this capture

capture joined sir Edward Pellew, who had detached him after *L'Unité*, and on April the 20th, the squadron was lying to off the Lizard, waiting for that prize to weather the point. Captain Pellew observed a ship coming in from sea, which not answering the private signal, but tacking, stood off. On which sir Edward chased her in the *Indefatigable*, accompanied by the *Amazon*, directing captain Cole, by signal, to attend his prize into port. Sir Edward stood after the frigate, in a chase of fifteen hours, and by a run of 168 miles, came up with her about midnight. He then commenced an action, which was closely continued under crouded sail, for an hour and 45 minutes. The enemy by this time was much crippled, her mizen-mast and main top-mast being shot away. The *Indefatigable* was also much disabled, having lost her gaff and mizen top-mast, the main-top sail was likewise rendered useless, by an unlucky shot, which cut both leech-lines. In this situation sir Edward passed the enemy, not being able to avoid it, having no after sail to back with, and discovering that he had not only a ship of great force to combat, but also that her commander was a complete master of his profession, he did not judge it prudent to commit himself in the presence of one so skilful in manœuvres, by throwing his ship in the wind, so as in all probability to be raked by him. He then kept close a-head of her, renewing the braces, that the ship might be brought to, for the purpose of renewing the attack; when the *Concorde* appeared in sight, close under stern, upon which she fired a gun, and struck her light in token of surrender. She proved to be the French national frigate, *La Virgine*, of 44 guns, eigh-

teen and nine pounders, and 340 men, commanded by captain Bergeret, who sailed four days before from Brest, singly, to cruise off the Lizard in this frigate, being a fleet sailer, which was 158 feet long, and 58 feet broad. Sir Edward lost neither officer nor man in the contest, but the enemy suffered considerably, having fourteen or fifteen killed, seventeen ill wounded, and ten slightly, the frigate much shattered in her hull, making four feet water in her hold, from shot-holes. Sir John Boilase Warren also captured, this month, three brigs, one sloop, and sunk another, after which he took *La Robuste*, mounting 22 guns, 145 men, and in the beginning of May, his majesty's ship, the *Phoenix*, captured in the North Seas, a Dutch frigate, called the *Argo*, of 36 guns, and 237 men; her prize also, the *Duke of York* Packet, was retaken. The *Sylph*, took the *Mercury*, of 16 guns, and 85 men. The *Alexander*, French privateer, of 10 guns, was also taken, and a merchant ship, her prize, recaptured. On the 27th of June, captain Tomlinson, of his majesty's sloop, *Le Suffisante*, retook two English merchant ships, and was informed that the French privateer, called the *Morgan*, carried 16 guns and ten swivels, and on the preceding day was off Scilly, in chase of several English vessels. Upon this, he sent the prizes to Plymouth, and stood to the French coast, between Ushant and the Isle de Bass, to intercept her on her return, or any prizes she might find, and he on the 28th had the good fortune to discover her, with four ships laden, her prizes, standing at first toward him, and fetching within gun shot, gave her several broadsides as they passed each other upon opposite tacks; captain Tomlinson

putting about to follow the privateer, she made signals for her prizes to disperse; and about one at noon, he fetched near her lee quarter, and by a well directed fire of musketry, caused the privateer to strike her colours, before he could get alongside with his great guns to bear upon her; but as the greatest dispatch was necessary to secure the prizes, then steering different courses in order to escape, he gave lieutenant Pickford charge of the privateer, with orders to send the French captain and officers on board the *Suffisante* immediately, and then assist in retaking the prizes, all of which they secured; thus besides capturing the privateer, a fine copper bottomed brig, capable of doing much mischief, six valuable English merchant ships, her prizes, were retaken.

The six ships recaptured by captain Tomlinson were laden with 1473 pipes of wine, 271 bales of cotton, 150 barrels of porter, a quantity of steel, lemons, and other dry goods, belonging to Liverpool, Dublin, and Lancaster; their tonnage was 966 tons, in six merchant vessels, fully laden. His majesty's ships *Apollo* and *Thetis* also captured *La Legre* French national corvette, of 22 guns, 168 men; by this last capture the whole division which sailed from Brest on the 4th of July, were taken by the squadron under the command of vice admiral Kingsmill.

The superiority of British armed ships over those of the enemy, was manifested in an engagement which captain Trollope, in the *Glatton*, had with six French frigates, which he confidently bore up to and attacked on the 19th of July; but from their manœuvring and shyness of coming to action, it was ten at night before

captain Trollope could get alongside of the third ship in the enemy's line, which from her size he supposed to be the commodore, and ordering him to strike, he answered with a broadside, which was returned by the *Glatton* at about twenty-six yards distance. The action soon became general with all the frigates, for two of the headmost tacked, and one of the largest placed herself alongside the *Glatton*, another on her weather-bow, and those behind lay upon her quarter and stern, in this manner engaging for some minutes with yard-arms nearly touching each other; but in less than twenty minutes, the *Glatton's* fire had beaten them off on all sides, yet her rigging was so cut that it became impossible to follow them. The enemy appeared next morning in a close line, and must have noticed the disabled state of the *Glatton*, yet they durst not come near to renew the action, but stood away for Flushing, and were followed by the *Glatton* to within three leagues of that port.

About the same time his majesty's sloop *Hazard*, took and brought into Cork, the *Terrible*, a French brig privateer, of 14 guns, and 160 men, out from Brest six days, he had taken nothing. Another French privateer cutter, named the *Calvados*, from Brest, carrying six guns, ten swivels, and 38 men, was also brought into Cork, having been out ten days from Brest, but had taken nothing. The *Tele-machus* cutter also captured a French privateer, of four guns and 40 men, on the 5th of August; she had taken a sloop that morning, which the cutter retook. These two last captures sufficiently verify our former observation, that the system of privateering, upon which the republicans had reckoned

so much, was reduced to so low a scale as to be even contemptible indeed. They had therefore recourse to their plundering scheme, entering by force into Tuscany, and advanced with intent of seizing the neutral port of Leghorn, wherein was much property belonging to British merchants. But by the great exertions of captain Freemantle, in the *Inconstant* frigate, both this and the shipping in the harbour were brought off safe, although there was but a short space of time to effect it, for on the 2d of July, captain Freemantle landed to attend a meeting of the consul and merchants, concerned in the factory. He assured them that he would continue in the road for their protection, until the enemy forced him to weigh. Upon this the merchants embarked their goods with all expedition, on board ships and transports, which were ordered directly out of the road, and every exertion was used in getting the masts, spars, and other stores for large ships on board transports.

On the 26th, the *Gorgon* arrived, and the remaining large spars, &c. were floated and taken on board of that ship, and certain advice being received that the French were only about eighteen miles from Leghorn, the whole of the convoy were ordered to weigh at day-light in the morning, which consisted of twenty-three sail, square-rigged vessels, and fourteen Tartars; a little after noon, the French entered Leghorn, and began to fire on the *Inconstant*, upon which captain Freemantle weighed with the only vessel remaining, which was laden with ship-timber, a prize to *L'Aigle*; two small privateers endeavoured to cut her off, on which the *Inconstant* was tacked to support her, and a few shots

were exchanged, which did no damage.

Commodore Nelson had notice of the enemy's design, and anchored on the 27th at ten o'clock, with the ships *Meleagre* and *Captain*, and added the *Meleagre* to the convoy, which was of much importance, for the enemy's privateers knowing that Leghorn would be seized, were watchful as sharks for their prey, being numerous and enterprising; however, all the shipping, and nearly all the British property, with all his majesty's stores and provisions, were saved, and every person, British or emigrant, desirous of leaving Tuscany, was received on board some of the ships. Commodore Nelson, with the *Captain*, anchored off the *Malora*, to prevent any British ships which might be ignorant that Leghorn was in the hands of those freebooters, from entering the port. Great praise is due to captain Freemantle and the officers his assistants, for snatching the prey out of their clutches, as no certain accounts were received that they were in Tuscany, till the 25th, and such was the captain's concern to rescue the emigrants from certain death, if they should fall into their hands, that he left them safe off Cape Corse, and lord Garlies, with the fleet under his command, promised to see them safe into San Fiorenzo.

Upon the 13th of November, captain Moore, of his majesty's ship *Meampus*, in company with the *Childers*, chased the *Eronnant*, a French national corvette, on shore at Barfleur, and captured the *Etna*, another. Both of them sailed from Havre, bound for Brest, laden with naval stores. The *Etna* carried 18 twelve pounders, and *L'Eronnant* 12 eighteen pounder guns, two very complete ships, quite new, and upon

upon their first cruise. A privateer, called the Franklin, was also captured by the ships under command of sir John B. Warren, in the beginning of November. She carried 12 six-pounders, and her crew consisted of 100 men.

But the most signal capture, about the middle of October, was that of the *Mehonesa*, a Spanish frigate, carrying on her main deck 26 Spanish twelve-pounders, heavier shot than ours, 8 Spanish six-pounders on the quarter-deck, with a number of brass cohorns and swivels, and 275 men on board. Captain Bowen, of his majesty's frigate the *Terpsichore*, carrying 32 twelve and six-pounders, discovered this ship on the 13th of October, standing toward him, and about eight o'clock he perceived her making every preparation for battle. His situation, on the whole, was such as not to render him eager to engage; for, out of a small complement of men, he had left 30 at the hospital, and had more than that number on board dangerously ill, or extremely weak. He was scarcely out of the station where the Spanish fleet were cruising but two days before; and he, in fact, had been dispatched to look out for it, in order to ascertain its movements. In addition to this circumstance, a small Spanish vessel then passed him, steering for Carthagená; so that he could scarcely hope to bring the frigate off, in case of a victory. On the other hand, it is evident that nothing but a flight, and superiority of sailing, could enable him to avoid an action; and to do this from a frigate apparently not much superior to him but in bulk, would be committing one of his majesty's ships to a disgrace he was not willing to suffer. He therefore stood on with no alteration of course.

Reflecting, with good satisfaction, that he had commanded the *Terpsichore's* crew for two years and a half, through a considerable variety of service, he well knew the veteran stuff which he had still left in health to depend upon, and felt his mind much at ease with the enemy in sight advancing, however the action terminated. Reflections, these, which are well worthy of commendation, and could only proceed from a consciousness that he had acted like a friend and father, as well as commander of his men; and had the utmost reason to expect their resolution to stand by him in the greatest extremity. A character, which we presume, is generally applicable to commanders in the British navy, who have no occasion to drive their men to quarters by the fear of instant death, which has been the case on board the French ships, and was the case with the Spanish frigate, whose commander was a man of courage himself, but could not keep his men to quarters, and as mercy is concomitant of true valour, he had no recourse to cruelty on the occasion. These reflections have caused a digression from the subject. We shall now relate the action.

At half past nine, the Spanish frigate came within hail, and hauled her wind on the *Terpsichore's* weather beam, which made captain Bowen conceive she only waited to place herself to advantage, and point her guns with exactness. Upon this he fired a gun to try her mettle, and intention. This was so quickly returned by her whole broadside, that it must have been fired on the sight of his flash. The action then commenced, and captain Bowen soon perceived that her crew could not, or would not, resist his fire. In about an hour and forty minutes, during

during which he had twice wore the ship, and employed twenty of the last minutes in chase, she surrendered. At this time he had ranged up alongside of her, with every gun well charged and pointed. It was with great difficulty, however, that he prevailed on the Spanish commander to submit, before such a broadside was poured into him. Captain Bowen gave the highest character of him, as an hero of the old Spanish stamp, whose name was Don Thomas Agulda; for after all his booms had fallen down, and rendered his guns in the ship's waste unserviceable, all the standing rigging of his lower masts shot away, and nearly all his running tackle cut through, with a great number of his people killed or wounded, he still persevered, though he could rally but a few of them, to defend his ship, longer than defence was justifiable; for on the smallest motion of the sea, every mast must inevitably have gone overboard. The *Terpsichore* had none killed, and but two wounded. The *Mahonesa* had 30 killed, or died of their wounds on the day of action; and about the same number wounded, several of whom died soon after.

His majesty's ships the *Polyphemus* and *Cerberus*, brought into Cork the *L'Herondelle* French cutter, and three privateers, taken by the *Santa Margate* and *Dryad*. Those formed a small squadron, fitted out at Brest, to scour the English channel, but were happily secured by our cruisers. Capt. Drew, in the *Cerberus*, also retook the *Friendship*, from the Cape of Good Hope, and the *Jackson junior*, from Jamaica. The *Eurydice*, captain Talbot, on the 15th of December, captured a contemptibly small privateer, *Southampton* built, from Dunkirk, which had made a practice of running along shore as a

coaster; and upon a former cruise was taken by an armed lugger in the North sea, but escaped by producing Swedish papers. On the 19th of December, captain James Young, of his majesty's ship the *Greyhound*, took *L'Adventure*, a French privateer, of 10 guns and 42 men, and out two days from Calais, on her first cruise, but had made no captures. Captain Carthew, of his majesty's ship the *Regulus*, captured a Spanish corvette, of 18 guns and 140 men. She sailed from Cadiz to cruise on the British coast for six weeks; twenty days of which were unexpired, and she had taken nothing. Captain Colcutt, of his majesty's sloop the *Star*, took a French privateer, called the *Coup d'Essai*, off the Isle of Wight, on the 20th of December. She had only two carriage guns, but had plenty of small arms, and had captured, a few hours before, a light Newcastle brig, which she sent off for Cherbourg; but the sloop pursued, and retook her. The *Impatiente*, a French frigate of 20 guns, 320 sailors, and 250 soldiers on board, was totally wrecked near Crookhaven, and seven men only escaped on the rocks. His majesty's sloop the *Hazard*, captured a fine copper-bottomed French privateer, called *La Musette*, of 22 guns, 150 men, and brought her into Cork, January 2d, 1797. Four other privateers were captured in the beginning of this year; so contemptible, that all the four had only 81 men to man them, with four carriage guns and nine swivels among them.

As contemptible was an attempt made by the French to land at Ilfracomb, in Pembrokeshire; for on the 22d of February, 1797, two French frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, landed there, and disembarked about twelve

twelve hundred men, without field-pieces.

These men were supposed to be such as had manifested a mutinous disposition at Brest, most of them released galley-slaves, and that the republicans had taken this method to get quit of them, and perform some part of the flattering promises made to their friends here, of making a descent in their favour. It might also be intended to produce another effect, by drawing off the attention of our fleets to the motions of the Spanish fleet, then out for the purpose of forming a junction with that of the French. Whatever was the case, the French frigates quitted the coast; and the troops they had landed, amounting to near 1400, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the 24th of February, without any contest.

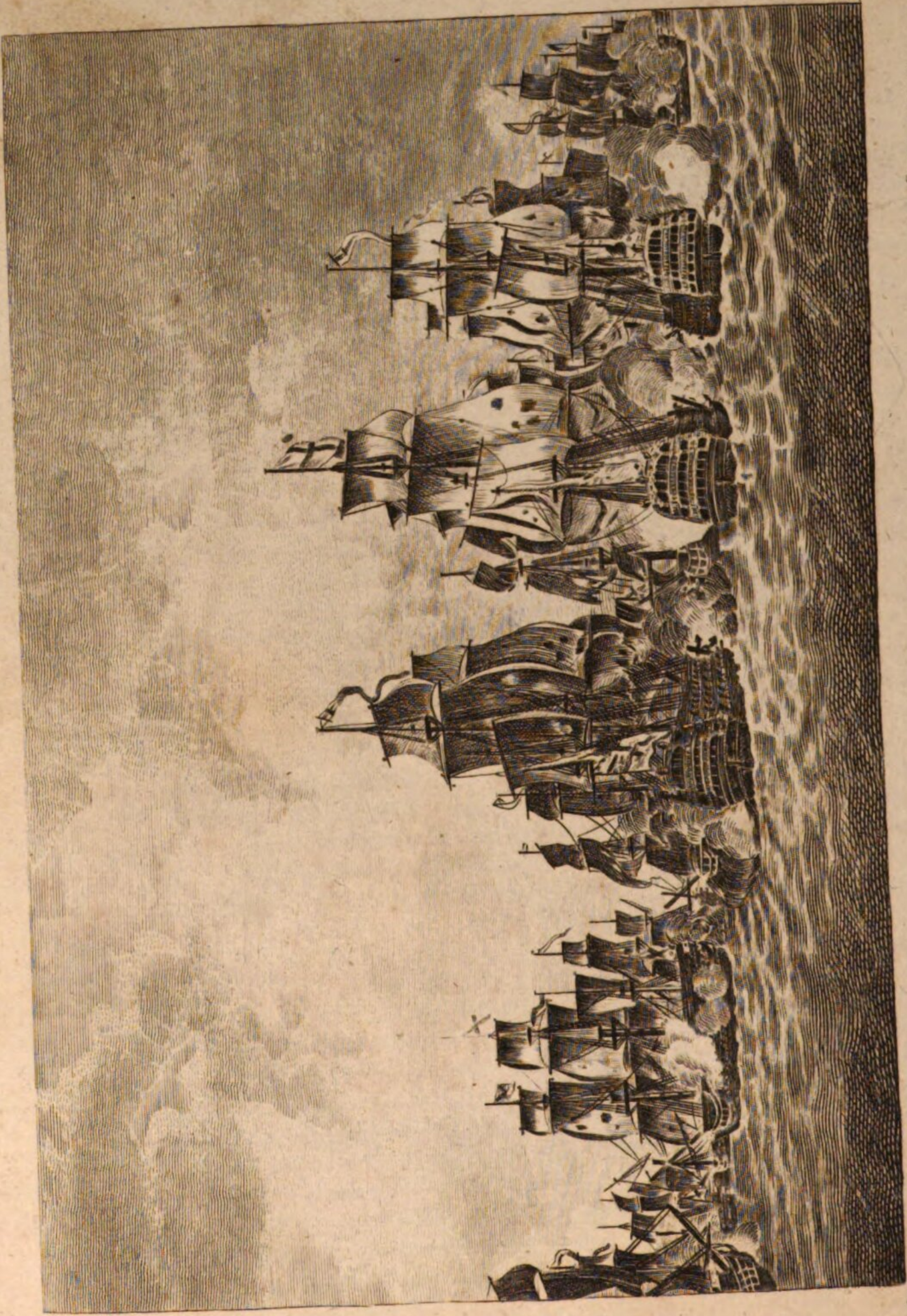
Scarce had the alarm subsided, occasioned by the French gasconade, when news arrived that the Lord of Hosts, as God Almighty is emphatically stiled in scripture, favoured his majesty's navy with a complete victory over that of Spain.

This victory was atchieved on the 14th of February, remarkable for its being Valentine-day. Admiral sir John Jervis had his hopes confirmed of engaging the enemy, by intelligence on the 13th from captain Foster, of the *Niger*, who, with equal judgment and perseverance, kept them company several days; and his information stated, that they were not more than three or four leagues distant; of which fact the British admiral was convinced, by hearing their signal-guns during the course of the night, which in some degree served to direct his course, while he waited with anxiety for the dawning of day, when he had the satisfaction of descrying the Spanish fleet, amount-

ing to 27 ships of the line; seven of them first rates, six carrying 112 guns, and the 7th 130. The British fleet consisted of 15 line of battle ships only, which the admiral formed in two compact lines, and resolutely stood on under a press of sail, to engage the enemy; whose fleet he came up with at half past eleven o'clock, before it was formed in a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and the British admiral being confident of the skill, valour and discipline of his officers and men, judged that the honour of his majesty's navy, and circumstances of the war in those seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, and thought himself justified in departing from the regular system of naval manœuvring. He therefore advanced in a line of two ships abreast, and passing through their fleet with the utmost celerity, tacked suddenly, and thereby separated one-third of their fleet from the rest; and by a partial cannonade, prevented their re-union till evening, when, by great exertions of such ships as had the good fortune to come up with the enemy on the larboard tack, four ships were captured, and the action ended about five in the evening. The four ships taken were, the *Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns, the *San Joseph*, of 112 guns, the *San Nicholas*, of 84 guns, and the *San Ysidore*, of 74 guns.

Having thus far prosecuted our successes at sea to the commencement of 1797, we shall resume our narrative, and relate some operations of the Austrians, against the common enemy.

The French general Buonaparte, had made a rapid progress in Italy at the commencement of this campaign, and had formed the siege, (or rather the blockade of Mantua) for such is its situation,



DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH FLEET BY SIR JOHN JERVIS,

situation, as to render it difficult to be entirely invested; but the great exertions making by the French to reduce that city, determined field marshal Wurmser to attack the besiegers, without waiting for the reinforcements which he had reason to expect. Therefore, at the end of July, different corps were assembled at the places appointed, forming four divisions, to advance by different passes, from the Tyrolese mountains. The first column on the right of Lago de Garda, under the command of lieutenant general Quasdanowich, which was to march on Brescia. The second, under general Melas, between the Lake and the Adige, was destined to force all the enemy's strong posts up Monte Baldo. The third was ordered to march under the command of lieutenant general Davidowich, by the great road from Alla, and being separated only by the Adige from part of another division, was to support it, and even join it as soon as a bridge could be made between Dolci and Rivoli. The fourth column, under the command of lieutenant general Mesaros, was designed to turn the enemy's right flank, by marching from Bassano on Legnano.

Early on the 29th of July, 1796, the republicans were attacked upon their whole line of posts, and every where driven in. Lieutenant general Quasdanowich took 1000 prisoners at Salo, and marched on to Brescia. General Melas attacked the post of Ferrara, upon the summit of Monte Baldo, covered with an immense ravine, which his troops crossed with great intrepidity, and drove the enemy from their entrenchments, redoubts, and batteries. A part of this division likewise attacked with equal courage and success, the narrow pass of Brentino, be-

tween the mountain and the Adige. The artillery of the third division supported this attack from the left bank of that river; and the same corps, acting under command of lieutenant general Sepolandorff, passed on along the right bank, forcing the important post of Rivoli, where the enemy's batteries commanded the passage of the river.

In these attacks, nine pieces of cannon, and 1500 men were taken, the other divisions advanced with little resistance, and on the 30th, those two in the centre uniting, continued to advance in different columns upon Castel Nuova and Pechiera. The enemy were again driven from the defiles of Campora and Cavaggione with loss, though strongly posted, so that in the night they returned to Pechiera, and these rapid movements of the Austrians, compelled Buonaparte immediately to recross the Po and Minchio, so that on the 1st of August, general D'Irlas the commandant of Mantua, found they were raising the siege, and had masked their retreat, by continuing the fire as usual on Mantua, during night, so that he could only send his cavalry in pursuit of them in the morning, and they brought in 600 prisoners, a great number of them artillery men, all their mortars and cannon were seized, about 140 in number with 190,000 shells and balls; likewise, considerable quantities of stores. General Quasdanowich took up his head quarters at Mantua, intending to pursue the enemy, but the excessive fatigue undergone by the troops in raising the siege, and the difficulty of supplying them with necessaries for want of magazines, retarded their further progress.

Field marshal Wurmser, with the view of assisting general Quasdanowich

to raise the siege, had sent general Liptaye, with an advanced guard, on the 2d of August, to Castigleone delle Steviere, and a body of troops marched on the 3d to support him; but general Liptaye had been compelled to retire from Castigleone, and was nearly surrounded on the heights betwixt that place and Solferino. The cavalry disengaged him, and regiments forming as they came up, the affair became general, when the Imperial troops kept their ground, against a much superior number of the enemy, till night put an end to the contest.

The French received considerable reinforcements from the Milanois and Macaria, upon which they advanced by St. Martino towards Medoli, on the 5th of August, threatening the rear of the Imperial army, then extended into a plain; on this, the field marshal changed his front, by throwing it back towards the high ground, where his right wing was posted. During this movement, the enemy commenced an attack towards the high ground, where the right wing was posted, and some battalions of that wing giving way, fell in with those of the left not yet posted, which created such confusion, that the marshal fell back upon Valeggio.

But the main body of the Austrian army passed the Danube, at Donawert, and halted near that place, on the 14th of August, the rear guards still occupying the roads leading from Nordingen and Hockstadt, the former placed at the defile of Habor-earg, the latter at a village about a league eastward from Blenheim.

On the 15th, the Archduke having left general La Tour, with a considerable part of the army of the upper Rhine, to defend the Lech, marched

with the remainder down the right bank of the Danube, with an intention of recrossing it, in order to act against general Jourdan's right flank, while general Wartensleben should advance and attack his front. The rear guard were in consequence withdrawn, and Donawert evacuated in the course of that day.

When his royal highness commenced this manœuvre, the general was in a position near Amberg, to turn the French left; and general Jourdan had detached a considerable column on the great road, leading from Nuremberg, through Neumark to Ratisbon, and in order to oppose this column, general Nauendorf was advancing from Ratisbon, with four battalions of Austrians, newly arrived at the army, and some light troops.

On the 17th, the troops which his royal highness had brought from the army of the upper Rhine, repassed the Danube in two columns, at Neuberg and Ingolstadt, and encamped near those places. Ingolstadt, being a place capable of defence, and also important for its situation upon the river, a garrison was thrown into it. The column that passed at Neuberg was commanded by general Hotze.

On the 24th, these combined and long intended operations took place, in an attack of general Jourdan's army, which commenced in the operations of seven different columns. That from the right of general Wartensleben's army, advanced towards Weger. Another large column proceeded from Schwartzfeld, having a third of smaller force on its left. A fourth advanced from Swandorf towards Amberg, in the neighbourhood of which last place, the three columns making up seven in the whole, were to unite; and that on

on the left to form a junction with the Archduke, having two strong corps to the left, one under general Staray, advanced to Herchpruck, and the other under general Hotze, to Lauffen.

This excellent disposition of the Imperial forces, would in all probability have produced a decisive battle, but the enemy alarmed at the menacing movements of the Austrian army, retreated with precipitation, before the action became general. Their loss must have been considerable however, and two battalions of their rear guard which defended the defile of Amberg, as long as possible, were completely cut off, by some squadrons of Austrian cavalry. The Imperialists then encamped, and general Jourdan continued retreating to Torcheim. Lieut. colonel Crauford was wounded and taken prisoner upon the 25th, so that the intelligence generally communicated by him from the Imperial armies, was continued by his namesake Robert Crauford, and capt. Anstruther. Col. Crauford was left behind by the French, on the 27th, at Betzenstein, with a safeguard, as it was judged impossible to remove him farther, without endangering his life. The French exacted his word of honour not to serve till he was exchanged, which was very soon to be effected.

After the action of the 24th, general Jourdan continued his retreat in several columns through Pegnitz, in the direction to Ebbermanstadt and Forcpeim, being closely pursued by that part of the Imperial army which general Wartensleben commanded, and those which the Archduke brought with him along the Danube.

On the 30th of August, general Kray advanced to attack the French, in their position near Englesheim, but

they abandoned it so precipitately that no serious action took place, nor could a column sent round the mountains, with intent to turn their left, arrive in time to fall upon the enemy's rear when retreating, which they effected with no considerable loss, although general Kray pursued them towards Bamberg, and the Archduke fixed his head quarters at Hirschaid, and general Jourdan's army began to cross the Main at Halistadt. His royal highness was very anxious to bring him to a decisive battle, but the bad roads and defiles which his troops had to pass, between the Danube and Amberg, considerably retarded their march, and gave time for Jourdan to get off for that time, but on the 1st of September, the Archduke's advanced guard took possession of Wentzburg, and a French garrison there retired into the citadel, which circumstance brought on a more general action than general Jourdan at first intended.

For the republicans strained every nerve to reach Wurtsburg, before the main army of the Imperialists should come up, and by forced marches arrived at Kornach, within three leagues of the town, the same day on which general Hotze had taken possession of it; and the day after, being the 2d of September, Jourdan attacked a corps under general Staray with great impetuosity, and though he succeeded in forcing some of that general's posts, yet the Austrians kept possession of their stations; and Jourdan withdrew in the evening to his camp, near Kornach, where he resolved to abide the event of a battle, and with that view posted his army in the following order.

His right wing extended to the river Mayne, a little below Wurtemberg, posted on a very commanding eminence,

eminence, in front of which, a very deep river rendered the access to it extremely difficult. The first line of his centre, occupied a long narrow wood skirting the bottom of a chain of heights; upon the ridge of those heights his second line of the centre was posted. His left wing, composed mostly of cavalry, occupied a spacious plain in the front of Kornach, but considerably thrown back, in order to be effectually supported by the first line of infantry posted in the wood; a very numerous artillery was distributed in the most essential points along his front. The division commanded by general Le Fevre, remained behind Schweinfurt, covering the great road to Fulda, and a small intermediate corps maintained the communication between this post with Jourdan's army.

The archduke halted on the 2d, in his camp of Ober Scharzbach, while a bridge was thrown over the Mayn, near Dettalbach, which was not finished until late in the evening. General Kray remained at Garotzhoffen.

Upon the 3d, soon after break of day, general Stzarry advanced and forced in the enemy's out posts; but as other two columns had a considerable march to make, and experienced much unexpected delay in passing the river, he quickly found himself engaged alone with superior numbers, and was not only compelled to relinquish the ground which he had gained, but also had much difficulty to regain his original position. At this critical instant the Archduke sent an order to general Wartensleben, to ford the river, with all his cavalry, and advance directly against the enemy's left; this judicious manœuvre had the desired effect, for Jourdan finding himself

menaced in the most essential point of his position, withdrew from his right those troops with which he was pressing general Stzarry, who thus had time to re-establish himself in his post.

The Austrian cavalry now charged the enemy's left wing, and drove it from its position, retiring behind the wood, where the Imperialists were exposed to a heavy fire of grape-shot and musketry, which obliged them to abandon the advantage which they gained. However they made a second charge, and experienced a similar check, so that after fruitless attempts to draw the enemy out of the wood, into the plain, his royal highness resolved to wait until the remainder of general Wartensleben's column could come up, for it was evident the enemy's position upon the left, could not be forced without that reinforcement.

At length the infantry appeared, advancing from Dettelbach, and general Stzarry moving forward at the same time, a combined attack was made upon the wood, which covered the enemy's front, eight battalions of grenadiers advanced for this purpose, with great impetuosity, regardless of the marksmen, in great numbers, which annoyed them, they gained the wood without firing a shot, and drove the French in a few minutes not only from the wood, but likewise from the heights beyond it.

This signal advantage, and the appearance of general Kray's column on the right, decided the fortune of the day, for Jourdan made no attempt to recover the ground which he had lost, but began his retreat from all points of his position. This retrograde motion he conducted for some time with much regularity, for his cavalry kept a good countenance, forming repeatedly under

der the protection of their light artillery, so as to check the pursuit at first, till being much harassed by repeated charges of Austrian hussars and overpowered by a prodigious fire of artillery from the heights; their confusion became general, and nothing but the excessive fatigue which the Austrians had undergone, both in march to their posts, and during the action, together with the coming on of night, saved the French army from total destruction.

The loss of the Austrians in this action amounted at most to 800 men, among whom were no officers of distinction. That of the enemy was far more considerable, 2000 prisoners were immediately brought in, and the number of their killed and wounded could not be less; six pieces of cannon and a great number of ammunition waggon, and baggage carriages, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The day after this action, the citadel of Wurtzburg capitulated, its garrison consisting of 700 men, surrendering themselves prisoners of war. General Belmont, chief of the French artillery, was among the number. Prodigious quantities of stores, ammunition, and provisions, were found in the town and citadel; some left there by the Austrians when they quitted it, and much was collected by French requisition, from the country round about.

Upon the 5th, his royal highness advancing from his camp near Wurtzburg, pushed on a strong advanced guard under the command of general Kray, to secure a post at the mouth of the Spessart. The general arriving at Aschaffembourg, in the afternoon of the 6th, found the enemy posted to the number of 2000 men, so as to dispute the pass from the forest: after a smart

cannonade, he attacked them with much spirit, and forced them from their advantageous position. His cavalry pursued them without hesitation through the town, and dispersed them in the wood, on the other side the Mayn. Their loss on this occasion was upwards of 1000 men; 600 of whom were made prisoners.

General Jourdan after the action on the 3d, had directed his retreat to Fulda, hoping to gain the strong post of Bergen, before the Archduke could get possession of it; supposing that by the junction there of two divisions, which he had left behind in the environs of Frankfort, he might check for a season, the progress of the Austrians. With this view he arrived by forced marches at Schitiern, on the great road from Fulda to Hanau, on the evening of the 6th, but finding the Archduke was already master of Aschaffembourg, he gave up the attempt, and turning to the right, directed his march across the Volgsberg, towards Wetzlar, where he endeavoured to assemble his army.

At this time the republicans were in a state of the utmost confusion and despondence. A great part of the infantry had thrown away their arms, and were almost naked, and their retreat seemed to be a tumultuous flight, without any semblance of order. Excessive fatigue had in all probability destroyed more than the sword, and the continual dread they entertained, that the peasantry in general would rise upon them, in the districts which they had to traverse, and retaliate the injuries which they had suffered from French fraternization and ferocity, rendered them deaf to the command of their officers. In short, the loss which Jourdan had suffered, from the time

time when he passed the Lhan, could not be estimated at less than 20,000 men; and this was likely to be increased daily, by desertion and massacre of his straggling parties, in that ruinous condition of his army.

Upon the 1st and 2d of this month, general Moreau attempted to make himself master of the bridge over the Yser at Munich; but after an action which continued for two days, he was repulsed with great loss by the prince of Furstenberg. In the mean time, general La Tour having formed a junction with the corps of general Nauendorf, attacked the left wing of the French, and drove it before him six leagues; but, in the environs of Langenbenche, the enemy received considerable reinforcements, and took a position so advantageous, that, after several fruitless attacks, general La Tour judged it most expedient to withdraw to his original post behind the Yser, having succeeded in the chief object of his operation, to weaken the enemy's attack on the prince of Furstenberg.

On the 16th of September, the Archduke advanced against the front of the enemy's position, while general Neu, from Kinberg, turned it. The French seeing themselves in danger of being cut off, abandoned the heights with precipitation, and were closely pursued till they took shelter behind the Lhan, leaving the possession of Diotz and Limbourg to the Imperialists; and on the 20th, general Hotze had a serious conflict with the enemy's rear-guard, near Hostenbach, which ended entirely in favour of the Austrians. Moreau, general of division, distinguished in the French army for activity and enterprise, was wounded and taken prisoner; his two adjutants shared the same fate,

and his adjutant general lay dead on the field. A considerable number of officers and private men were likewise brought in; so that by the 23d, the state of that army which Moreau had commanded was such, that no farther apprehension was entertained for the whole circle of Franconia, nor a great part of Suabia. General Nauendorf having, by different movements, obtained in those circles a decided superiority of position over that of the enemy, and Moreau's army in the environs of Donawert, Augsburgh, and Ulm, was in such confusion and terror, that they had no resource left, but to effect their retreat as soon as possible over the Rhine; so fatal to the French armies, as to occasion a common saying, that they never cross it but to be driven back over it with disgrace.

The Austrians, by different movements, in the course of September to the beginning of October, had taken possession of the mountains in the black forest, where the Danube takes its source, and some other rivulets, which, running westward to the Rhine, form the only passes by which an army can descend from those mountains into the Brisgau. General Moreau had, therefore, no alternative but either to attack general Petrach and Nauendorf, in order to gain the Val de Enfer, which descends from the Brisgau by Freyburg, or to retreat by the forest towns and Switzerland; but finding he was closely pursued by general La Tour, he endeavoured, by a vigorous attack on that general, to give him a check, by which he might gain time sufficient to effect his retreat without loss. Accordingly, on the 30th of September, when general La Tour's advanced guard and general Mercantine's columns were in march, they were attacked

tacked near Steinhausen, by three divisions of Moreau's army. An obstinate engagement took place; but as general La Tour moved on to support his advanced guard, the enemy was repulsed with considerable loss, and the Austrians maintained their position.

The advanced guard of general Mercantini's column, and the prince of Conde's corps, commanded by the duke de Engheim, suffered principally in this action, where the duke's conduct and that of his whole corps, was extremely commendable.

On the 1st of October, large bodies of the republicans continued to retreat, and arriving at Shaffhausen, were disarmed, and sent through the cantons of Zurich, Berne, and Soleure, to Basle. The Switzers could not then be certain in what point the rout had taken place; but fugitives continued to arrive in great numbers, some of them having come even from Moreau's head-quarters, which they had left on the 21st at Ulm.

On the 2d of October, Moreau finding his retreat precluded through the black forest, and being continually harassed in his rear by the Austrians, saw the necessity of risking a general action to extricate his army from the difficulties which surrounded it; and early in the morning, his left wing crossed the Danube at Roidlingheim, then recrossing it at Munderkingen, attacked and defeated a corps which La Tour had posted between the Feder See and the river. When he was assured that his left had succeeded, he then advanced from Scussonried to attack general La Tour in front; and an action commenced, which continued for six hours with great obstinacy, till general La Tour, finding his right flank

uncovered and his rear menaced, was constrained to abandon his position and retire; at first beyond the Riss, and ultimately beyond the Rothambach. His retreat was covered by a corps of Conde, with great steadiness and bravery. General Moreau thus gained time to retreat more leisurely, and continued his march on the 5th with the main body of his army, by the rout of Stockbach.

General Hotze commanded a corps of light troops, which passed the Rhine at Mannheim on the 2d, and pushed on his parties to Weisenbourg, Seltz, Hagnenan, and almost to the gates of Strasburgh, in one direction; to Kesslerlautern and Baumholdet on another; where he had so far retaliated on the French, as to levy contributions, take hostages for the prompt payment of them, and spread the utmost consternation over the whole country. The apprehensions excited by the advance and success of this corps, were such, that the republican troops which had been left to guard Mentz, were withdrawn to garrison Landau.

General Moreau lost no time in profiting by the advantage he had gained in the attack of general La Tour; but passed with his whole army through the Val de Enfer, arriving on the 13th at Fribourg; the next day, he took a position at Waldkirch, and his posts extended along the heights on the right bank of the Eltz. This menacing movement determined the Archduke to give up an attack upon Kehl, which he had meditated; and leaving a sufficient corps to strengthen that place, he marched on the 16th to Malborgen, and took immediate command of the army under general La Tour.

Upon the 19th of October, he attacked the enemy, and after a severe combat,

combat, carried all their positions on the right bank of the Eltz. Troops destined for this operation, marched from the camp near Kentzingen before day-break; but such were the difficulties of the ground, and badness of the roads, that it was near 11 o'clock before they reached the different points at which they were to assemble. They were then distributed into three several columns. That on the right, under general La Tour, was destined to attack the village of Kindringen. The centre column, under general Wartensleben, was to carry the heights behind Maltertingen. That on the left, under general Petrarsch, was to proceed along the road from Heimbarch, toward Emendingen; while major-general Merfield, with one brigade, attacked the woods upon his left; and prince Ferdinand of Orange with another brigade, endeavoured to pass over the highest part of the mountains, so as to turn the right of the enemy. General Nauendorf, from Elkach, had orders at the same instant to attack the post of Waldkirch.

The action commenced about noon, when that column on the right experienced a most obstinate resistance, being repeatedly repulsed in the attack of Kentzingen, and its success remained for some time doubtful; when the Archduke putting himself at the head of the grenadiers, they returned with fury to the charge, and drove the enemy with great loss from the village. But major-general Merfield had no little difficulty in gaining the wood above Keimbach, as the ground was very favourable to his opponents, and was only given up inch by inch; nor was it forced from them till the prince of Orange, after a most laborious march through a country most difficult for

troops to penetrate, appeared with his brigade in the open ground above Emendingen, and began to attack the French right flank, when the victory became decisive; insomuch, that the enemy repassed the Eltz at Emendingen and Denningen, destroying the bridges to cover their retreat on that side. General Nauendorf, in the mean time, had been no less successful towards Waldkirchen; for though at the instant when his column was assembled, he was attacked by a large body which general Moreau commanded in person, he not only repulsed, but drove him beyond Waldkirchen, taking possession of that post, and the passage of that river. Upon this occasion, three battalions of the republicans were surrounded, one of which laid down their arms, and the other two dispersed in the woods.

Early in the morning on the 20th, the Imperial army crossed the Eltz at Emendingen, and found that the enemy had taken a position immediately behind the village of Dentzlingen; with their right extended to the mountains, and their left to marshy ground, beyond the village of Verstelten. The Archduke determined upon an immediate attack; and for that purpose, ordered general La Tour, with the right wing, to cross the Eltz at Denningen, while he with the left, and a corps under general Nauendorf, marched along the plains towards Fribourg. An advanced guard of the Archduke's column dislodged the enemy from Dentzlingen without difficulty; but general La Tour met with considerable opposition, and was obliged to re-establish the bridge of Denningen, under fire of the enemy's artillery; so that it was evening before he could force a passage across the river, which determined the Archduke

archduke not to engage farther with only part of the army present, but he waited during the night within half cannon shot of the French advanced posts, with an intent of renewing the action early in the morning. And they not waiting for the attack, retired during the night with the main body, and their rear guard followed at day-break. A small corps only took the rout of Brisach, passing the Rhine, and destroying the bridge there. The rest of the army marched upon Hunningen; and had, by report, established a large fortified head of a bridge there. During these operations of the main army, the corps under the prince of Conde and general Frolich were extremely active in the mountains. On the 18th, the prince of Conde forced the enemy, with considerable loss, from the strong posts of Saint Megers and Saint Peter, in the valley of that name; and general Frolich forced them from some of the most important passes in the Val de Enfer. On the 19th and 20th, they continued to drive the republicans before them; and on the 27th, in the morning, they appeared descending from the mountains above Fribourg, just as the archduke's vanguard entered that town; whence they contributed much toward pressing the enemy's rear, who had lost by this time several pieces of cannon, and 2000 prisoners. Their number of killed and wounded could not be estimated at a less amount.

On the 24th, the archduke attacked general Moreau's army in the formidable position of Schillingen, with so much success, that he was obliged to quit it that night, and retreat toward his strong fortified head of the bridge near Hunningen; and notwithstanding the victory which the archduke had gained, that general determined, con-

trary to all expectation, by another effort to maintain himself on the right bank of the Rhine, in such a manner as to defer, while it was possible, his passage over that river. For this purpose he took the position near Schillingen, in a post of uncommon strength, so formidable, that its situation alone could induce him to risque an action, without exposing his army to utter destruction. From the description of this situation which is here subjoined, an idea may be formed of the difficulties to be surmounted in the attack, to force the republicans from such a formidable post.

The flat country, which extending from the Mayne to within two German miles from Basle, separates the mountains of Franconia and Suabia from the Rhine, becomes to the southward of Mulheim, almost a regular oblong square, about an English mile and half in breadth, at the south-east angle of this square, the village of Schillingen is situated. This plain is bounded by a rivulet, which, rising at the foot of a high mountain, called Hoher Blaun, near the village of Sitzenkirchen, runs to Ober Echenheim, and from thence in a western direction to the Rhine, at Steinstadt. At Schillingen, the hills skirting this rivulet are steep, and were covered with vineyards; but they turn suddenly northward, and run in that direction to Mulheim, from the eastern boundary of the plain; while the heights on the left bank of the rivulet are very high, commanding, and continue even to the Rhine, where they terminate abruptly. Not far from the source of the rivulet above-mentioned there rises another, which taking an opposite course to the other south-easterly, passes through Sitzenkirchen, and at the village of Candern, falls

falls into the rivulet of that name, which running south and south-west for a considerable distance, forms a very deep and almost unpassable ravine, discharging its contents in the Rhine, six or seven English miles from Steinstadt. A third rivulet, rising about an English mile to the westward of Candern, runs in nearly a parallel direction to the latter above described, and falls into the Rhine, a little below the mouth of Candern. Between the heads of the deep ravine above-mentioned, is a chain of high rugged hills, covered with very thick woods. In this situation, almost unattackable, the right wing of Moreau's army was posted. The corps which covered the extremity of it occupied Candern, Sitzenkirchen, and the surrounding heights, from whence the line proceeded along the hills above Ober, Neider, Echenheim, Liel, Schillingen, and Steinstadt, all of which places were strongly occupied, and the left flank of the enemy came quite to the Rhine, where that river runs close under the heights of Steinstadt, and advanced before the centre of his army; Moreau had a very strong body of infantry on the heights, and in the vineyards between Schillingen and Felberg. About an English mile in the rear of the central position, was the village of Tannenkirch; between it and Liel, is the highest ground of the whole position, and from Tannenkirch, the ground declines towards the ravine, where Riedlingen is situated, so that if the right wing was driven from the very strong ground on which it was posted, by falling back to the heights of Tannenkirch, it would gain another strong situation, not indeed so connected with the left wing, between Schillingen and Steinstadt, but well secured by the

high and almost unattackable hill, between Tannenkirch and Liel.

An attempt to force Moreau out of this position, by marching a very strong column through the mountains, on the left bank of the Candern, and through Wisenthal, so as the communication of the republicans with their bridge at Hunningen, might have been threatened, would have been too tedious an operation, and attended with the greatest difficulty, as the roads were rendered bad by the rains. The archduke, therefore, resolved to attack Moreau's right wing, and, if possible, to dislodge it from the hills, where it was so strongly posted; upon the success of this attack, he intended, if the republicans still persevered in maintaining their position, to have proceeded on the next day to attack them, on the heights behind the ravine of Riedlingen. The attempt was considered to be perilous in the extreme, but every exertion was expected from the spirit of the imperialists, and the gallant examples they had given on the most trying occasions, with the instances of courage and ability shewn by the archduke while he commanded, had filled the troops with a degree of confidence, in an attachment to his royal highness, which was carried up to enthusiasm.

The preparations for the attack were as follow: The Austrians were divided into four principal columns, the first on the right, consisted of the prince of Conde's corps, commanded by himself; the advanced guard of which was led by the duke de Enguien: the second column consisted of nine battalions and twenty-six squadrons, led by the prince of Furstenberg: the third consisted of eleven battalions and a brigade of cavalry, under general La

Tour: the fourth column consisted of the whole advanced guard, commanded by general Nauendorf. The two first columns were to employ Moreau, so as to hinder him from detaching considerably out of his left wing, but not so as to attack the main position of it; the ground from Sitzengen to the Rhine, being too strong for such a manœuvre. The third and fourth columns were to make the real attack on the French right wing, and endeavour to get round its flank. The prince of Conde's column assembled at Neuburgh, and advanced to Steinstadt, which village they attacked and carried, maintaining it with great firmness the whole day, though entirely commanded by the left of the enemy's position. The prince of Furstenburg's column assembled at Mulheim, and advanced to Schillingen, then took possession of the heights opposite the enemy's position beyond Schillingen, and maintained them under a severe cannonade. General La Tour's column marched from Vogesheim through Feldberg, then the right of it attacked the French in the vineyards, between Feldberg and Schillingen, while the left drove them out of Eckengheim, then passed the ravine, and attacked the woody hills behind it. The nature of the ground was such, that both these attacks met with the most obstinate resistance, but at length the right of this column succeeded in forcing the enemy to quit the vineyards, and retire behind Liel; while the left of it, after driving them out of a great part of the wood, took a position with its right flank to Nieder Eckenheim, and its left extending towards Petterbuch. General Nauendorf's column had preceded general La Tour's, as far as Feldberg, from whence it took to the

left, along the foot of the mountain, where the castle of Burgleim stands; it then divided into several columns, one of these attacked the village of Sitzenkirchen, and after carrying it, descended by the ravines above described, toward Candern. Another column, of more considerable force, was commanded by general Nauendorf in person, being to the left of the former. He attacked the strong heights, situated between the ravine of Sitzenkirchen and that of the Candern, gaining possession of them after much opposition; he arrived immediately above the town of Candern. Another column, being the third, under general Morefield, composed of light infantry and hussars, drove the enemy from the heights, which were strong and woody, to the right of Sitzenkirchen, and took possession of all the high ground, between Candern and Feverbach, which forms a part of the chain, running between the heads of the ravine; and is connected with the high mountain between Tannenkirch and Liel; by means whereof general Morefield was able to establish a communication with general La Tour's left. The French were now driven from the village of Candern; but general Nauendorf's corps having been on march all night, owing to the badness of the roads, rendered almost unpassable in the mountains, had not been able to commence their attack until two in the afternoon, when all succeeded as before-mentioned. But a thick mist, followed by a violent storm, which continued till dark, put an end to this action, when the operations of that day had completely prepared for the attack of Tannenkirchen on the next; which the enemy foreseeing, did not choose to await it, but retreated in the night,

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and on the 27th, crossed the Rhine at Hunningen.

Upon the French army's recrossing this river, the fortress of Khel was invested, and the trenches opened before it, upon the right bank of the Kinsig, on the 22d of November; some attempts were made by the French to raise the siege, with no great effect, and Khel was surrendered to the Imperialists on the 10th of January; after a siege of forty-nine days. But the fortune of war in Italy, where Buonaparte commanded, was against them, during the course of 1797, and continued till the surrender of Mantua.

The public business in the British house of commons, had been so frequently interrupted, by motions for making peace with France, that lord Malmsbury was sent to Paris for the purpose of negotiation, who being required to specify, by name, the objects of mutual concession, at last produced the following terms, proposed by the British cabinet.

The principle already established between the two governments, as the basis of negociation, is founded on restitutions to be made by his Britannic majesty to France, in compensation of the arrangements to which that power may consent in order to satisfy the just pretensions of the allies of that king, and preserve the political balance of Europe.

In order to accomplish those objects in a manner the most complete, and to offer a fresh proof of his majesty's sincere wish for the re-establishment of general tranquillity; his majesty would propose that there should be given to this principle, on each side, all the latitude of which it may be susceptible.

His majesty demands, therefore,

I. The restitution to his majesty the emperor and king, of all his dominions in the state as before the war.

Secondly, The re-establishment of peace between the Germanic empire and France, by a suitable arrangement, conformable to the respective interests, and the general peace of Europe.— This arrangement to be negotiated with his Imperial majesty, as constitutional head of the empire, either by intervention of the king, or immediately as his Imperial majesty shall prefer.

Thirdly, The evacuation of Italy by the French troops, with an engagement not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country, which should be re-established, as far as possible, in the state it was before the war.

In the course of the negotiation, a more decided discussion may be entered into of the farther measures, which it may be proper to adopt, respecting the objects of these three articles, in order to the providing effectually for the future security of the respective limits and possessions, and for the maintenance of general tranquillity.

II. With regard to the other allies of his Britannic majesty, his majesty demands, that there be reserved to her majesty the empress of all the Russias, a full and unlimited power of taking part in the negotiation, whenever she may think fit, or of acceding to the definitive treaty, and thereby returning to a state of peace with France.

III. His majesty also demands, that her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal, may be comprehended in this negotiation, and may return to a state of peace with France, without any cession or burthensome condition on either side.

IV. On

IV. On these conditions, his majesty offers to France the entire and unreserved restitution of all the conquests he has made on that power, in the East and West Indies, proposing at the same time, that a mutual understanding should be established as to the means of securing for the future, the tranquillity of the two nations, and for consolidating, as much as possible, the advantages of their respective possessions. His majesty offers in like manner the restitution of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and of the fishery of Newfoundland in the state as before the war.

V. In all cases of cessions or restitutions which may come in question, in the course of this negotiation, there should be granted on each side, to all individuals, the most unlimited right to withdraw with their families and property, and to sell their land or other immoveable possession; and adequate arrangements should also be made in the course of this negotiation, for the removal of all sequestrations, and for the satisfaction of all just claims, which individuals on either side may have upon the respective governments.

(Signed)

MALMSBURY.

To this open avowal of what the British court had to propose, the French minister De La Croix, returned this short unsatisfactory answer.

The undersigned, minister for foreign affairs, is charged by the executive directory, to answer lord Malmsbury's two notes, of the 27th and 29th Frimaire; that the executive directory will listen to no proposals contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties which bind the republic; and as lord Malmsbury announces in every

communication, that he is in want of the advice of his court, from it results that he acts a part merely passive in the negotiation, which renders his presence at Paris useless. The undersigned is farther charged, to give him notice to depart from Paris in forty-eight hours, with all the persons who have accompanied and followed him, and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic. The undersigned declares moreover, in the name of the executive directory, that if the British nation is desirous of peace, the executive directory is ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers.

(Signed)

CH. DE LA CROIX.

This peremptory order of the French directory, that lord Malmsbury should quit Paris, with his suite, in the space of forty-eight hours, together with the weak pretence upon which that order was grounded, by representing lord Malmsbury as only a passive instrument in the negotiation, because he had waited in the course of it for instructions from the British court, gives us a new phenomenon in politics, which never occurred before in any negotiation between states independent of each other. Lord Malmsbury had been urged to give in ultimate proposals from his court, which he had received and presented as their accredited minister: so far from being passive in this case, he actually exhibited final proposals as the basis of future proceedings: and no species of chicanery could furnish the shadow of a pretence to consider him as a passive instrument in the business. The pretence too of considering him as

as such, was equally applicable to De la Croix, who was certainly the passive instrument of communicating the answer and order of the directory to the British ambassador, with this remarkable difference, that he could know the sentiments of the directory much sooner than lord Malmsbury those of the British court. The conclusion of this abrupt affair is more preposterous than the premises, for if lord Malmsbury's communication was judged by the directory a proper basis for continuing the negotiation, by the intervention of couriers, De la Croix being herein only the passive instrument of communication; how could the sending of couriers reciprocally forward the negotiation, all of whom, though carriers of dispatches only, must have been equally accredited by both governments, and furnished with full powers to treat concerning their respective interests, or they might have been rejected as no more than passive instruments?

This peremptory conclusion of the affair was laid before the house of commons, where the members who had proposed treating of peace, were in some degree silenced by the insolent treatment and hasty dismissal of lord Malmsbury; nothing remained to keep the opposition in countenance but the contemptible exhibition of a caricature print published on the occasion, where lord Malmsbury is represented as lord Mum, intimating that he had been a dumb negotiator, when the final proposals of the British court had been plainly and ultimately stated by him, in such a manner as to evince to all the world the sincerity of the British cabinet in treating for peace.

In the short space of five days from lord Malmsbury's hasty dismissal, a

French fleet, consisting of eight ships, two deckers, and nine others of different classes, anchored in Bantry Bay, Ireland; which circumstance, together with their encouragement of the rebellion exciting there, by their avowed partizans, was a full proof that they were not seriously disposed to make peace. This fleet remained in Bantry Bay till the evening of the 27th, when they quitted that station, not having attempted to land. From their first appearance, general Dalrymple, commanding officer of that district, collected a considerable force to repel the enemy if they should attempt a landing.

The yeomanry and volunteer corps displayed the utmost zeal and alacrity in undertaking the guards, at those places, from whence the regular troops were withdrawn, and the general readiness of all ranks to forward the preparations for defence, left no doubt of the event, in case the French had ventured to land. In particular, the spirit, activity, and exertion of Richard White, Esq. of Seafeld-Park, deserved the highest commendation.

The weather during their stay, and when they left the bay, was tempestuous, and an officer with seven men being driven on shore in a boat, were made prisoners. The officer was conveyed to Dublin, and upon his examination stated, that the fleet consisted in all of about 50 sail on leaving Brest, having an army of 25,000 men on board, commanded by general Hoche, destined for a descent upon Ireland.

In the beginning of January, part of the French fleet appeared again in Bantry Bay, and a farther part had been seen off the Shannon, but both divisions quitted their stations and put to sea on the 2d of that month, and never attempted a landing.

The

The dispositions of the people where the troops assembled to oppose a landing of the French, were as favourable as possible, and the greatest loyalty was manifested throughout the kingdom. In the south and west, where the troops were in motion, they were met by people of all descriptions, with provisions and accommodations, to facilitate their march, and every demonstration was given of zeal and order, to oppose the enemy, in places where it could be supposed a descent might be attempted.

While this was yet to be attempted, captain Lumsdale, of the *Polyphemus*, one of vice admiral Kingsmill's squadron, took and brought into Cork, *La Tortue*, a French frigate, of 44 guns, 625 men, including the troops on board. He also captured a large transport, full of troops, which being very leaky, and a stormy night coming on, captain Lumsdale was prevented from securing, but from many signals of distress made by her, and the captain's inability to render any assistance, he had every reason to apprehend must have gone down during the night.—The prisoners captured on board *La Tortue* informed him, the *La Scœvola*, another large French frigate, had recently foundered at sea, and all her crew perished.

Nothing could exceed the ardour of the troops to march and engage the enemy, both regulars and militia, so that if a landing had taken place, they would doubtless have displayed the utmost fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim were ordered upon service, the whole regiment to a man turned out, with the greatest eagerness, to march; and the Downshire regiment declared to a man, they would stand or fall by their officers.

When the army was to march, the

weather was extremely severe, a proportion of spirits was therefore ordered them on their rout, and four-pence a day to be paid to their wives till their return; and during their march, the utmost attention was paid to accommodate them, by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed; so that in many places the provisions prepared for them were not consumed. Roads which in some parts the snow had rendered unpassable, were cleared by the peasantry; poor people shared their potatoes with them, and dressed their meat without any demand of payment. A very particular instance of this kind occurred in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or capital farmer resided to set them an example. At Carlow, a considerable subscription was made for the troops as they passed on; at Limerick and Cork, every exertion was made to facilitate the conveyance of artillery and baggage, by giving premiums to the carmen. In the town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a garrison much too scanty, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants made up that deficiency.

Government derived the most effectual assistance from armed yeomanry; noblemen and gentry of the first rank and property vied in exerting themselves at the head of their corps; much of the escort duty was performed by them. In Cork, Limerick, and Galway, they took garrison duty. The Dublin merchants, many of the first eminence, marched 16 Irish miles with a convoy of arms to the north, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The number of yeomanry fully appointed, and on discipline in Dublin only, exceeded 2000, of which number 400 were horse. The number of corps approved

approved of by government was 440, exclusive of Dublin; and their gross amount was nearly 25,000 men.

Many excellent instances of loyalty have appeared. An useful impression was made upon the minds of the lower Catholics, by a judicious address from Dr. Moylan, the titular bishop of Cork. Lord Kenmare spared no expence to assist the commanding officer in his neighbourhood, and took into his own demesne a great many cattle, which had been driven from the coast. And the earl of Ormond, when his regiment was returned as part of the garrison of Dublin, solicited with such zeal and ardour a command in the flank companies, that the lord lieutenant granted his request.

Such characteristic forwardness of individuals, and even of the whole country, to repel a descent of the French, might, in some degree, prevent it, and cause the United Irish, as their partizans call themselves, to rise sooner, before their plans were perfected. For it appeared from papers which were seized, that they expected the French as their friends, at Bantry Bay; and, no doubt, had persuaded them that the whole kingdom would rise on their appearance. This in fact was the case, but not to receive them as friends: on the contrary, as enemies, whose principles and practices were held in general detestation. And the alarm spread through Ireland, proved a means of arming such a force as was necessary to crush the rebellion, which was then hatching, and very soon to burst out with a terrible explosion, so as to require all the zeal and patriotism above described to counteract it.

The Spanish island of Trinidad was surrendered on the 18th of February, 1797, to his majesty's forces, under the

command of general Abercromby and rear admiral Harvey. The fleet, with the forces destined for this service, sailed from Curiaco upon the morning of the 15th, and entered the gulph of Paria on the 16th in the afternoon, where a Spanish admiral was at anchor, with four sail of the line and a frigate, under cover of Gaspar Granda, an island which was fortified.

The British squadron worked up, and anchored opposite to, and nearly within gun-shot of the Spanish ships. The frigates and transports were ordered to anchor higher up the bay, at the distance of about five miles from the town of Port de Espagne; and the disposition was immediately made for landing the next morning, and to commence a general attack upon the town and ships of war. But at two in the morning of the 17th, the Spanish ships were perceived to be on fire, and burnt furiously, so that one line of battle ship only escaped the conflagration. This was taken possession of at day-break, by boats from the fleet, which found the enemy had evacuated the island and posts in that manner.

Thus disappointed in their expected capture of the ships, the general and admiral turned their whole attention to an attack of the town. Troops were immediately landed, and as soon as a few hundreds were on shore, about four miles westward of the town, they advanced, meeting with little or no resistance, and were masters of Port de Espagne and its environs, two small forts excepted. But in the morning a capitulation was made by the governor, Don Chacon. In consequence of this, all the Spanish troops were made prisoners of war, and the whole colony ceded to his Britannic majesty.

This acquisition was made with the loss

loss of one life only, that of lieutenant Villaneuve, of the 8th regiment of foot, who was brigade major to general Homspech, and died of his wounds; no other person being wounded. The Spanish consisted of royal artillery one captain, one lieutenant, 43 non-commissioned officers, drummers and privates; engineers, one brigadier, two captains, one subaltern; Trinidad regiment, two lieutenant colonels, two captains, 15 subalterns, one adjutant, two ensigns, one surgeon, one chaplain, with 504 non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men. One French lieutenant colonel, three captains, one subaltern, and two engineers of the same nation, surrendered; and there were 50 men sick in the general hospital.

The naval officers, with their crews, which surrendered, were, the chief de escadre, one brigadier, five captains of line of battle ships, three captains of frigates, seven lieutenants of the line, 74 officers of other descriptions, making in the whole 91 officers, with 581 marines, and 1032 seamen, making upon the whole 1613 seamen and marines. A large quantity of stores were found; among other articles, entrenching tools sufficient for 500 men. The ordnance, ammunition, &c. captured were, 32 large brass cannon, 46 iron ditto, 17,600 loose round shot, 68,600 loose iron balls, 1470 canvas cartridges, 88 barrels of powder 100 weight each, 78,518 musket cartridges, 3225 muskets with steel ramrods and bayonets, 142,000 musket flints, with cartouch boxes, spades, hoes, and a suitable proportion of side-arms, besides small ordnance articles. The provisions consisted of 631 whole barrels of American flour, 59 half barrels ditto, with 154 tierces of rice. The Spanish ships of war were, the San Vincent, of 84 guns,

(Admiral's ship) burnt; the Guillard, of 74 guns, burnt; the Arrogante, of 74 guns, burnt; the San Damasco, of 74 guns, brought off by boats from the British squadron. The Santa Casella frigate, of 32 guns, also burnt.

The island of Trinidad is one of the Antillas, situated at the south-western entrance of the Mexican gulph, opposite to the main land, and New Andalusia, at the north of the great river Oroonoco, where it disembogues itself into the sea. The soil is very fertile, but the population very inconsiderable. The interior part of it is covered with extensive forests of trees, enormous for their bulk; one kind of which is so large, that canoes capable of containing 40 men, have been made of one log only. From this tree, planks have been procured very useful in ship-building. The soil naturally produces maize, and useful vegetables, with a great variety of fruits. Fish and game are plentiful. It is owing to this exceeding great plenty that the few inhabitants are indolent, being so averse to employment, as to import American flour and rice, for provision to their garrison and shipping, when the natural produce of the soil might be more than sufficient, if any labour and care was expended either in gathering in the fruits, or clearing the ground of this fertile island, which is 75 miles in length, and 55 in breadth. The capital is called San Joseph. The island was discovered by Columbus, so early as 1498; but the court of Madrid paid no attention to it, till the year 1535. It has never experienced such hurricanes as desolate the Carribees, or what are termed by us the West India islands.

The climate is by no means so unhealthy as its situation near the equator might be supposed. Being subject

to frequent rains, from the middle of May to the end of October, the drought of the remaining part of the year is no great inconvenience, because the country is well watered, though without navigable rivers. Earthquakes are rather frequent, but are never calamitous. Mountains cover one third of its surface; the other parts are in general susceptible of a plentiful produce on cultivation. What may be considered as the most valuable circumstance of this acquisition to Britain, is this, that the western coast of Trinidad offers a fine road for shipping of considerable depth, and so capacious, that the largest fleet may anchor there, and lie in perfect safety through every season of the year.

Numerous were the prizes captured from the enemies of Britain in the course of this year, 1797; for being then at war with Spain and the Dutch, as well as France, our cruisers had been multiplied, and enjoyed a more extensive range, for their operations. We shall give a succinct account of their success in making captures, observing the dates of each in order as they took place.

The *Magicienne*, under the orders of admiral Harvey, in the West Indies, captured the French corvette called *La Cerf Volant*, with delegates on board, from the southern department of Saint Domingo to the legislative body, and concealed dispatches to the directory; also the French corvette *L'Africane*, of 18 guns, and 99 men, was captured. The *Resource* and *Mermaid*, under orders of rear admiral sir Hyde Parker, stationed at Jamaica, captured off Saint Domingo a French brig called *Le Gen. Levean*, of 16 guns, and 80 men; also a Dutch brig and Spanish schooner. The Dutch brig had several thousand

dollars on board, and a valuable cargo of dry goods. The Spanish vessel was laden with hides. Rear admiral Harvey's squadron likewise detained twelve Spanish vessels, and recaptured eight.

Captain Barton, in his majesty's ship the *Lapwing*, captured off Montserrat a French privateer called the *Maria Topaze*, of 10 guns, and 68 men, belonging to Guadaloupe. And captain Fellows, in his majesty's ship the *Alarm*, captured the *Galo* Spanish brigantine, carrying 18 six-pounder guns, six swivels, and 124 men, bound to Trinidad, and having on board 80,335 dollars, and some provisions for the island.

On the 7th of January, his majesty's ship *Bellona*, took the French schooner privateer *La Legere*, of six guns, and 48 men, to windward of Desiada; and, in company with the *Babet*, drove another and a brig on shore on that island. Captain Witman, in the *Suffisante*, captured off the Start the French privateer *La Buonaparte*, of 14 guns.—Two other privateers were then captured in the West Indies. The *Greyhound* revenue cutter also captured a new French cutter privateer on the 22d of March, from Havre three days, but had taken nothing. Captain Kent, of the *Dover* armed transport, took a Spanish brig on the 13th of February. She was called the *Magulanes*, bound to Buenos Ayres with dispatches, pierced for 18 guns, a very fine copper-bottomed vessel. His majesty's ships *Jupiter* and *Sceptre*, cruising off the Mauritius, captured three small vessels. The *Crescent*, *Brave*, and *Spynx*, were detached from the Cape of Good Hope to look into Foul-point and Augustine bay. They returned on the 13th of January, having captured five vessels, and destroyed the French settlement at Foul-

Foul-point in Madagascar, where they had a large depot of stores for trading with the natives, which must greatly distress the enemy, as the island of Mauritius draws a principal supply of provisions from that place. In April, lieutenant Elliot, of the Plymouth armed lugger, captured *Le Amitie*, a French privateer of fourteen guns, six of which they had thrown over-board. And about the same time, the Spitfire sloop of war took the *Bons Amis*, formerly the *Endeavour*, of Fowey: this privateer carried 6 guns, and 32 men. Lieutenant Sharp, in the Dover cutter, also captured the *Gard de Loup*, a French cutter privateer, with two three-pounders, some swivels, and 28 men. January the 8th, the *Zephyr*, being part of a convoy at sea, was permitted by the commodore to chase a strange brig, which captain Laurie, her commander, took and brought into the convoy. She proved to be the *Refleche* privateer, of 12 guns, and 67 men, out thirty-three days from Bayonne, on her first cruize, quite new, victualled for two months, and equipped completely.

Captain Digby, of the *Aurora*, took in March the *Neptune* French privateer, of 16 guns, and 90 men. And Captain Bligh, of the *Kingfisher* sloop, captured the French privateer *Le general* of 14 guns, and 104 men. The *Neptune* had taken the brig *Swift*, of Plymouth, and a brig from Liverpool, with a ransom on board for £1500 sterling. The *Nancy* revenue cutter, with only ten men on board, and one swivel gun, took the French privateer *Daphne*, of Cherbourg, 33 tons, with two carriage and two swivel guns, and 25 men: she was marked on the stern, "Vigilant, of Guernsey;" a deception then frequent, to draw

British trading vessels within the reach of such contemptible cruizers' guns.

The *Spitfire*, captain Seymour, took and carried into Plymouth, *L'Amiable* *Nanette*, a French privateer of Nantz, mounting 14 guns, with 69 men; and the *Trompeuse* schooner, of six guns, and 40 men, from Morlaix. Captain Martin, of the *Irresistible*, in company with the *Emerald*, captured in Cancale Bay, near Trafalgar, the *Elona* and *Ninfa*, two Spanish frigates, carrying 36 guns, and 320 men each. Captain Morris, of the *Boston*, captured, off Cape Finisterre, *L'Enfant de la Patrie*, a French privateer, of 16 guns, and 120 men. Also, lieutenant Dent, in the *Spider* schooner, brought into Plymouth the *Filibustier* French privateer, of 14 guns, and 70 men. Captain White, of the *Vestal* frigate, captured the *Jalouse* national corvette, of 20 guns, 16 mounted, with 153 men. A small squadron, under Sir Edward Pellew, captured the French ship *La Nouvelle Eugenie*, of 16 guns, and 120 men; also *Le Basque* French privateer, of 8 guns, and 50 men. Captain Halstead, in the *Phoenix*, took the *Le Epiegle* French lugger, and retook a brig, her prize, near Waterford. And Captain Drew, in the *Cerberus*, upon his return from convoying the Newfoundland and West India fleets, captured *La Dunkerquoise* French ship of war, mounting 18 guns, with 100 men.

To these captures in April may be added the destruction of the *Harmonie*, a French frigate, of 44 guns, in Mestique-Bay, by her crew, who ran her on shore and set her on fire, to hinder the capture of that ship by the *Thunderer* and *Valiant*, under the orders of admiral Sir Hyde Parker, in the West-Indies, who sent those ships to cut her out,

out, if they could discover her, as she had been forced out by the directory, to convoy a number of American vessels, laden with provisions, which their privateers had captured, to Cape Francois. Upon this information, the admiral caused the road of Jean Rabel to be examined; and finding fourteen vessels of that description were there, he ordered captain Pigot, of the *Hermione*, in conjunction with the *Mermaid*, to fall in with the *Drake* and *Penelope*, which joined them, together with the *Quebec*, at sun-set, on the 19th of April.

Captain Pigot as commodore, finding the wind very light, and a current setting against them, judged that the ships could not gain the road of Jean Rabel before day-light, stood off the land till three in the afternoon of the 20th, to prevent any suspicion of his design, and determined to bring off the vessels with boats by surprize in the night. The several captains made preparations for that purpose, and stood in with a proportion of sail, so as to be close in shore to the eastward of the road, before the land-wind came off. This manœuvre succeeded to captain Pigot's wish, and the ships kept running down westward, until they were about two miles from the road, where the captured vessels lay; the boats were then sent in with directions to keep close in shore, till they could discover them, it being then dark, so that they could not be seen from the frigates, which followed them under an easy sail, keeping about a mile from the shore, to draw the enemy's attention off from the attempt of the boats. About one of the clock at night, captain Pigot perceived by a fire of musquetry, that the boats were discovered, but not before they had

many of the vessels in possession, and one of them actually under weigh. The batteries immediately opened on our frigates, and their fire was occasionally returned till four o'clock, when all the vessels were in our possession, and standing out with the land breeze, except two row-boats, so high hauled up on the beach, that they could not bring them off. The American vessels retaken, were the ship *Polly*, from Portland to the Mole, with lumber and porter; the brig *Two Sisters*, from New York to Port-au-Prince, with flour and cheese; brig *Sally*, from Philadelphia to the Mole, with bread flour; all taken off Jean Rabel, by the *Ventrouvie* privateer. The brig *Abiona*, from Baltimore to the Mole, in ballast; and schooner *Columbia*, from New Providence to Rhode Island, taken off Jean Rabel, by two row-boats, in ballast; schooner *Juno*, from New York to Port-au-Prince, with coffee, taken off Tortuga, by a privateer; schooner *Citizen Snowhill*, from Baltimore to Mariegallant, laden with flour, &c.; *Industry*, from Newhaven to the Mole, in ballast; with a sloop brought in by men belonging to the *Drake*, thought to have sailed from the Mole.

Upon the 6th of April, boats belonging to his majesty's ship *Magicienne*, entered the harbour of Cape Roxo, and finding that it was a great receptacle for French privateers, with their prizes; they captured, sunk, or burnt thirteen square-rigged vessels, all in the port, except a Danish ship. They also destroyed two batteries, at the entrance and head of the harbour, and did not lose a man in the affair.

Captain Pigot, in the *Hermione*, on the 22d of March, stood in to the passage of the island *Zachoo*, and the west

west end of Porto Rico, where he discovered a brig and several vessels at anchor, close in shore, and brought the *Hermione* to an anchor, at about half a mile distant from them, and abreast of a battery, which opened a fire on the ship, but was soon silenced by her guns. He then sent boats to take possession of the vessels, which were aground, and although a fire of small arms was kept up on them by the enemy, they brought all off but two, which they sunk. A landing then took place, to dismount and spike the guns at the batteries, and this was effected without the loss of a man. The enemy had, on his first appearance, taken away the sails from the ships and dismantled them, so that the captain ordered them to be burnt, all but the brig; they consisted of fifteen vessels, three of them French privateers, the rest their prizes.

On the 11th of March, captain Fowke, of his majesty's ship the *Swallow*, captured a contemptibly small privateer, out from Port-au-Paix four days, but had taken nothing: and the captain of his majesty's brig *Resolution*, captured another as contemptible, from Saint Maloe, and had made no capture. In the course of this month, (June) eighteen more French, two Dutch, and three Spanish privateers were taken; the greater part of the French too contemptible of force to be particularized. But an heroic action of lieutenant Hardy, is well worthy of detailing at length.

The account is given by captain Hallowell, of the *Lively*, which, in concert with the *Minerva*, stood into the road of Santa Cruz, at the island of Teneriffe; when the captains seeing an armed French brig lying in the road, agreed in opinion that she might

be cut out: and boats from both ships, with a lieutenant in each, were ordered to attempt it on the 29th of May, at night; and lieutenant Hardy, as the senior officer, had the command; but not waiting for night, he commenced a most resolute attack, at half past two in the afternoon, in which he was very gallantly supported by lieutenants Bland, Hopkins, Bushby, and Buckley, of the marines, in the *Lively's* boats, and lieutenants Gage and Mailing, in the *Minerva's* boats. These, under a smart fire of small arms from the privateer, boarded her and cut her out, almost instantly; upon which the town was alarmed, so that a most general fire commenced of artillery and musquetry, from every part of the garrison, and a large ship lying in the harbour, which continued without ceasing for an hour, during which time the men were much exposed in getting the brig under weigh and towing her out, there being little wind to favour them, but about four of the clock they got out of danger from the batteries, with *La Mutine*, a French national corvette, of 12 guns, six pounders, two thirty-six pounder carronades, with 113 men.—The ships conducted her safe to the fleet of admiral the earl of St. Vincent, lying off Cadiz; who was so pleased with the heroism of lieutenant Hardy, that he took the *Mutine* into his majesty's service, and gave Mr. Hardy the command of her, who had been wounded, with several others, in this spirited action, but none were killed. To heighten these advantages gained by his majesty's naval force, admiral Harvey transmitted home a list of fifteen vessels, captured or recaptured in the West Indies, between the 18th of March and the following months of April and May. On the same station,

tion, five French privateers were taken or destroyed, since the 25th of March; farther captures were announced of the *Ardour*, a fine new ship, out of Bayonne, carrying 16 guns, and 147 men, on the 10th of July, off Cape Clear, by the *Santa Margareta*, captain Parker; he also took the *Victorine* privateer, of Nantz, pierced for 16 guns, and manned with 82 men: a brig of six guns, and 24 men, was taken by the *Eagle*, captain Tyler, and *La Conquestados*, a privateer of 12 guns, with 75 men, was taken by the *Boston*, captain Morris. A Spanish letter of marque also, called the *San Joseph*, laden with wine, flour, and brandy, of 16 guns, and 52 men, was taken by the *Pallas*, hon. captain Curzon; and captain Honeman, in the *Tisiphone*, took, off the Dogger-bank, *Le Prospere* French privateer, of 14 guns, and 73 men. The *Magnamine* recaptured the *Charlotte*, of Liverpool, and the *Neptune*, from Nova Scotia to Greenwich. Captain Gunter, of the *Nautilus* sloop, took a Dutch privateer, of six guns, and 28 men; and captain Lake, of the *Proserpine*, captured another Dutch privateer, of 10 guns, and 50 men, with her prizes, an English ship and a brig. Captain Pearson, of the *Stork* sloop, took the *Lynx* lugger privateer, from Dunkirk, of 14 guns, and 50 men. The hon. captain De Courcey, in the *Magnamine*, captured off Cape Clear, *Le Triton* French privateer, of 10 guns, and 80 men; and captain Warren, of the *Pomone*, with a small squadron under his orders, on the 17th of July, attacked fourteen sail of vessels, under convoy, eight of which they captured; and in the latter end of July, lord Ranelagh, captain of the *Doris*, after he had retaken two valuable Brazil ships, belonging to

Portugal, chased and captured *Le Dugai Troin*, a French ship of 20 six and two 12 pounders, with 127 men.

Captain Rowley, of his majesty's ship *Unite*, captured in the beginning of October, the national corvette *Le Converti*, of 14 guns, and 90 men, with dispatches from Nantz, four days out. In the chase, she threw ten of her guns, with the dispatches, overboard. Captain O'Brien, of the *Childers* sloop, brought into Plymouth the *Furet* French privateer, pierced for 14 guns, but mounting four only, with 50 men, a remarkable fleet sailer, but had taken nothing. Captain Tyler, of the *Eagle*, in company with the *Boston*, took two French privateers of eight guns, and 50 men each; they also chased two vessels into the bay of Lax, and ordered the lugger, one of their prizes, to cut them out; one of them, laden with rice, could not be brought off; the rice was therefore taken out, and the vessel burnt; the property was Spanish, bound to Corunna. A fine copper sheathed ship privateer, of 16 guns, and 180 men, was brought into Cork, captured by his majesty's ships *Dryad* and *Doris*, she held both ships a chase of forty leagues, and had taken the *Industry* brig, from Newfoundland, bound to Lisbon, on the 17th of September, and on the 9th of October, took the brig *Commerce*, bound to Oporto, in ballast. His majesty's ships the *Boadicea* and *Anson*, on the 19th of October, took the *Zephyr* French brig privateer, of eight guns, and 70 men, new coppered, from Nantz, had made no captures. They also recaptured, on the 20th of October, the ship *Eliza*, under American colours, from London to the Cape of Good Hope; also the ship *Jenny*, from Liverpool to Virginia, taken by the

the Hazard privateer, of Rochelle, after a defence which did honour to her captain and crew.

Sir Edward Pellew, of the Indefatigable, on the 14th of October, captured, off Teneriffe, the French national brig Le Ranger, of 14 guns and 70 men, with dispatches to the West Indies, which were destroyed, and on the 25th, after eight hours chase, took the French privateer L'Hyenne, of 24 guns, 9 pounders, and 250 men. This ship bore down confidently on the Indefatigable, at first taking her to be a Portuguese Indiamen, but finding her mistake, made off, and carried away her fore-top-mast in the chase, or her great fleetness of sailing would have saved her; being in complete repair, and outsailing the Indefatigable; captain Pellew recommended her for his majesty's service, having been in it before as a post ship, and was in fact, the first ship taken of that rank in the present war. But in balance of this, no less than 109 French privateers, carrying 160 guns, were taken by the British, from January 1st to August 1st in this year, 1797.

Captain Keate, in his majesty's ship Boadicea, on the 17th of November, took the Railleur, a French privateer, of 20 guns and 160 men, quite new coppered, only one day from Rochelle; he also retook a brig with a valuable cargo. Captain Drew, of the Cerberus, captured, in the beginning of November, the French privateer L'Epervier, of 20 guns, and 145 men. On the 13th, he recaptured the Adelpia, from Quebec to London, prize to the above ship; and on the 14th, he took the Renard French privateer of 20 guns, and 189 men. Both privateers copper bottomed, quite new, and prime sailers. He also chased the Buonaparte, of 32

guns, but carried all his steering-sails and main-top-gallant-mast in chase, so that she was enabled to escape, after considerable damage from his bow-chase guns, she threw all her guns over-board, and was therefore obliged to return, for the purpose of refitting. Captain Retalick, in his majesty's sloop Le Bon Citoyenne, captured two French privateers, and two Spanish ships, in the Mediterranean; and a Spanish corvette, of 16 guns, and 74 men, was taken by a ship under orders of earl St. Vincent, on the 14th of November. An account was also sent from the Blanche, at sea, of a capture she had made of Le Courier, a French privateer, carrying 14 guns, and 90 men, taken on the 20th of November, at night, after a chase of three hours. Captain White, of his majesty's brig the Sylph, recaptured several vessels taken on the 12th of November; the French crew in them reported, that they had belonged to the Felix privateer, from Nantz, of 14 guns, which was upset in a sudden gust of wind, on the 16th of November, at night, and although not a quarter of a mile from her prize, none of her crew were saved, which consisted of 115 men, besides 20 British and American seamen, taken out of her prizes. On the 21st of November, captain Stirling, of the Jason frigate, captured off Belle-isle, La Marie, a French privateer, of 14 guns, and 60 men.

The General Wolfe merchant-ship, had been captured, but her mate, a man and boy, were left aboard, when the rest of her crew were taken into the privateer: the three left on board overpowered the French, and forced them to work the vessel into Cork. The mate's letter, giving an account of this transaction, is so singular an instance of

of blunt openness, that we shall insert it in his own words and style, thus laconically addressing his owners :

“ I have to inform you, that the General Wolfe was taken on the 19th of October, by the Gironde French privateer : all the crew, except myself, Sam Hussy, and a boy, were sent on board the privateer, and twelve Frenchmen sent on board our ship.—Gentlemen, I have the pleasure to inform you, that on the 5th of November I recaptured her, not a man killed or wounded. I made the Frenchmen work the ship as before ; the French captain I kept close confined, and on the 14th made land ; on the 18th I sent the prisoners to Kinsale.—Gentlemen, I have the ship safely moored at White Point. Dated Cove of Cork, November the 18th.”

This extraordinary instance of courage, in two men and a boy, in recovering a ship from twelve Frenchmen, induced the gentlemen at Lloyd's to subscribe ten guineas to each of them, independent of any advantage which might accrue to them by the recapture.

A recapture was made about the same time, by part of the crew of a French privateer ; not so much by their courage, as by the artful contrivance of Carron, the French surgeon, who had been left on board by the humanity of the captors, to take care of some men that were wounded. The case was this : The Nymph frigate, being on cruise, had destroyed, on the 14th of November, three French brigs, part of a convoy, near Bourdeaux, and captured the Voltigeur privateer, of 14 guns, and 100 men. The surgeon being left on board for the reason before-mentioned, with part of her crew, took the advantage which a gust of wind offered to prevent the near approach of the Naiad, and manifested an

intention of retaking the privateer.—The English apprehending such an attempt, confined his companions, and as the frigate drew near, a shrewd trick of the surgeon could only effect the recapture : for this purpose he sent a cabin-boy to the hold with lint and bandages, and directed him to give them to four chosen men, whom he had previously instructed how to act ; those bound up their legs and came clambering up to the deck on pretence to be dressed. On their appearance, Carron attacked the prize-master, and disarmed him ; while the pretended wounded men, by their cries, blows, and threats, obliged the English to retreat for safety into the hold. The British frigate perceiving the Voltigeur's course altered, again gave chase to her, but without success, and she reached Andrine bay in safety.

The ships under rear admiral Harvey's orders, in the West Indies, captured, in August and September, seven French privateers, and took or recaptured fifteen vessels from the 25th of July to the 5th of October. Captain Faulkner, in his majesty's ship Diana, captured and sent to Cork the French privateer La Mouche, of 18 guns, and 123 men. Captain Cunningham, in the Clyde, on December the 13th, took the French privateer Success, out fifteen days from Bayonne, and had only captured an American vessel. The Dryade also captured a ship privateer, from Bourdeaux, called La Dorade, copper sheathed, with 12 guns, and 93 men on board. Captain Cunningham entrusted her to the care of a young man who had been master in the Clyde above twelve months, who, from emulation of exhibiting his abilities in conducting her, rashly put her under too great a press of sail, the melancholy

melancholy consequence of which was she upset, and himself, with a midshipman and seventeen seamen, were drowned.

Captain Barlow, of his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, discovered, on the 21st of December in the evening, a privateer, and captured her after an action which continued more than two hours. The reason why the contest was so far prolonged, proceeded from the considerable difference in point of sailing between the two ships, so that during a chace of the enemy, she considerably damaged the *Phœbe*'s masts, sails, and rigging, with the fire from her stern chace guns, and when the British were nearly in a situation to commence an attack, she was in stays for tacking, which could not be perceived from the darkness of the night, so that having gone round, it was some minutes before the *Phœbe* could tack to follow her, in which manœuvre she lost way, and was again subjected to the fire of the enemy's stern chacers, with which they were too successful in cutting up her sails and rigging; but at length, about ten at night, she came fairly along-side of the French frigate, which after a handsome resistance of three quarters of an hour, struck her colours, and proved to be the *La Neriade*, of 36 guns, twelve-pounders, on the main deck, and 8 six-pounders and 2 thirty-two pounder carronades on the quarter deck, manned with 350 men. She sailed from Rochfort fifteen days before, being victualled for four months, and had twenty men killed and fifty-five wounded in the chace and engagement. The *Phœbe* had only one seaman and two marines killed, with five seamen and five marines wounded.— Captain Sotheron, of the *Latona*, also took, on the 3d of December, the In-

trepid, French privateer, from Nantz, of 12 six-pounder guns, two eighteen-pounder carronades, one long brass gun twelve pounder, all of which were thrown over board during the chace, but the long brass gun and a six-pounder, which she fired as stern chacers, without effect, until the *Latona* came along-side, when she struck, having 82 men on board.

We have continued this account of captures by the British cruizers to the close of 1797, remarkable for the zeal and success of their commanders and crews, either employed alone, or in the fleets on different stations abroad. At home, only some dispositions to mutiny appeared on board of the ships at Spithead, Sheerness, and the Downs; a demand for the increase of wages, full allowance of provisions, and a more equitable distribution of prize-money was made, and the increased allowance lately made to the land forces urged as a reason for compliance with these demands. Murmurings and disputes broke out on these pretences in the fleet at Spithead, on Saturday the 15th of April, which appeared to have been previously concerted for some days before. In consequence of this plan, anonymous letters were addressed to the superior officers of the fleet, and to the board of admiralty, stating the hardships of seamen, and the smallness of the pay; when this dissatisfaction was manifested in a more open manner, and petitions signed by large bodies of the seamen, were presented to lord Bridport, sir Alan Gardner, the port admiral, and several officers of rank at Portsmouth. These petitions set forth, that while the marines and land forces had received allowances of bread money, and other perquisites, from the bounty

of administration, yet the pay of seamen or landmen on board the fleets, had not been augmented, though the dearth of the necessaries of life fell equally hard upon their families as upon any other part of the community. They therefore prayed for an increase of pay, and a more equal distribution of prize-money; or, till these demands were complied with, they, one and all, positively refused to weigh anchor, unless it should appear that an enemy's fleet was on the coast, or convoy for the merchant-ships should be required. They also insisted that one captain in particular, charged with cruelty and oppression, should be discharged from the fleet.

In the mean time, they carried on the most strict and systematic discipline. The captain of the fore-castle in each ship had the command of her. Sobriety was not only strictly enjoined, but intoxication and riot was punished in the most exemplary way. For this purpose, ropes were depending from the main-yards of the ships, to draw up and hang individuals charged with particular crimes, immediately on proof of them. The usual routine of duty in every ship was, in the mean time, performed by their crews in all respects, but that of weighing the anchors, when commanded by their officers. All these circumstances were communicated to government by lord Bridport's chief captain, who was sent to give an account of them.

The mutiny broke out on Saturday April 15th, as before observed; and the Tuesday following, about noon, earl Spencer, with three other lords of the admiralty, arrived at Portsmouth.—After a board had been held in admiral Parker's ship, earl Spencer and the other lords commissioners of the admi-

ralty went on board the Royal George, which was the flag-ship of lord Bridport. The noble earl, as first lord of the admiralty, expostulated with the seamen on their conduct, and informed them, that the advance of pay which they demanded, was under consideration, and would be granted, if they behaved in a manner becoming that station in which they were employed.

The sailors behaved with propriety; but were determined to carry their point, regulating every thing on board the Queen Charlotte, which was their parliament-ship: every ship at Spithead, sending thither four delegates each morning to consult of the measures to be pursued. These, their representatives took an oath not to put to sea, until their demands were complied with; unless an enemy's fleet was at sea, or a convoy wanted.

Things remained thus until the following Saturday, April the 22d. In the mean time, several papers passed between the lords of the admiralty and the delegates; but upon that day, a cabinet council was held at lord Grenville's office, Downing-street, at which the lord Chancellor, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Portland, earl Spencer, lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, and others summoned, were present. After the deliberations were over, the lord Chancellor and earl Spencer left town, for Windsor; at which place the rest of the cabinet ministers arrived by seven in the evening, where they met the king. A privy council was then held immediately, which was not over till past nine at night; when an order of council was passed under his majesty's sign manual, to which the great seal was affixed, granting pardon to the delegates who signed the petition of the seamen,



Lord Bridport.



Pro fulp

Adm. Jervis.

seamen, with assurance that their demands should be recommended to both houses of parliament, by a message from his majesty. Mr. Powel, the messenger, was instantly dispatched with the pleasing intelligence to lord Bridport, at Portsmouth. The dispatches were immediately delivered to the port admiral, who sent for lord Bridport, and the admirals Gardener, Pole, and Colpoys. After consulting for some time on the occasion, they proceeded on board the Royal George, where lord Bridport's flag was again hoisted, and a signal made for all captains; who having gone on board the admiral, the import of the dispatches was made known. Every captain returning to his ship, reported their contents; but the seamen declared, that they could give no answer till their court of delegates was consulted.

On assembling these delegates, two of them, Joyce and Glyn by name, were on shore, and the rest would not proceed without them. A boat was therefore sent for them, and they were rowed on board in as much state as if they had been admirals of the fleet.—The court being then completed, proceeded to act, and the proposals being first discussed, were finally agreed upon at half past six on Sunday evening; and as a signal of approbation, three cheers were given by the crew of the Queen Charlotte, and then went round from every ship in the fleet, in that manner testifying their consent to the proposals.

The advantages which accrued to them from these terms were, a full pardon for what was past; 5s. 6d. per month advance to the pay of petty officers and seamen, so as to make the pay of every able seamen one shilling

per day; 4s. 6d. per month advance to the pay of every ordinary seaman; and 3s. 6d. advance per month to the pay of every landman. Also that none of the allowance to marines when on shore, should be stopped on being embarked aboard any of his majesty's ships. Likewise it was promised, that all seamen, marines, and others, were to have their full allowance of provisions, without deduction for waste or leakage; and until this could be carried into full effect, short allowance money paid to the men in lieu of the deductions aforetime made. Farther it was agreed, that all men wounded in action were to have their full pay until their wounds were healed; or, being pronounced incurable, to have a pension from the chest at Chatham, or be admitted into the royal hospital at Greenwich.

Thus the disputes seemed to be happily terminated. But no notice being taken of the affair until the 8th of May, in the house of commons, this seeming neglect of the business caused a renewal of disturbances in the fleet more violent than ever.

For, in consequence of advice to the admiralty, that the Brest fleet, consisting of 18 line of battle ships, and a number of transports with troops on board, anchored in the outer roads of Brest, orders were dispatched to lord Bridport from the admiralty to put to sea immediately. Instructions to that effect reached him on Sunday morning, May 9th: his lordship made the signals to weigh in consequence, but none of the crews obeyed them. It seems they had read the late conversation in the house of lords, in which silence on the subject of their complaints and behaviour was strongly recommended by the ministry and their friends; whence

they suspected there was an intention to deceive them, and that there was no serious design of having their demands sanctioned by parliament; and urged this circumstance as the reason for their not weighing anchor.

A contrary, and perhaps the soundest policy, would have been to ratify immediately, by an act of parliament, the agreement entered into with the sailors. For administration had too many enemies in and out of both houses, who were enjoying a secret triumph in the dilemma in which this mutiny had involved the executive department, over which they presided. These might, by their emissaries, heighten the suspicions of the sailors, and represent the government as only trifling with their demands, instead of seriously intending to comply with them. But if the leading part of opposition was too fearful of consequences, to intermeddle on the occasion, the public newspapers would be consulted by the mutineers; and some that were avowedly hostile to their country, were more calculated to increase their suspicions than allay them.

Yet upon the whole, things took the best turn possible for the future establishment of subordination in the navy. For, if the British fleet had weighed upon lord Bridport's signal, and put to sea before their demands were complied with, in all probability they would have shown more regard to their delegates than the admiral's signals, or the orders of their officers who had command over them, while things remained in that unsettled state of the mutiny, which was still increasing at Sheerness, the Nore, the Downs, and even to Yarmouth. Strong measures were therefore necessary to counteract it, and the public examples to be

made of the most active heads of the mutiny, could only secure future subordination in the British navy; which circumstances were fully justifiable, and actually took place, in consequence of the refusal to weigh their anchors, and the subsequent conduct of the mutineers. For the delegates, finding themselves forced to a decisive line of conduct, upon their refusal to weigh anchor, resolved to hold a convention on board the London; and for this purpose, took to their boats from the different ships at Saint Helen's and Spithead. They came along-side of the London, when admiral Colpoys, whose flag was then flying there, cautioned them not to act as they had done formerly, in assembling there; and told them they had obtained much, and he would not suffer them to demand more. They ought, therefore, to rest contented; and if they offered again to meet there in convention, he would order the marines to fire upon them.

Admiral Colpoys had taken particular care to secure the marines in his interest; upon which occasion he was ably seconded by lieutenant Sims, of that corps. The delegates, however, persisted in their demand to come on board. The admiral then ordered the marines to present their pieces: they did so; and in this situation of the affair the admiral again admonished them to desist, but to no effect; a scuffle ensued, and the marines were ordered to fire; when William Baker, Richard Collins, John Pickering, and Charles Darton, were wounded; and the three first mentioned of these died of their wounds in Haslar hospital. The sailors, in return, fired on the officers, when lieutenant Sims and another officer were wounded, and sent to the hospital.

pital. Admiral Colpoys was then confined in one cabin, and his captain, (Griffiths) in another.

In consequence of this open commencement of hostilities between the mutineers and government, the ships at Sheerness were engaged in the mutiny, which took place on the 12th of May, and began in the Sandwich guard-ship, at the Nore, by her crew mounting the shrouds, and giving three cheers, which were almost instantaneously followed by those of the other ships there and at Sheerness. Some mutineers also took possession of the Leopard, and left the fleet under admiral Duncan, to join with others at Yarmouth, from whence they proceeded to the Nore.

The crews of these ships took the command of each, appointing committees to manage their affairs, and reeved ropes from the fore and main-yards to hang whoever should oppose their decisions. There was an immediate communication from every ship with the Sandwich, this being the theatre of their deliberations. In order to this, two delegates were appointed from every ship's committee, to meet on board the Sandwich, at nine o'clock every morning, with power to act as representatives of their ships' companies, and make known the grievances of each ship. In the mean time, they sent such of their officers on shore as they said had, by tyrannical behaviour, rendered themselves obnoxious to them.

On Saturday the 13th, four delegates were dispatched to Portsmouth, &c. to consult with the mutinous crews there. The Inflexible, lying at Black-stakes, having received her guns and stores, unmoored, and proceeded to the Great Nore, in defiance of a report

spread that the garrison at Sheerness intended to fire, if she attempted to pass. But passing along, they gave three cheers, which were returned in the same number by people on board hulks and vessels in the harbour, and all at the Little Nore, except the Saint Fiorenzo frigate, which so far offended the Inflexible's crew, that they fired a gun at her loaded with round and grape shot, which went so close to her head as to carry away some of her bob-stays, and damage her cut-water, in which some of the shot lodged. Things remained in this state for the most part, until Saturday the 20th following.

The delegates of the mutineers, after meeting on board the Sandwich every day, rowed in procession to Sheerness, accompanied by a band of music; and the admiral's barge had the bloody flag displayed. They visited sick quarters to see if the sick were well attended to. The purser, steward, and butcher of the Spanker hospital ship were ducked, and sent on shore. The former was charged with defrauding the sick of their allowance; the butcher, with cutting the fat off meat before he brought it on board.

On Friday the 19th, the delegates returned from Spithead with an account that the French fleet was at sea; on which report, the crews of the ships at Spithead were inclined to weigh anchor and meet the enemy, referring the redress of their grievances, with an intention of resuming the business upon their return. In consequence of this resolution, they stated the grievances which they wished to have redressed in eight articles, to vice admiral Buckner, as port admiral, who appointed Saturday the 20th to consider of them. He accordingly met the delegates in the Sandwich; and on hearing the articles read,

read, he said he was not empowered to grant any of them, and had no doubt but the lords of the admiralty would agree to any thing reasonable; but the two concluding articles would require a length of time to discuss; hoping they would not protract the business, by wishing for an immediate settlement of them. The sailors then insisted on having a board of admiralty held at Sheerness, which was refused at first, but complied with afterwards.

Accordingly, the lords commissioners of the admiralty proceeded to Sheerness, and that no hindrance might prevent a speedy adjustment, from fears to be entertained by individuals of being afterwards punished for what was past, their lordships brought with them his majesty's proclamation, granting a free pardon to all who returned to their duty. But their lordships returned on the Wednesday following, not having been able to effect the object of their journey; and by all accounts, the sailors' demands were very unreasonable. The expressions and conduct of some delegates were also most gross and insulting towards their lordships; which, in consequence, produced such strong measures as were most likely to quell the mutiny, and satisfy the expectations of the seamen in what seemed reasonable, the greatest part of them being overawed by the ferocity of a few, and impressed with terror at the sight of ropes depending from the yard arms, to hang those who should question their proceedings.

In consequence of their lordships' report, a cabinet council was held the same day at lord Grenville's office, where all the ministers attended. The conferences began at ten in the forenoon, and continued under deliberation till past one, when they went to Saint

James's palace, where a privy council was held, at which an order of council was made, and sent down to Sheerness, importing farther measures to be taken upon the obstinacy of the seamen, and means in contemplation to impress upon them a due sense of their danger, with ample encouragement for such as would return to their duty.— For this purpose, two bills were passed with the utmost expedition; and a gazette extraordinary published on Wednesday June the 7th, which set forth his majesty's order in council, warning all his subjects to abstain from all communication with such ships as were then, or might afterwards be in a state of mutiny, or any of their crews, on pain of death to be inflicted on the offenders. This proclamation was particularly founded upon the two acts of parliament then recently passed, wherein the ships then in a state of mutiny were named, being the Sandwich, of 98 guns, as principal, the Montague, of 74, eight ships of 64 guns, eight frigates and armed vessels, commissioned by the admiralty.

This gazette also contained a declaration, that the crews of such ships, there respectively named, were by the lords of the admiralty stated to be mutinous, and in actual rebellion, warning all persons not to have any intercourse with them, either personally or by letter, or any way aiding and assisting them, from and after the 7th of June, on the pain of suffering death, as set forth in the two acts of parliament lately passed; but all communications with the fleet under the cognizance of vice admiral Buckner, and subjected to his inspection, were to be exempted from that penalty.

Copies of the acts of parliament were by this channel communicated to

to the mutinous crews of the several ships, together with the king's proclamation, and declaration of the admiralty. A proclamation was soon after published, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the apprehension of Parker, who had acted as president of the delegates.

These measures staggered the resolutions of the mutineers; some of the most desperate had talked of taking the ships to sea, but the buoys being taken up at the Nore, no pilot, if they had any, could adventure to conduct them out, as full tide was required for that purpose, and the shoals then covered with water. In this desperate situation the crews of several ships manifested a disposition to submit, which was so far improved by the communication still left open between them and admiral Buckner, that dispatches were sent by him to the admiralty, stating how the mutiny had subsided, and flags betokening submission were flying on board several of the ships; that Parker, Davies, Gregory, Dennison, with several other delegates, had been apprehended, and were in close confinement. On receipt of this important advice, earl Spencer immediately waited on his majesty at St. James's palace, and laid the particulars before him.

According to these accounts, notice was sent to sir Charles Grey, on Wednesday morning, that the crew of the Sandwich were disposed to give up the ship, and return to their duty, relying on his majesty's clemency for pardon of what was past. This message was brought by the petty officers, who had been deputed by the crew, while Parker and his associates were holding a council in the ward-room of the Sandwich. This proposal being made to

the commander in chief, he said, "you must first secure Parker, and the delegates." Upon this answer the officers returned on board, and the parties pointed out were secured, a white flag hoisted at the main of the Sandwich, and the ship weighing, stood in for the Little Nore, coming to anchor under protection of the great guns in the battery. The long boat was then manned, and the prisoners taken out of the ship, under a strong guard, and brought on shore. Captain Moss instantly resumed his command of the Sandwich, and admiral Buckner's flag was re-hoisted at the fore-top.

Several of the ships now submitted, their crews casting themselves on the king's mercy. The Montague, Inflexible, and Bellicieux, were the last that held out. The St. Fiorenzo, Seraphis, and the Discovery, had deserted the disgraceful mutiny before the king's proclamation was issued.

The seizure of Parker and his associates was effected in the manner following: On the 14th of June, Parker came down into the ward room, and released the officers who had been confined there, telling them they might walk the deck, but were not allowed to speak with any of the crew. The same day Parker was sent for by Mr. Mott, the lieutenant, telling him that he wished to go on shore for the king's pardon. All hands were called upon deck by Parker's order, and were told by him of Mr. Mott's intention, asking them if they were willing that he should go? To this they gave consent, and expressed a wish that the ship should be given up to the officers; and some proposed the white flag to be hoisted, and the blue ensign lowered down, before Mr. Mott went ashore, and several came forward with that intention; when

when Parker said, if the colours were changed, three ships astern would fire at the Sandwich: the colours, therefore, were not changed, till Mr. Mott returned, who went ashore and brought the proclamation. Parker then ordered all hands, to whom the proclamation was read by one of the ship's clerks; and Parker asked if they were willing to accept his majesty's pardon, and give up the ship to her officers, or let her be in their own possession? 'or with us,' as he termed it. All the people, except Parker, Jones, and Davis, consented; who urged, that in such a case, the ships astern would fire upon them. The officers, not minding that threat, ordered the colours to be changed, which was done. Parker then said, we will give them three cheers, and he joined in them. Mr. Flatt, the first lieutenant, demanded of Parker the keys of the magazine and small arms, with charge of the ship, which he delivered up to Mr. Flatt, as senior officer; and said, if they offered to unmoor, the ships astern would fire on them. Mr. Flatt said, he did not care. Parker then said, he was ready to work at the capstan, and asked if Mr. Flatt meant to confine him; on this, he was told that he must be ordered to a cabin, with two sentries over him. He refused to go, and still offered to heave at the capstan.

About nine on Tuesday morning, Mr. Flatt consulted with the officers, to know if they thought proper to confine Parker before the ship was under weigh, or to defer it till she reached Sheerness. The lieutenants Flatt and Mott, in consequence, went on the quarter-deck, where they found Parker. Lieutenant Mott laid hold of him by the collar, and brought him below, where he was confined in a cabin, with

two sentinels over him, till the following morning, when he was put in irons.

The Sandwich came up to the Little Nore, under the guns of the fort, about three o'clock on Wednesday morning: and at half past six, admiral Buckner's boat, commanded by the Cockswain, with a piquet-guard of the West York militia, were received on board to conduct Parker on shore. The service was considered as dangerous. Several of the officers belonging to the Sandwich were upon deck, and but few of her crew appeared. As soon as Parker heard that the boat waited for him, he put himself in the hands of four of the ship's crew, for protection from the other seamen, whose vengeance he feared. Admiral Buckner's cockswain told the officers upon deck his business, and obtained their assistance.—The lieutenant then drew his sword, and the party went down below, where Parker was delivered into their hands. They pinioned his arms and hands behind, and he was conducted by the officers in a very quiet manner aboard of the boat, which had able rowers, and a party of the West York militia at the head of the boat facing the stern, and their firelocks upright, but ready loaded. Parker was seated in the stern part, with his face to the head; behind him was the cockswain, and before him was a lieutenant of the Sandwich, holding a drawn sword over his head. In this situation the boat quitted the Sandwich, and the rowers pulled the boat away with such vigour, that it seemed to skim over the water to the stairs, the top of which and surrounding parts were crowded with spectators, and principally soldiers.

Parker being landed, was much hissed by those around him. He appeared

peared a little disconcerted, but said aloud, "Don't hoot me; it is not my fault, I will clear myself;" or words to that purpose. He was then marched through the dock-yard, guarded by a party of the West York militia, and imprisoned in one of the cells under the chapel of the garrison. After some hours he was conducted to the commissioners for examination, and committed from thence to Maidstone gaol, until brought to Sheerness, and from thence to his trial on board of the Neptune 98 gun ship, captain Stanhope, lying in the river, near Greenhithe, where the yellow flag was displayed, as the signal of a court-martial.

The lords of the admiralty selected for members to constitute a court-martial, captains of ships fitting in the river, and not one of those captains whose ships had been seized by their mutinous crews; and vice admiral sir Thomas Paisley was appointed the president.

The usual forms being gone through, Parker was put upon his trial, being then between 30 and 40 years of age, about five feet ten inches in stature, of prominent and manly features, but not expressing any degree of mental faculties or acuteness; his hair and eyes dark, and complexion sallow; his appearance was more that of a rude mechanic, than a thorough bred seaman. He was dressed in a blue coat and trowsers, a light coloured waistcoat, white cravat, and half-boots. His deportment was more cool than collected; and if that, as well as the tone of his voice, are thought to be indications of his character, he had neither a ferocious nor obdurate disposition. He was placed at the lower end of the court, at the left hand of the judge advocate. The provost standing by his

side, with a drawn sword. The deputy marshal stood facing him, with his sword drawn likewise.

Parker had no counsel to assist him in the cross-examination of any witnesses, or making his defence. The charges against him were restricted simply to mutiny and disobedience of orders; as thus:—For causing, and endeavouring to cause, mutinous assemblies on board of his majesty's ship the Sandwich, and others of his majesty's ships, at the Nore, on or about the 12th of May last past; and for disobeying the lawful orders of his superior officers, and for treating his officers with disrespect. Captain Moss, of the Sandwich, appeared in the court as prosecutor.

Admiral Buckner, as the first witness, could say nothing of the prisoner individually, farther than his parading about with a number of people, and a red flag preceding them on shore, on or about the 20th of May. That he went on board the Sandwich for the purpose of making known his majesty's proclamation of pardon to the crews there, on returning to their duty, on the same terms that were granted to those at Spithead. That on going aboard, with his flag in the boat, no preparations were made to receive him; and the officers, as he understood, were without side-arms, and had no command of the ship. That unwilling to return, without speaking to the people, he waited a considerable time, when the prisoner and others came to him on the quarter-deck, and said, "None but themselves (Here the admiral very humanely said, meaning, as he supposed, the ship's company,) should be there." But it was manifest, that only Parker and his associates were meant. The admiral, proceeding

in his testimony, said, that the prisoner then tendered him a paper containing a list of grievances; saying, until those were redressed, and ratified by a personal attendance of the admiralty, they would not give up the power which they held in their hands. He did not speak there of the prisoner individually, but of the mutineers in general; and finding any thing he could say of no avail, he returned on shore. That about the 23d of May, his flag aboard the Sandwich was struck; by whose order he could not tell. But on the morning of that day, he was at the commissioner's house examining a complaint against two marines, made by some of the military; when a man whom they called Davies, with three or four others, came into the commissioner's house abruptly, and asked why those men, meaning the marines, were in custody? saying, his flag was struck, and that he had no authority, for the power was in their hands; and took the men away to try them, as they said, for being ashore. That he remonstrated against their doings as much as possible. But Parker told him he was not to be intimidated. That about the 4th of June he received a letter, signed Richard Parker, importing, that administration had acted improperly in stopping the provisions allowed to the men; and that the foolish proclamation was calculated to inflame the minds of honest men.

Mr. Snipe, surgeon of the Sandwich, said he was ordered to attend the punishment of Campbell, a seaman of the Sandwich, on the afternoon of the 14th of May; and when he went on deck, Parker was standing on the gangway; and when Campbell was tied up, the prisoner made a speech to the ship's company, acquainting them with

the nature of Campbell's crime; and said, if any of them broke the laws laid down by the committee, they must expect to share the same fate. On being asked by the court, what he meant by the committee? he said, the assembly of people calling themselves delegates on board of the Sandwich. That two or three days after, one of the ship's company, a corporal, whose name was Wilson, told him in the ward-room, that he must go immediately between decks and visit a man in irons, who was very ill. That he went by the committee's orders, and found the man had a fever, when he desired the corporal to report that it was dangerous to let the man remain in that situation, for it was necessary he should be taken out of irons, and sent to his birth. On this, the corporal told him it was the committee's order for him to make his report in person. That he accordingly went to the starboard bay of the lower deck, and found a vast croud of people assembled. Upon asking whom there he must address, the prisoner, said, me. That he then told the prisoner, it was necessary to remove the sick man that was in irons. The prisoner said, it is not our intention to interfere with you at all; you may do with the sick whatever you think proper. That when he entered the committee-room, one whom he supposed to be a delegate, said, take off your hat; another, but not the prisoner, as he was looking round, cried out, be gone. That he was two or three times before the committee: and, in general, was answered by the prisoner, that he might do with the sick what he thought proper. That on the 3d of June, he sent to the committee for permission to go on shore; and addressed Davies, who acted as commanding

ing officer upon deck, for that purpose. That on being ordered down to the committee, assembled in captain Moss's cabin, he asked their permission to go on shore, as he had some sick which he wished to be removed to the hospital. That the prisoner recommended it to the committee to let him go ashore, on condition that he returned to his duty the next morning, and would use his influence to get all the sick of the fleet landed; but that he went ashore, and never returned aboard until the ship was under the command of captain Moss, her proper officer. That one day, the prisoner was speaking to captain Moss, when pointing out to him the numerous improprieties that men were guilty of, when in a state of mutiny; and the prisoner said, he was certain, until their grievances were redressed, not one of them would shrink; for if they did, they would be run up to the yard-arm, pointing at the yard-ropes.

Captain Wood being examined, said, that on the arrival of his ship, the Hound, at the Nore, on the 2d of June, the prisoner came on board, and said, he had the honour of representing the whole fleet, an honour which he should never forget. That he understood captain Wood had been very violent against some of the delegates, and advised him not to be violent, or he must suffer the consequences. That he then told the captain he did not like the ship's company, knowing they were attached to their captain; and therefore, he would put the ship in a safe birth, from whence she could not make her escape; and ordered the pilot to get her under weigh, and carry her as close to the Sandwich as possible. The pilot told him it was an improper time of the tide; and the prisoner

said, that if he refused to get her under weigh immediately, he would find means to make him; at the same time pointing to the yard-rope. The pilot, therefore, got her under weigh, and dropped her close to the Sandwich. She was then healed by a man on board, who said we were too near. The prisoner replied, I think we are, Mr. Davies. He immediately came to the pilot, and said in threatening language, "You have made one mistake; take care you don't commit another; if you do, I will make a beef-stake of you at the yard-arm." That upon this, the pilot weighed again by his orders, and moored the ship between the Sandwich and Inflexible, coming to on the Sandwich's quarter. That the prisoner had then all hands turned up, and harangued them to this effect, "That he understood they were not hearty in the cause; for which reason, he had changed their birth; and that if they had any complaint to make against their officers, those whom they disliked should be sent ashore, and those they liked remain on board. That after this, he was taken out of the ship by a man who called himself a delegate, and came from the Sandwich. Captain Wood asked by whose order he was to be removed? he said, by order of president Parker, the prisoner; for the man said captain Wood was a dangerous character, and as such, to be brought on board the Inflexible or the Sandwich. Concluding his testimony, he said, he had often seen the prisoner rowing about the fleet, with a red flag displayed.

On being asked by the president of the court, whether the prisoner ever confined him? captain Wood said, he did not confine him; but told him, that neither he nor any of the officers

had aught to do with the ship; that he pitied their situation, but they must go through with their business for the good of the cause in which they were embarked.

He was asked by the court, when the prisoner advised him not to be violent to any of the delegates, whether he conceived this was intended to save him from any mischief, or to intimidate him from doing his duty? Capt. Wood said, the prisoner advised him in a friendly manner. For it was understood he had driven some of the delegates out of the ship, and threatened them with death. That he had, after this, some conversation with the prisoner, asking him why he wished to send others on board, and force his crew into the business, who had no complaints to make, and wished to have nothing to do with it? He replied, it was for the good of the whole, and they must have to do with it.

Mr. Flatt, first lieutenant of the Sandwich, said, that he first knew the prisoner when he tendered a paper to admiral Buckner on board, about the 20th of May, containing the grievances of the fleet. That he then heard him say he was president of the delegates; and had seen him frequently in boats, acting as commander of them. That he recollected nothing more particular, but his frequent attendance on committees, till the 2d of June, when the prisoner desired him to come over to the starboard side of the deck and receive orders. "You are ordered, sir," said the prisoner, "to receive one hundred and eleven men from the Leith tender, and give the usual receipt for them, as we are accountable for what we do." The lieutenant replied, he had received no orders from admiral

Buckner; and as he had no command on board, his receipt would be useless. That the prisoner said, "We are accountable for what we do." That he then mustered the men, and gave the receipt. That on the 4th of June, he was again sent for, to give a receipt for fifteen men, which he did; and was told it was by the prisoner's order, as president of the committee. That on or about the 9th of June, being confined in the ward-room, he saw the prisoner pass by under the stern of the ship, and heard overhead three cheers given to him; upon which he turned round, and said he was going on board the Director to put a spring on her cable, and send them and her to the devil; meaning, as he believed, the crew of the Repulse, then aground in the Medway, on her way to Sheerness harbour. That he saw the prisoner go aboard the Director, and put a spring on her cable, when a heavy firing commenced on the Repulse. The remainder of lieutenant Flatt's testimony relates to the seizure of Parker and his principal associates, which we have given before.

The witnesses finished their testimony, and Parker was allowed till Monday for making his defence. Accordingly, on Monday at nine in the morning, the court met: and Parker was called upon for his defence, when he took from his pocket-book a paper, and read from it a well-written address. The purport of which was, that he engaged in the mutiny more to suppress, than encourage it; and that if he had not done so, things would have been carried to greater extremities. He called upon several seamen to do away what was urged against him as to his conduct on board of the Director and Monmouth, when the Repulse was aground

aground, but their evidence did not controvert the fact.

Lord Northesk spoke of his having been received on board of the Sandwich with marks of respect, the band playing God save the King. The prisoner then acting as president of the delegates. Capt. Knight also testified that the prisoner had, during the latter part of the mutiny, expressed a wish that the matter was settled.

The prisoner having finished his defence, the court was cleared at half past one, and opened again at four in the afternoon, when the judge advocate pronounced the sentence of death in the usual form.

Parker heard the sentence with a degree of fortitude and composure, maintaining the purity of his intentions, and hoping his life would be the only sacrifice. The president addressed him in a short speech, and said, that in order to allow him time for repentance, the court had left his execution to the discretion of the lords of the admiralty.

The prisoner bowed, and said, he was obliged to them, for that consideration.

Parker had in part, a classical education, but did not seem much to have improved it; not insensible to religious conviction, and capable of deep reflection. His passions were strong, but counterbalanced by strength of reason. His diction, even in common discourse, was bold and original.

He had a most invincible antipathy for the provost marshal, who is at sea what Jack Ketch is on land. Unaccommodating and morose in temper, he often expressed to the prisoners, his satisfaction, on giving them their last launch. Parker often said, no circumstance connected with his condemna-

tion, gave him so much uneasiness as the cool systematic barbarism of this man. Upon his return from receiving the sentence of death, as he passed the other prisoners in irons, on mid-deck, he addressed him in this manner:

"Thou Polyphemus-looking miscreant, it would at least be some pleasure to me, and the last, though not the least of my life, to kick thee to the devil, with the rope about my neck:" and the fellow was from that time nicknamed the Cyclops.

That Parker had a sensibility of character, is obvious from a singular incident: while young in the service, he had the boldness to challenge an officer, who by a singular turn of events, happened to be a member of the court martial, which tried and condemned him. Parker thought himself entitled to object against him, and yet, acquiesced in the appointment, supposing the member, as a gentleman, and as a man of honour, was likely to exert himself rather for than against him; but observed, that after so serious an affair between them, which cost his father a journey from Exeter to Portsmouth, nothing upon earth could have induced him to sit as a judge, where his life was at stake.

Upon being asked, how he could reconcile the part which he had acted against the peace and welfare of his country and state; how he could feel with so much delicacy in the one case, and so little in the other? he said, "no man is capable of deciding impartially, on the merit and demerit of my feelings, in that situation alluded to, but myself. For every claim which public justice has on me, my life is answerable, it is all I have to give, and will soon be exacted. With whatever opprobrium my name and memory may be branded,

ed, without my poor exertions, many lives much more valuable than mine or those of my calumniators must have fallen a sacrifice; it is my pride and my comfort, that though I perish, this is for their safety, and that all the good they may yet do to their country is literally the purchase of my blood."

When the order of the admiralty was announced for him to leave the *Neptune*, and proceed to the *Sandwich* for execution, he received the notice with fortitude and submission, declaring himself ready, and desired his best acknowledgments might be tendered to captain Stanhope, for his many civilities shewn him while aboard the ship under his command. Seeing his fellow prisoners look wishfully after him, from the port-holes, as he leaped into the gun-boat, he hallooed aloud, "Farewell my lads—It is all over now, but keep up your spirits—we shall meet aloft, gain a birth in a happier port, and get under weigh under a fairer wind."

To the commander of the vessel which carried him down the river, he expressed much gratitude for the handsome treatment he had received; often and seriously regretting that his first reception on board the *Sandwich* had been such, that the conciliating deportment of superiors might still have retained his affection for a service, which was his earliest choice, and from which nothing but disappointment and hard usage could have alienated him.

He was so entirely himself during the passage, which continued nearly two hours, that he occasionally relaxed into pleasantry: Cyclops was then the constant butt of his ridicule, and Parker was never better pleased than when his jests put this man out of

humour, and enjoyed it the more as he perceived his jokes acceptable to all about him.

This man boasted of coming from the same part of the country with one man for whom Parker expressed a strong partiality; he was answered by Parker thus, "who does not know that there are some fountains, which send forth both sweet and bitter waters:" upon hearing the same man boast of his former strength and agility, Parker said, "he did not doubt it, for these were characters of bulk and vapour, in both of which he thought him almost matchless."

This finisher of the martial law discovered great impatience at the vessel not getting ahead, as the wind was contrary: "what," said Parker, "are you not satisfied with having a British admiral in chains, but must also usurp the command of the elements, or because you are an executioner, are you likewise as mad as the Persian tyrant, who ordered his minions to lash the waves?"

These levities are remembered among many, which he then sported, as instances of the self possession which this extraordinary man enjoyed, so near his approaching execution; this facetiousness kept the curiosity of those whom he conversed with alert, as entertained by it, and heightened their admiration of him. His vanity was not a little increased, with the attention it drew from those who regarded that crime, for which he suffered with aversion.

His approach to the *Sandwich* had no visible influence on his temper, nor in any degree abated the facetiousness he indulged. As he passed the Nore, the homage paid to him by the crews of the respective ships, who acknow-

ledged his power, and supported him in it, only drew from him this trite reflection, that, "ambition seldom accomplishes its object, and never enjoys it for any length of time, when attained." So that here experience had made him a real moralist, notwithstanding his habitual levity. But after making this solid remark, he added with exultation, that although the world execrated his conduct, no man ever assumed or possessed so much power as he did, without using it worse, both doing more mischief and effecting less good, and that he trusted his countrymen would soon be sensible that the evils apprehended were only imaginary, and that the benefit actually produced was real and seasonable.

Upon going aboard of the Sandwich, his deportment became steady, solemn, and collected; shewing no familiarity to his former associates, he commanded attention and deference from the centinels, and every one near him; being very desirous of a decent interment, he addressed a petition for that purpose, to admiral Lutwidge, but could not prevail on the commanding officer to send it; the captain did not come aboard in time for him to renew it.

Past ten at night, and some time after he had composed himself to rest, a letter was sent from a neighbouring magistrate to the chaplain, urging him to try what he could learn of Parker, about the origin of the mutiny, and whether it was suggested, aided, or abetted by any individuals on shore: upon this subject he had been frequently teized by all whom he had conversed with, especially after he was cast; to the repetition of these questions he gave the same absolute negative which he

had always done, and added, with a peevishness not habitual to him, that he had never made any but one declaration on the subject, and knew of no circumstance that could either change his mind or entitle him to more credit than before.

The night preceding his execution, he had said to have rested more comfortably than usual, though he always slept well; and he said, however he thought dreams were only ideal, yet the images which amused him while asleep, left him not when awakened, but continued to recreate his mind with a variety of agreeable impressions.

He was called the next morning, by his own desire, at seven o'clock, and washed himself all over in a pail of water previous to his receiving the sacrament. Being aware of the surprise excited by this circumstance, he said, "he knew how bodies in the condition to which he would soon be reduced, would appear, and as cleanliness was the only thing which could procure the least decency to his, he thought it his duty not to neglect it."

When summoned to public prayer on the quarter-deck, he signified a little uneasiness for some breakfast, for being a man of great sobriety, he enjoyed a good appetite, and made a hearty breakfast. On being asked how he could eat such a full meal, in a situation so solemn, and truly interesting, he said, "he could not tell how to account for the calls of nature, which with him were just as strong and regular as ever. But as he was entering into a very trying scene, in which he was to be a principal actor, it became him to omit no kind of support which his wants suggested, and that he

he had seldom found any great exertions of strength or spirit from organs much debilitated.

He made his exit with such intrepidity and calm resignation to his fate, that not one of the numerous spectators who witnessed his execution, appeared less appalled at the apparatus prepared for it, than himself; perhaps a consciousness that he had perpetrated no enormous act of cruelty in the short-lived power which he enjoyed, and the solid benefits procured for British seamen, on that occasion, of which they are well worthy, kept up his spirits from sinking, at the thoughts of his approaching catastrophe.

On Tuesday, June 29th, the prisoners belonging to the *Leopard*, were brought into the court, which consisted nearly of the same members and officers, as that held over Parker; their names being called over, the order of the admiralty was then read, stating, that a dangerous and mutinous assembly was held on board of the *Leopard*, at the Nore, in which the prisoners were most active. The lords of the admiralty therefore ordered a court martial to be held over them, to be tried upon charges of making a mutinous assembly on board of that ship, of treating their superior officers with disrespect, and of disobedience to the commands of their superior officers.

The following letters were then read, one from admiral Buckner to the admiralty, with information how the mutiny originated. Another letter from captain Hargood, of the *Leopard*, to Mr. Nepean, with a list of prisoners, selected from the ship's crew, as the persons who had been the most active in the mutiny, on board of that ship. All the prisoners were then taken out of the court except Thomas

Stirling, who was then put upon his trial, and the evidence gone through against him.

The prisoner being called upon for his defence, said, he had nothing to urge, but gave himself up to the mercy of the court, declaring, there had not been twenty words of truth in what had been testified against him, and if he must die, he would die innocent. He wept during most of the trial, and notwithstanding repeated advice from the court, he declined calling witnesses to disprove the facts alleged against him. The court without deliberating on his sentence, proceeded to the trial of William Ross, who was also found guilty.

There was little difference between the evidence given against the above two, and that of the others, against whom it was testified, that they took forcible possession of the ship, left admiral Duncan's fleet, and joined other mutinous ships, at Yarmouth, from whence they proceeded to the Nore; in all which mutinous conduct, it was testified, that the prisoners were very active, forcing the crew to take an oath in support of, and to countenance their mutinous proceedings.

Dennis Sullivan, an Irishman, was brought to the bar, and charged like the others, with assisting in removing the ship to the Nore; John Laphorn, master at arms, swore that he heard the prisoner speak of confining the officers; that he proposed, in case any thing turned out against their project, to jump into the magazine, blow up the ship, and all go together.—Sullivan here interrupted the witness, saying, "You are a perjured man, now how can you be after swearing a poor fellow's life away in that manner?"

Charles Cubit, a marine on board of the

the Leopard, swore, that he was wounded by a pike by the prisoner, while he was attempting, with other marines, to drive the mutineers from the great guns, to their duty in working the ship, at the time when she was escaping from the Nore; this witness was allowed a chair, as from the state of his wound, no hopes were entertained of his recovery. He deposed, that after receiving the wound from the hands of Sullivan, though part of his bowels came out of the orifice, he pursued the prisoner below, and levelled his firelock at him; upon which Sullivan fell on his knees, and entreated mercy.—The witness turned aside his piece, declaring, that he said, “Dennis, I have no wish to take away your life, but I will make you help to work the ship;” which he did. Sullivan here exclaimed in court, “Charles Cubit, every word you have said, my dear boy, is true, though I may be hanged for it to-morrow.” The prisoner being then asked, if he had any thing to state in his defence? dropped down on his knees, and prayed the court to have mercy upon him; at any rate, if they did condemn him, they would be kind enough to give him as long time as possible, to make his peace with God.

On Tuesday, July the 4th, the trials of all the prisoners belonging to the Leopard being ended, the court was cleared, and after a short consultation, opened again; when the prisoners Dennis Sullivan, James Stamford, Alexander Lawson, William Walsh, James Robertson, Joseph Fearon, John Habbingam, William Ross, and Thos. Stirling, received sentence of death.—But James Robertson and John Habbingam were recommended to mercy. The court then adjourned till Thursday the 6th of July, for the trial of the

mutineers belonging to the Sandwich. The detail of these trials we postpone at present, and proceed in the order of time, to give some account of a most dangerous and daring mutiny among the marines, at Stone-house, near Plymouth.

On the morning of June the 23d, a court-martial commenced on the prisoners belonging to this corps, who had been confined in the marine barracks at Stone-house, about a month before. Lee was first tried, as the principal mutineer; a great many witnesses were examined against him, by whose depositions it appeared, that a plan of the most diabolical and destructive tendency was formed by Lee and his associates, which would have been productive of inconceivable mischief, if their plans and designs had not been early discovered. It appeared, that as many as Lee could gain over to his purpose, assembled on the hill at Stone-house, on a Sunday, when the plot was intimated to the commander of the marines, and that they there took an oath of secrecy, in this particular manner: a book was laid on the grass, which the man swearing was to take up, as a sanction of consent to their proceedings, and then replace it on the same spot. The like ceremony was observed by all the conspirators, then and there assembled: when the whole company were sworn round, the nature of their design was explained to them by Lee, the leading purpose of which was, to fire the magazines at the barracks, Keyham point, and other places; to release the French prisoners, and do every thing in their power to overturn the established government of this country, and murder every one that opposed their designs. Lee also told them, that they were to be aided

by a regiment, and the crews of two ships then in a state of mutiny. Lee was found guilty, with Coffy, Brannan, and M'Ginnis. The first three were sentenced to be shot; M'Ginnis was to receive 1000 lashes, and be transported to Botany Bay.

On the morning of July the 6th, M'Ginnis was conducted to the Hoe, by a party of marines, and immediately tied to the halberts, where he received 500 lashes, being one half of the number to be inflicted, when he was put in a sedan, and brought back by the same escort to the barracks. About half past one in the afternoon, Lee, Coffy, and Brannan, were brought from their cells, and conducted through the sally-port gate, which leads to the Hoe; before each of them a black coffin was carried, and when arrived at the place of execution, they joined in prayers with the ministers who attended them, until half past two, when each of them had his cap drawn over his eyes, and they kneeled down on their coffins. When all was ready, the commanding officer directed the sentence to be executed. Coffy and Brannan fell at the first fire, but it did not appear that one shot out of sixteen that were fired struck Lee, as he continued still kneeling upon his coffin; a marine then discharged a ball through the front of his head, and he fell; another ball being sent through the side of his head, he expired. All the three criminals thus executed were Irishmen, and none of them were above 30 years of age.

On Monday, July the 10th, those mutineers of the Leopard, whose trials we have related, were executed; four of them on board the Leopard, and three on board the Lancaster. Their names were Dennis Sullivan, Alexan-

der Lawson, William Walsh, Joseph Fearon, William Ross, George Shave, and Thomas Stirling. The executions on board of these ships were at the Nore, to which place they had brought the Leopard, after they had deserted the fleet under admiral Duncan. The sentences of James Robertson, and John Habbingam, were respited; as these two were recommended to mercy.

The trials on board the Neptune were drawing to a close, and the ships dispersed or dispersing to different stations, examples having been made on board of the Leopard, Lancaster, and Sandwich, where the mutiny predominated most. The proceedings on the remaining trials are marked with such a sameness of questions and answers, as would be tedious to particularize; it will suffice to remark, that a number were convicted, and that the defence of Davies, who acted as captain of the Sandwich, was, that he took charge of the ship to preserve her, and in compliance with a peremptory order to that effect, on pain of being hung up at the yard-arm. Commissioner Hartwell, captain Blackwood, surgeon Snipe, with several others, were called in his defence, and the general tenor of their evidence was, that his conduct during the mutiny had been highly respectful to the officers; which captain Blackwood represented to admiral Buckner and lord Keith, who had recommended him to captain Blackwood, as fit to be employed in the capacity of master's mate when the mutiny was over; as they really believed the delegates compelled him to act as he had done.—Notwithstanding these representations in his favour, sentence of death was pronounced upon him and other prisoners

soners from the Sandwich; but as some favourable circumstances appeared from the evidence in the conduct of John Whitby, Thomas Brady, Geo. Taylor, and William Porter, their cases were referred by the court to his majesty's consideration. The charge not being fully proved against John Scott, the court sentenced him to receive 300 lashes, on board of such ships, and in such proportion as the lords of admiralty should think fit. Though a degree of criminality attached upon William Thomas Jones, yet, in consideration of his conduct in some respects, the court adjudged him only to be reprimanded.

The case of Charles M'Carthy, one of the seamen who was condemned by the court-martial, held on board of the Neptune, was attended with some circumstances which evinced that he was likely to have fallen a sacrifice to the mutinous spirit of some whom he endeavoured to restrain, being exasperated against him.

On account of the numbers accused, and tediousness of the trials, some relief was judged necessary for the members who composed the court martial on board the Neptune; therefore, several ships went round to Portsmouth with prisoners to take their trials there on board of the Royal William. Accordingly several were tried, and some were condemned to death, others to various punishments at Portsmouth.—On Tuesday the 18th at a quarter past eleven in the forenoon, four prisoners under sentence of death, were executed at Spithead, three on board the Grampus, and one in the Phoenix, to which ships they respectively belonged. Their names were James Smart, John Preston, and Joseph Crossball, of the Grampus, and Collin Bowtron, of the Phoenix.

These prisoners met their fate with calmness and fortitude. James Wells, William Davey, David Johnson, Matthew Wilkinson, John Shean, and Joseph Young, a black man, were all convicted of mutiny on board the Calypso, and sentenced to be hanged, but were earnestly recommended to mercy; and toward the last of the trials, the questions put by the courts martial had a great tendency rather to acquit than condemn. A petition was also presented to lord Howe, by others yet untried, to the following import:

“Your lordship's petitioners, with a full reliance on your goodness and humanity, and deeply impressed with a full conviction of their past errors, humbly implore your lordship to consider how long the British navy has rode triumphant under your command; whom the British seamen look up to as their guardian and friend; whom they have always considered as a father, and now apply for your kind interposition to step between them and the rigour of the law, which now hangs over the heads of your lordship's unhappy petitioners; whom the confidence reposed in them by their shipmates now renders the objects of vengeance to a much injured and insulted nation.—Trusting that your lordship, who knows the minds of seamen, and was never afraid to put a full confidence in them, will once more step forward to save us, who have, by your lordship's able conduct, been saved in battle. Should your lordship's interposition with his majesty, be the means of procuring an act of oblivion for our past misconduct, it will entail on your lordship and posterity, the blessings of more (now wretched) families, than the most brilliant victories ever gained by your lordship, of which some hundreds of your present

present unhappy petitioners have been witnesses; and be the means of ever endearing to their insulted country the mind of every British seaman. And your lordship's petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for his majesty's long and happy reign, and that his navy may long be assisted by your lordship's conduct."

The mutiny happened on board the *Beaulieu*, in the Downs, on the 24th of June, at night; when, about nine o'clock, the crew assembled in different parts of the ship, and threatened to release some prisoners then in irons; which attempt the officers were determined to resist, and all of them immediately assembled in the gun-room, together with as many of the marines as time would permit. While they were in the act of arming themselves, the noise and confusion upon deck increased, which obliged them to quit the gun-room, leaving a guard there to prevent the mutineers from carrying their threats into effect. The officers immediately proceeded to the fore-hatchway, where the greatest confusion prevailed. The people were bidden to go quietly to bed, which they refused to do, with insolent threats that they would release the prisoners, and have them on the quarter-deck. One of the principal mutineers was in the act of taking up a handspike, or an iron crow, against the officers, when he was shot through the body by Mr. Fitzgerald, who was seconded by lieutenant Burn firing his pistol, the contents of which did execution, and prevented their design of releasing the prisoners, and getting possession of the small arms which were under the half-deck, and which seemed to be their principal object. The officers then proceeded to the quarter-deck, and

while they were securing the arm-chest there, a second attack was made from under the half-deck by the mutineers, who had gained possession of some cutlasses, and run a marine through the body, who was sentinel over the prisoners. A second fire from the officers then commenced, which had such an effect, that several leading mutineers were desperately wounded. They, however, gained possession of the fore-castle, had the starboard guns loosed, and pointed aft; when the officers attacked them with success, and one man was desperately wounded. From this time, they only made some cowardly attempts from between the guns of the main deck for about 15 minutes, when they were all driven down below, and the hatches fastened down. Centries being placed to prevent them from getting upon deck again, they were then inclining to blow up the ship; but a party, well armed, went down, drove them to their hammocks, fastened down the scuttles leading to the magazine, and placed a guard there. On hearing the first fire, all the marines who could not assemble before, and several well-disposed seamen joined their officers. Fourteen or fifteen were wounded in the whole, five of them dangerously. The officers had many narrow escapes; and Mr. Burn, the first lieutenant, was slightly wounded. Sixteen of the mutineers were confined, and tried by a court-martial on board the *Ardent*, captain Burgess being president, which court was closed on the 17th of July; when John Herron, William Brown, Charles Barnet, Thomas Hunter, Abraham Nelson, William Hooper, and James Keates, were condemned to death; but the three last recommended to mercy; nine others were tried upon

the same charge, but these were acquitted; the courts martial then inclining to lenity.

On Tuesday August the 1st, Gregory, Mac Carthy, Holden, and Hocklis, were executed on board of the Sandwich. They all died penitent, but denied to the last any consciousness of guilt in the crimes for which they suffered; persisting in the affirmation, that their conduct, culpable as it appeared, against their country and the laws of the land, was in consequence of the compulsion they were under, from the prevailing temper of the fleet, to act as they had done. Gregory and Mac Carthy were men of strong intriguing minds, and both had received an uncommon degree of education. Appleyard was executed on board of the Firm sloop of war. He was a tall well made man, and a thorough-bred seaman, and having been very active in the mutiny, he owned the justice of his sentence. The same day, John Herron, William Brown, Charles Barnett, and Thomas Hunter, four of the mutineers belonging to the Beaulieu, were executed on board of that ship, in the Downs. On the Saturday after, John Stainforth, a seaman, was executed at Maidstone for the murder of a midshipman, during the mutiny at the Nore. On the Tuesday morning after, three seamen and a marine belonging to the Montague, were removed from the ship *Le Puissant* to the *San Damaso*, by an order of the admiralty, and executed about eleven o'clock. On Monday the 14th of August, 4 mutineers belonging to the *Monmouth*, were executed in that ship, at the Nore. Their names were Vance, Frith, Brown, and Earles. The awful signal-gun was fired about nine in the morning, when they were launched into eternity.—

Serjeant Dunn, another of that ship's crew, was conveyed on board of the *Acasto* frigate, and executed about the same time when the others suffered.

The trials of some mutineers on board the *Saturn*, were finished on board of the *Neptune*, at Greenhithe, on the 25th of August; and John Barrows, Joseph Hudson, seamen; William Redfern, surgeon's mate; and Thomas Lunness, otherwise Linness, received sentence of death; but the court recommended Hudson to mercy, on account of a wound he had received in the West Indies, in his majesty's service, which deprived him of his senses, on drinking strong liquor. William Redfern was also recommended to mercy, on account of his professional situation leading him more among the mutineers than any of the officers.—The court found charges only proved in part against Bryan Finn, otherwise Fenn, and Joseph Gleaves. The former was therefore sentenced to receive 300 lashes, and the latter 250. The court then adjourned finally; so that no more trials were to be held at Greenhithe.

The mutineers of the *Saturn*, Parry, Farrel, and Regnon, were executed at Plymouth on the 31st of August.—One of the remaining prisoners, who was particularly recommended, was pardoned. Evans and Dixon remained under sentence of death. Two who were recommended to mercy by the court, and three not recommended, remained unnoticed. One was acquitted, with a reprimand; and another without one. Captain Lane ordered the boats to form in two lines, having the launch and coffins between them, to proceed in that manner down the harbour, and in a half circle round the *Saturn's*

Saturn's bow. The boatswain of the *Emerald* was also executed, by the sentence of a court martial, in lord St. Vincent's fleet. Three men of the *Powerful* were tried for mutinous expressions: one was sentenced to receive 300 lashes, another 200, and the third was acquitted. Daniel Keefe, a seaman of the *Bedford*, was tried by a court martial on board of the *Resource*, and it was proved against him that he threw an 18 pound shot at lieutenant *Buccanor*, and struck him a violent blow on the back of his head; he was therefore found guilty, and executed at Spithead on the 18th of September. Lee and Preston were executed on the 4th of September, on board of the *Royal Sovereign*. The whole fleet observed the greatest order and solemnity upon this occasion. The prisoners shook hands with the admiral and officers before they suffered, and delivered a very affecting letter, addressed to their shipmates, acknowledging the justice of their sentence, and fairness of their trial, recommending, in the strongest terms, a propriety of conduct, and not to be misled, as they had been.

We have given an account of these mutinous proceedings, and the executions which followed in consequence of them, in one continued series, wherein our readers may suppose we have been too prolix. But the perfect subordination restored to the crews of ships by some necessary examples, and the advantages secured to the seamen by an act of parliament, defeated the hopes of our enemies, both internal and external, and in a great degree contributed to the ardour which British sailors exhibited in the ever-memorable victory gained by admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet, upon their own coasts,

which we shall now have the pleasure of relating.

When the alarming and disgraceful mutiny at the *Nore* had deprived admiral Duncan of the greatest part of his fleet, so that he had scarcely a ship that he could trust, except the *Venerable*, his own flag-ship, he called the mutineers cowardly lubbers, and declared that he would lay her along side the Dutch fleet with the few ships left him, and shame them by his exertions. Accordingly, he caused the *Venerable* to be put in close with the *Texel*, where the Dutch were lying, and stationed two frigates in the offing to make signals. By this means, he intimidated the Dutch, until he received a reinforcement, as they would not venture out, judging he was there for the purpose of reconnoitring, and that the frigates were stationed for the means of communicating with the fleet. After having enticed, and even provoked the Dutch to give him battle, to no purpose, he was tired; and conceiving they had some other object in view than fighting, which he ardently desired, he reported that he was under a necessity to return home and refit. Some of his ships did indeed want repairs; and the probability of this circumstance, from their having been long at sea, strengthened the report, so as to induce the wary Dutch to commence their intended expedition, and put to sea. Admiral Duncan's feint not only deceived them, but some of his own people, who so thoroughly thought he was returned to refit, that several of his officers and men who had gone ashore, were left behind, when he received notice that the Dutch fleet were at sea; and such was his eagerness to engage, that he put to sea without them. Thus were they mortified at being

being absent from one of the hardest fought actions they had ever witnessed, where the determined courage of the Dutch called forth an exertion of all that firmness and bravery which characterises British seamen.

Admiral Duncan had left captain Trollope with a small squadron cruising off the Texel, who sent him advice that the Dutch were at sea, and that he would keep them so close in view, that when he descried the flag of his ship, they were sure to be near. The admiral sailed with expedition, and placed his fleet in such a position, as to prevent the Dutch from returning to the Texel, without his falling in with them. At nine in the morning of October the 11th, he descried captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; upon which he immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chase, and soon saw the Dutch fleet forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive him with the wind at N. W. As the British approached them, admiral Duncan made a signal for shortening sail, in order to connect the ships, at which time he saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the Dutch fleet. No time was therefore to be lost in commencing the attack, and he made a signal to break the enemy's line, by bearing up, and then engage them to leeward. By this manœuvre, each ship of the British engaged her opposite, and shot between them and the land, to which they were hastening apace.— These signals were obeyed with great promptitude and exactness. Vice admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bearing down on the Dutch rear with great gallantry, his division following his example; and the action commenced

about 40 minutes past twelve at noon. The *Venerable*, admiral Duncan's own ship, soon pushed through the Dutch line, and he began a close action with their van and his division, which continued for near two hours and a half; at which time he perceived all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship gone by the board. She was, however, defended in a gallant manner for some time, till being overpowered by numbers, her colours were struck, and her admiral (De Winter) brought on board of the *Venerable*. By this time, admiral Duncan saw the ship which bore the Dutch vice admiral's flag dismasted, and her colours struck to vice admiral Onslow, and that many others had struck: when finding the British were in only nine fathoms water, and not more than five miles from land, he gave up the chase of such ships as escaped, for then the British were employed in getting the heads of disabled ships off shore, especially such as were captured, making ten sail of the line and a frigate. Their names are as follow:

1. The *Delf*, captain Verdoorn, 67 guns, 375 men.
2. *Jupiter*, vice admiral Reyntjes, 74 guns, 550 men.
3. *Alkmaar*, captain Kraft, 56 guns, 350 men.
4. *Haarlem*, captain Wigets, 80 guns, 550 men.
5. *Munnikkedham*, captain Lancaster, 44 guns, 270 men.
6. *Wassenaer*, captain Holland, 64 guns, 450 men.
7. *Vryhead*, or *Liberty*, admiral de Winter, 74 guns, 550 men.
8. *Admiral Devries*, captain Zegres, 68 guns, 450 men.
9. *Hercules*, captain Van Rysoort, 64 guns, 450 men.
10. *Gelykhied*,

10. Gelykhied, or Equality, captain Ruysen, 50 guns, 468 men.

11. Ambuscade frigate, captain lieutenant Hugs, 30 guns, 270 men.

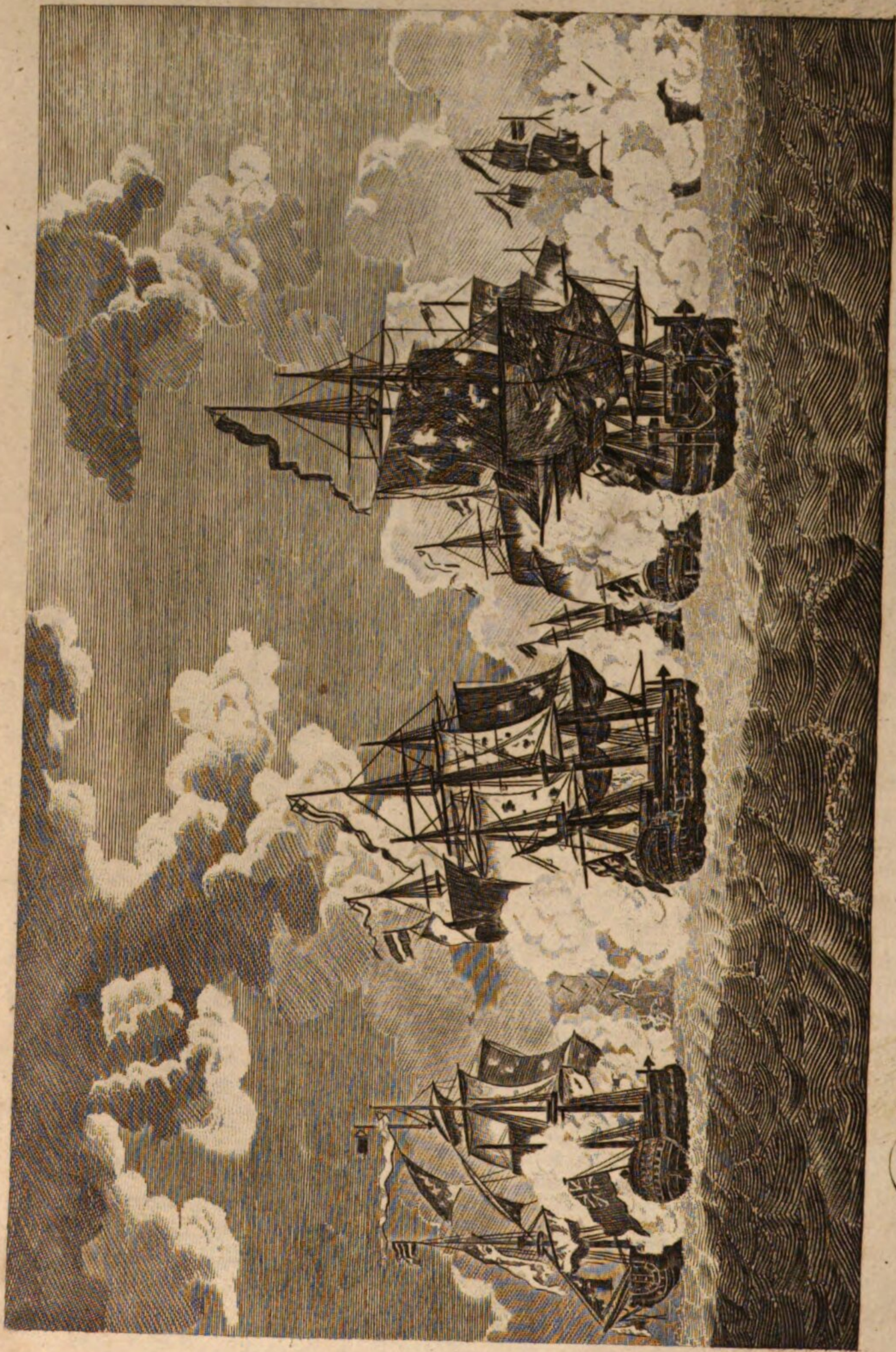
After the action, the wind blew so fresh on the Dutch coast, that the British experienced much difficulty in keeping the disabled ships off shore, and were unavoidably dispersed; but the Venerable fortunately came to anchor, off Orford Ness, on the evening of October the 14th, so leaky, that all her pumps could but just keep her free. In the morning the admiral saw others of the ships at anchor near him, and three near the Kentish knock, with three in Hosely-bay, but the wind was so much against ships in their disabled state, that he sent the Beaulieu and Lancaster to assist them.

On the receipt of the above welcome news, the Park and Tower guns were fired, and illuminations took place at London, and almost all the capital towns in England. To reward the principal actors in this glorious affair, the king granted the dignity of viscount in Great Britain to admiral Duncan, and his heirs male, by the name, style and title of Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown, off which place the battle was fought, and of Lundie, in the shire of Perth. The dignity of a baronet of Great Britain, was also granted to admiral Onslow, and his heirs male. Captain Fairfax, was to be knighted: and lieutenant Brodie, who brought home the first dispatches of the victory, was raised to the rank of master and commander in the navy.

This glorious victory of admiral Duncan's over the Dutch fleet, cannot be too much extolled, for in consequence of it, a mortal blow was given to an enemy who was ever hostile to Britain as a commercial state, and had

formerly contended with her for the empire of the ocean. In former wars we successively had to support against French, Spain, and America; the Dutch have supplied the enemies of this country with naval and military stores so openly as to bring on a seizure of their ships, until they have commenced parties in the contest against us.— In the beginning of this most calamitous war, the land forces, sent to protect them from French rapacity, were worse insulted, and ill treated, upon their march back through Holland, than if they had retreated through an enemy's country. They were now so completely subjected to the power of a French faction, as to be forced out to sea by its order, for the purpose of forming a junction with the navy of France, in Brest water. Had this junction been effected, the combined fleets would have composed a force of more than 40 ships of the line, for the determinate and open avowal of our enemies to make a descent on some part of the British empire in Europe; and we shall soon perceive, from the preparations made for French fraternization in Ireland, that a descent on that kingdom was their chief object, however this might be masked by their frequent boasts of landing in Britain, and enriching their predatory armies with the spoil of that country, to the ruin of its commerce, which the total defeat of the Dutch fleet has in some degree prevented, together with the alarm and confusion which such an intended junction with that of France would have excited, if it had been effected.

This victory, then, requires no exaggeration or amplification to enhance its importance. In the first accounts given of this action, the frigates were included



Defeat of the Dutch Fleet by Admiral Lord Duncan.

included to swell the Dutch line, without noticing vessels of the same description in ours, as no other ships but three or two deckers are considered as effective in a general engagement. It is also proper to observe, that the weight of metal in both fleets was equal, but the complement of the crews, and size of the ships were larger on our side, in proportion to their respective rates.

This action took place between the Texel and the Maes, so near land, that the shores were lined with Dutch people, who beheld our triumphant victory over their vanquished navy, the line of which was broken in two places, by admiral Duncan, near its centre, and rear admiral Onslow, in the rear. Every part of the British line behaved with the utmost gallantry, and it does not follow, from the slaughter being greater in some ships, that those which suffered least did not distinguish themselves. This difference might depend on the place which they occupied in the line, on the force or gallantry of the ships to which they were severally opposed, or of some ships being raked in the moment of advancing to break the Dutch line. The slaughter was certainly great, as the killed and wounded in six ships only, amounted to 649, and as the returns were at first made of only nine, out of the sixteen ships, which composed the British line, the slaughter must have been proportionally great, so that the victory is not cheaply gained; but never was victory more critical. The two fleets were nearly equal in numerical force, and the chief splendour of the action consisted in the skill and rapidity with which admiral Duncan seized upon the critical moment for the attack.—

The hesitation or delay of a small interval would have been fatal; for the Dutch ships, built to navigate their own seas, would have approached so close in shore, that our fleet could not have followed them. This the British admiral perceived, and his decision was instantaneously to break their line, pass rapidly through it, and take upon him to place his ships between them and the shore, to which they were hastening apace.

When admiral Duncan made the signal for breaking the Dutch line, the Dutch admiral immediately perceiving his purpose, made a signal for his fleet to close, which was very alertly obeyed, particularly by his vice admiral, under the stern of whose ship admiral Duncan passed, and immediately ranged up along-side, opening a heavy fire upon her, but it was seven or eight minutes before a gun was returned, a proof that they were not ready on that side. The Dutch vice admiral did not stand the fire of the Venerable above ten minutes, but dropping her fore-sail shot a-head: the Venerable then ranged up to admiral de Winter's ship, when a very warmly contested action took place, in which the obstinate bravery of the Dutch was such, that when admiral de Winter surrendered, he was the only commander upon the quarter-deck of the Vryheid, and is said to have been so for half an hour, every other officer being killed or wounded.

There were two Dutch admirals on board of one ship, the reason for which was, that one of them, admiral Reintjes was very aged, and having suffered a paralytic stroke four days before the fleet sailed, another admiral was put on board of his ship; but he being extremely

extremely popular in the service, and considered by the seamen as very fortunate, resolved to continue in his ship.

Admiral de Winter declared that he was forced out by the French partizans, against his own judgment, for knowing the very bad state of his ships, and indisposition some of the men had to the cause in which they were embarked, he did not think himself a match for the British, if they should engage him. His orders were, however, to fight them if they met, and as he had been threatened with a court-martial, for making some objection to sailing, he did not doubt, but he would have been condemned, had he returned without fighting.

The Venerable suffered much in this engagement, as the whole attention of the enemy was particularly directed against her from the onset; for the first hour of the action, she had five Dutch ships upon her, and a frigate on her starboard-bow, which did her much injury, not being able to bring a gun to bear on this insignificant enemy, without exposing herself to be raked by her opponent ships of the line, on board of which were some select artillery-men, with brass field pieces, placed for the purpose of leveling at her signals, and flag, or striking her when she heeled below the water mark, and they so far succeeded as to shoot away her ensign from the staff.— This being reinstated on the mizen staff, was again cut away, and nearly at the instant her blue flag at the main-mast was carried off by a shot. This being observed by a seaman, whose name was Crawford, he flew up to replace it, with a hammer and nail to nail it to the mast head, and effected his purpose, for which act his name is celebrated, and he was honoured by

the admiral's particular notice and recommendation: almost every large shot which the Venerable received, was of a disabling kind; the two chain pumps were rendered useless in the beginning of the action, and in twenty minutes she made above two feet water in her hold, nor could she have swam fifteen minutes longer without the assistance which the Powerful and Director lent her. At one port only, on the lower deck, she had twelve men killed out of fourteen, by the bursting of an enemy's shot.

In the course of this engagement, admiral Onslow's ship was at one time in the most imminent danger, being attacked by four Dutch ships at once, when she took fire, and was obliged to be towed out of the line: a brig carrying 18 pounder guns had the boldness to get under admiral Onslow's stern, who brought six guns to bear upon her, and sunk her with every man on board.

The Delft, of 56 guns, one of the Dutch captured ships, also foundered in sight of the English coast, and, lamentable to relate, the whole of her crew, with two English marines, were engulfed before any assistance could be given them, when only half a mile distant from the land.

The Dutch rear admiral Story, with three other ships, deserted their brave commander, in the very beginning of the action; being not even cleared, nor ready for battle when it commenced, he only fired one broadside, and made off for the Texel, into which he was seen entering the next morning. If these ships had fought with the same bravery as their companions, the struggle for victory might have been more sanguinary and less decisive.

The manner in which admiral Duncan

can received de Winter on board the Venerable, places the humanity of his character in a conspicuous point of view. His first question was, whether the Dutch admiral had a wife, family, or relations, so near as to wish they might have immediate information of his safety. If so, he might go into his cabin and write to them, when a flag of truce should immediately go off with the letter. After the hurry of securing prizes, and getting the ships' heads off the land, these two admirals, great alike in courage and personal bulk, complimented each other on their mutual escapes, from so many shots during the action, to which their command on board, and remarkable size of person had exposed them more than others.

Captain Burges, of the Ardent, who was killed in the action, bore the character of an old, able, and experienced commander, being brought up under the admirals Barrington and Rowley. He brought and led the Ardent into action most gallantly; he had twice obeyed the signal to engage, but still he thought the Ardent not close enough, and advanced, reserving his fire till every shot did execution. He was soon after engaged and surrounded with five Dutch ships, one of them admiral de Winter's, and was unfortunately killed in that situation. By his death, his country lost a commander of great nautical abilities, and from a rectitude of conduct, he was beloved both by his officers, and endeared to the whole ship's company which he commanded.

The spirit and humanity of this excellent officer, cannot be better illustrated than by the following anecdote:—One day last summer, captain Burges went to dine with Mr. Sykes,

the navy agent, in Arundel-street.—There standing at the window, which overhangs the river, he saw a boy drowning; and without a moment's hesitation, stripped off his coat, threw up the sash, plunged into the river, from whence he soon brought the boy safe to land, and alive. Feelings which could excite a man of his rank and consequence to such an act, could only proceed from the most exalted courage and philanthropy. Captain Burges enjoyed a pension of 100 pounds yearly, from his majesty's bounty, which annuity now ceases, as he has no offspring to apply for its continuation. He was succeeded in the command of his ship by lieutenant John Phillips, who fought the Ardent most gallantly to the end of the engagement, still engaging close until the ship was quite disabled: the carnage on board being so great, that her killed and wounded amounted to 148 in the total; more in number by 45 than the killed and wounded of any other individual ship engaged.

Mr. J. P. Tindal, killed on board of the Monarch, was the second son of Mr. Robert Tindal, of Chelmsford, a young gentleman of great abilities and promising talents, which he directed with a commendable zeal, to perfect his professional pursuits. The Monarch too, had the singular success of taking two Dutch admirals, being the flag ship of admiral Elphinstone, who took that of admiral Lucas, in Saldanha bay.

We shall conclude with a few particulars relative to the Dutch chief admiral, who was taken prisoner in this action: John William de Winter, is the son of Mr. de Winter, a captain in the Dutch army, who died governor or deputy governor of Berbice: at his first setting out in life, this admiral was

in the ranks as a life guard man to the present stadtholder. Leaving the army, he entered as a midshipman on board the fleet, and was in the engagement off the Dogger-bank, being then on board of the *Batavier*. About the year 1782, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and sailed as such in his two last voyages. In the year 1786, he returned from his last voyage in the *Batavier*, of 54 guns, captain Spangler. Soon after his return he married a woman in humble life; and in May 1787, quitted the navy to get a company of soldiers, in the bay of Amsterdam. Being garrisoned at Utrecht, he made off at the approach of the Prussians to reinstate the stadtholder. Soon after he appeared in France, and was promoted by the late king of France to a major's rank; but upon the revolution there, when his commission ceased, he became a staunch republican, serving in a low station at first, but he soon distinguished himself in France, by corresponding with their partizans in Holland, and at last entered that country sword in hand, under Pichegru, as general of brigade.—He was immediately sent to take possession of the Dutch fleet, then lying in ice, at the New Diep, and signed the convention with admiral Reintjeis, who commanded there. He then took possession of several English ships, which lay in the New Diep, and appropriated most of the plunder to his own use, which laid the foundation of his fortune, accompanied with a zealous profession of staunch republican principles. He is a tall handsome man, between 35 and 40 years of age. Plain in his manner, he joins to undaunted courage, an uncommon degree of ardour and activity, which he has evinced upon various occasions,

and is thought to possess great nautical skill and knowledge; although, previous to being made admiral, he never served in the navy higher than captain lieutenant.

The corps raised by his correspondence with French partizans in Holland, was particularly active in the reduction of Holland, when it was led there by him and Dandels, both of them raised to the rank of generals in the French service on account of their bravery and military character.

The French partizans in Holland, having expelled the stadtholder and his family, who took refuge in this country, none of their admirals could be trusted by that party, as they had been appointed by the stadtholder, and known to be strongly attached to the Orange family. On which account the command of their fleet was given to de Winter, who had particularly manifested his zeal for republican principles.

He transmitted an account to Holland of the particulars which took place between him and admiral Duncan, in the engagement; at the conclusion of which, he ascribed the bad success which he experienced, in the first place, to the force of the British fleet, which though equal to the Dutch in respect of number, yet exceeded them in line of battle ships. In another respect, the British ships having been together at sea, during nineteen weeks, the particular capacity of every ship was known to them, with their sailing relative to each other, which is allowed to be an advantage of the utmost importance in nautical manœuvres. This was not the case with the Dutch fleet, as it had but just quitted the Texel, and the British had the advantage of attacking them in that situation;

situation; add to this circumstance, an early retreat of six Dutch ships from the action; and among those which remained, there were four but indifferent sailers, to which cause he attributed the breaking of his line, which deprived him of the means for attacking. Thus in fact, partly forsaken and obliged to fight under the above disadvantage, it is a matter of less surprize that victory was so decisively in favour of the English. But upon the whole, magnifying Batavian courage, beyond what was exemplified in that memorable engagement, and admitting casual circumstances as favourable to the Dutch, as they were to the British, and his signals obeyed with the same promptitude as admiral Duncan's were it was no improbable conjecture, that some of the British ships would have been moored in the Texel, as a monument of Batavian prowess, on the 11th of October, 1797.

Admiral, now lord Duncan, is a younger son of that ancient and respectable family of Lundie, in the county of Perth, North Britain. By the death of an elder brother, the late colonel Duncan, of Lundie, about eighteen months before this action, the gallant admiral became possessed of the family estate, worth about 1000l. yearly. He married a paternal sister of the then lord advocate in Scotland, and niece to Mr. secretary Dundas, by whom he has a very promising family of several children, the eldest son is a young man of the most amiable disposition, and was then at the university.

The admiral was 64 years of age when ennobled. His height upwards of six feet, and his person remarkably well proportioned; his countenance agreeable, but commanding; of man-

ners easy, simple, and obliging, equally free from affectation and roughness, they exhibited natural expressions of innate goodness, and philanthropy.—His life has been spent in the service of his country, and on every occasion he maintained the character of a British officer. When a captain, and at the time reckoned the handsomest commander in the navy, his aid was required by the civil power at Portsmouth, to quell an insurrection there, upon which this brave commander, sword in hand at the head of his crew, convinced the rioters that he had both the means and spirit to enforce obedience if they resisted; but his frankness and generosity calmed the turbulence of the multitude. He even joked them into good humour, and they separated peaceably.

Having thus far continued the narrative of lord Duncan's acts and character, we shall resume our account of prizes taken from the enemy, and continue it through the year 1798.

Captain Newman, in his majesty's ship the *Mermaid*, took, on the commencement of this year, *Le Adventure* French letter of Marque, formerly the *Onslow* Guineaman, of Liverpool.—She mounted 10 four and two eighteen pounder guns, with 190 men on board, and had sailed from L'Orient a few days before, in company with two privateers; one of 30, the other of 24 guns, but had made no captures. His majesty's hired cutter the *Stag*, on the 7th of January, brought into Hamoaze, a French lugger privateer of four guns, and 47 men, captured off the Start; and captain Lloyd, in the *Racoon*, on the morning of January the 11th, saw a French cutter privateer, off Beachy-head, about seven leagues

leagues distant, to which he gave chase with all sails set, and after a running fire of two hours, within musket-shot, came up with and captured *Le Polierale*, carrying 16 guns, five of which were thrown overboard during the chase.—She had 72 men on board, being an entire new vessel, copper bottomed, and completely fitted out for three months, bound from Dunkirk to cruize in the West Indies, but had taken nothing. Captain Lloyd being under the necessity of carrying an extraordinary press of sail, and the chase being on his lee-bow, the *Racoon's* deck was exposed to a heavy fire of musketry and grape shot, from the privateer's chase guns, by which Mr. George Kennedy, the master, was killed, in whose death the service lost a most experienced seaman, and a gallant officer, four sailors were also wounded, two of them severely.

Captain Reynolds, of the *Pomona*, on the 5th of January, being off Ushant, about eleven at night, crossed a large ship, standing under an easy sail, northward, and immediately gave chase.—He very soon got along-side, of her, for the weather being thick and hazy, and the night dark, she was deceived in the estimation of his strength, and exchanged several broadsides, in consequence of which, he had four men killed, and four wounded, before she called out for quarter; having considerably damaged his masts and rigging. Having shifted the prisoners, and his carpenter having plugged up no less than eight shot-holes she had received between wind and water, Captain Lloyd was for taking her in tow, when the officer on board hailed him, and said she was sinking. All his boats were sent immediately to her assistance, but finding no efforts could

save her, they had only just time to take out his men and her wounded, when she sunk along-side of him. She proved to be the *Cheri*, from Nantz, carrying 26 guns, and 230 men, commanded by Monsieur Chassin, out 14 days, but had taken nothing. She had 12 men killed, and 22 wounded; among the latter was her captain, who with two others, died of their wounds the next day. A few days after, capt. Reynolds took a small privateer, called *L'Enprunt Fosse*, with only two carriage guns, six swivels, and 25 men on board, had been out from Roco but one day, and taken nothing.

Sir Edward Pellew, in his majesty's ship *Indefatigable*, with the *Cambrian* and *Childers* in company, on the 11th of January, captured the French privateer *Le Vengeur*, of 12 guns, and 72 men, quite new, eight days from Ostend, but had taken no prizes; they also took on the 16th, in the evening, after a four hours chase, *L'Enconcevable* privateer, of eight guns, and 55 men, out ten days from Dunkirk, but had taken nothing. About this time, captain Durham, in his majesty's ship the *Anson*, retook the *Harmony* galley, from Saint Elbes: also, the American ship *Active*, of Baltimore, with a valuable cargo; and the *George Randolph*, under Danish colours. The same captain also retook the only British frigate then in possession of the enemy; namely, the *Daphne*, mounting 30 guns, with 276 men on board, among whom were 30 passengers, of various descriptions, two of them the commissioners Jaquelin, and La Carze, charged with dispatches for Guadeloupe, which were thrown overboard. The *Daphne* had five men killed, and seven wounded. The *Melampus* frigate, captain Moore, and the *Seahorse* frigate,

frigate, captain Foot, on the 16th of January, after a smart chase, took the French privateer *Le Belliqueux*, carrying 18 guns and carronades, with 130 men; she did not strike until she had received a broadside from the *Melampus*. The *Belliqueux*, belonged to St. Malo, and had captured the Prince Ernest packet, captain Schayler, bound from Tortola to Falmouth, with dispatches, which were thrown overboard. Captain Lloyd, of his majesty's sloop *Racoon*, fell in with, and captured the French schooner privateer *La Pense*, with two four pounder guns, nine swivels, and 32 men, had sailed from Dieppe, a little while before, and had taken nothing; she was captured on the 22d of January.

In the course of this month, these farther captures were made: Captain Western, in his majesty's ship the *Tamer*, took and sent into Barbadoes, two French privateers, being *Le Dragon* schooner, and *Le Dixhuit* sloop, the former of 12 guns, and the latter of 10, both of them prime sailers, and very well equipped. Lieutenant Burdwood took off the Start, the French privateer cutter, *L'Aventurier*, of eight guns; and Captain Moore, in the *Melampus*, sent into Plymouth, *Le Volage*, a French corvette, lent by the convention to the merchants, having 24 guns, and 105 men; the enemy did not strike without a contest, wherein the *Melampus* had 4 men killed, and 8 wounded. She had taken an American ship, and destroyed an English brig, from Belfast. Captain Tyler, in *L'Aigle*, seized three vessels in the bay of Corunna, and two others laden with hemp, coals, and nails; also a French privateer, of six guns, and a Spanish vessel laden with Sardinias. Captain Hotham, in the *Blanche*, cap-

turned *Le Bayoness*, French privateer, of six guns; and Captain Rogers, in the *Mercury*, took *Le Benjamin*, French privateer, mounting 16 guns, with 132 men on board; she had captured the brig *Government*, Bruce, from Bristol, and a Portuguese schooner, but had been beaten off by an English letter of marque. Captain Downman, in the *Speedy* sloop, took off Oporto the Pilgrim Spanish lugger privateer, of three guns. The *Trois Sœurs*, French brig privateer, of 16 guns, and 100 men, was taken by captain Rogers, of the *Mercury*, after exchanging a few shots; she was copper bottomed, and sailed remarkably well.

Captain Pierrepont, in the *Kingsfisher*, on the 18th of January, saw a ship at day light on his weather quarter, chased and came up with her at nine, when an engagement commenced, but at too great a distance; Captain Pierrepont, by shortening sail, let her drop more abreast, when they engaged for an hour and a quarter, but there being little wind, and the *Kingsfisher's* jib-boom being carried away, the enemy shot a-head, and endeavoured to make off, crowding all sail, and firing her stern chacers; but Captain Pierrepont fitted another jib-boom, the wind freshened and enabled him to renew the action, which continued for half an hour, when she struck, and proved to be the *La Betsey* ship privateer, fitted out at Bourdeaux, copper bottomed, pierced for 18 guns, had 16 mounted, and 118 men on board; one of them was killed, and the captain, with his second in command, wounded, and six seamen wounded, the second captain and three seamen since dead of their wounds; she had been out 15 days, but captured nothing. The damages sustained by the *Kingsfisher*

Kingsfisher in hull, sails or rigging, were trifling, and one man only was slightly wounded. Lord St. Vincent was highly pleased with the judgment displayed by captain Pierrepont, and his officers, who in his majesty's sloop Kingsfisher only, engaged and captured this privateer ship of the enemy.

Sir Edward Pellew, of his majesty's ship the *Indefatigable*, accompanied by the *Cambrian*, captured the French privateer ship *Le Hereuse Nouvelle*, of 22 guns, and 130 men, out from Brest thirty six days, during which time they had only captured a large American ship, called the *Providence*, laden with sugar and cotton, which sir Edward had some hopes of retaking. Captain Fraser, in his majesty's ship the *Shannon*, off Cape Clear, took a large French privateer ship, of 24 guns, and 150 men. Upon the whole, it appeared from the London Gazette accounts, that our different cruizers had taken from the enemy, in the interval of time between the 1st of January and the 6th of February, 1798, in privateers and ships of war, twenty-eight vessels, carrying 348 guns, and containing 1487 men.

Captain Herbert, in the *Amelia*, on the 7th of February, captured the French brig *Branch de Olive*, laden with wine, brandy, and flour, bound from Bourdeaux, to Brest. She had sailed seven days before, with 32 others in company, all laden with provisions and stores from Brest, and had been formerly the *Olive Branch*, of Liverpool, captured by the French. The *Amelia* arrived at Plymouth on the 14th, and brought in the *Cultivator*, another of the fleet from Bourdeaux but a mutiny broke out on board the *Amelia*, which hindered captain Herbert from taking or destroying any

more of them. This last taken vessel had a quantity of saddles on board, supposed for the purpose of forming an armament at Brest, to make a descent on Britain or Ireland. The mutiny on board the *Amelia* was happily checked in time to prevent fatal consequences, and the ringleaders secured, to be tried by a court martial.

About this time it was proposed, by a voluntary contribution, to erect a grand obelisk in commemoration of our naval victories, upon Portsdown-hill, overlooking Portsmouth, Spit-head, and the channel, and adjoining the high-road from Portsmouth to the metropolis. The form of it was to be three-sided, each of the sides to commemorate a distinct victory; that of June 1st, 1794, was to be on the southern aspect towards France; that upon the 14th of February, 1797, to the westward; and that upon the 11th of October, over the Dutch fleet, nearly east, toward Holland. The height of the obelisk was proposed to be little short of the famous pillar at Rome, erected by Trajan, 135 feet high, including the pedestal and a beautiful figure of Hope, with her attributes, an anchor and cable, to crown the summit.

Lord A. Beauclerk, captain of the *Dryad*, captured a stout fast sailing privateer from Nantz, with 12 twelves, 2 eighteen-pounder guns, 2 twelve-pounder carronades, with 220 men on board; had been out 49 days, and taken nothing. Captain Rogers, in the *Mercury*, took *La Constance*, a French brig privateer, from Nantz, after a chase of five hours, a remarkably fine vessel, pierced for 18 guns, 12 mounted, and 96 men, quite new, copper bottomed, and a fleet sailer, was only ten days out. Captain Durham, in

in the Anson, captured *Le Jason*, a ship privateer, from Nantz, coppered, with 12 guns, and 180 men. Captain Charles Stirling, in his majesty's ship *Jason*, took a French national corvette, lent to the merchants for a privateer, having 24 guns, with 150 men on board. Capt. Stopford, of the *Phæton*, captured a French ship privateer, called *La Legere*, of 14 eight-pounder guns, four thirty-two pounder carro-nades, and 130 men, out only 24 hours from L'Orient, and bound to the West Indies. Captain Stopford also took the American ship *Eliza*, from Boston to Amsterdam, with a valuable cargo on board: she had been captured by a French privateer. Lieutenant Webb, of the Cherburg cutter, fell in with *Le Revanche* French lugger privateer, of 16 guns, and 62 men, and after a nine hours chase, making a run of 100 miles, it blowing very fresh most of the time, he came up with, and engaged her close along side, after a running fight of two hours, when the enemy attempted to board him twice, but was repulsed, and a well directed broadside brought her main and mizen-masts by the board, her fore-yard, also being shot away. She called for quarter; but possession was but just taken of her, with the utmost difficulty, when every exertion was necessary to take out the prisoners and the Cherburg's own men back, before she sunk, having received above 40 shots between wind and water. She had two men killed, and eight wounded. The British had only two men slightly wounded. Captain Manby, in the *Charon*, on the 2d of March, took a swift sailing lugger privateer called *L'Alexandrine*, with one carriage, four swivel guns, and 28 men, out six days, and had taken nothing. Captain Bowyer, of the Ca-

meleon sloop, chased two French cutters; one on the 1st of March, escaped, there being little wind, so that by using her oars, she got under protection of the forts on the Isle of Bass. On the 2d of March he saw, and chased another, which he captured at four in the afternoon. She proved to be the *Sou-fleur*, 13 days from Cherburg, with four carriages, two swivel guns, and 40 men on board only; yet she had taken four vessels, three masters of them then on board the capture. Captain Bowyer had some hopes of retaking some of them, the wind being favourable for that purpose.

About this time, his majesty's ship the *Dædalus*, and the *Hornet* sloop, recaptured or took the following vessels: The *Snow Rebecca*, an American vessel, bound to the Island of Goree, part of her cargo pitch, tar, dry goods, tobacco, coffee, molasses, and gun-powder. The naval stores were taken out, and the vessel liberated. Another ship called the *President*, an American bottom, but her cargo English, was taken by the enemy, but recaptured by his ship and sloop. The vessel and cargo were returned to the owner, on paying salvage. They also retook the ship *Quaker*, of Liverpool, of 10 guns, and 56 men, trading on the coast, and when captured was bound to the Island of Goree, laden with merchandize and 337 slaves. They also retook the sloop *Ocean*, which had belonged to the Sierra Leona company, having been trading on the coast, and bound to Goree with cloth, iron, beads, and ten slaves. They likewise took the French schooner, *La Prosperite*, of and bound to Goree, and destroyed the armed ship *Bell*, of 20 guns. The *Magnanime* captured and sent into Cork on March 4th, the Spanish ship *La Posta*

de Buenos Ayres, laden with hides and tallow. She was brought in, together with the *James* outward bound Guineaman, of Liverpool, which had beaten off one privateer, and stood an action of an hour and a half with another; but was captured, after losing her master and boatswain killed, and two seamen wounded, one of whom died afterwards of his wounds.

Sir J. B. Warren, with the squadron under his command, saw on the morning of March the 8th, a convoy within the *Isle de Dieu*, and immediately chased with the squadron; but the wind dying away, he ordered out the boats of the squadron; in consequence of which, two brigs were taken, being numbered and bound to Brest with naval and military stores; five other brigs bound to the same port with wine and brandy; three *chasse mares* with the same cargo, for Brest; another *chasse maree* with the same cargo, being ashore, was burnt. Two of the prizes numbered, with naval stores, were intended for the armament equipping at Brest to invade Ireland. The wine and brandy, for the same purpose, might be thought necessary in such quantities, to stimulate the courage of their crews, upon entering into action, a great part of them being only landmen, forced on board their armed ships by republican requisitions.

We shall postpone the account of prizes taken in the remainder of this year, and re-assume it again after we have given some farther accounts of the transactions between the French and Austrians, to the conclusion of a formal treaty of peace at Campo Formio.

There are no accounts of the proceedings in Italy, but those transmitted by Buonaparte to the executive direc-

tory, in his short exaggerating manner, from which we can gather the following facts:

On January the 13th, 1797, the Austrians attacked the division of general Massena, before Verona, which produced the battle of Saint Michel, as Buonaparte calls it, although the French only took 600 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. On the 14th, at midnight, a division of the Austrian army, which had obliged general Angerau to fall back hastily, threw a bridge over the Adige, within a league of Porto Legano, opposite to Anguiara. On the morning afterwards, the Austrians filed a very strong column by Montagna and Caprini, which obliged Jourdan to evacuate Corona, and center his force at Rivoli. General Buonaparte foresaw their movement, and marched there in the night, when in the morning a battle ensued at Rivoli, and after an obstinate resistance, the French account makes the Austrians loss to consist of 13,000 prisoners, several standards, and many pieces of cannon. General Alvinsy almost alone, had much difficulty in escaping.

On the 15th, general Gueux attacked the Austrians, with a view to disperse them before they effected their passage over the bridge: he did not succeed in his design, but took 3000 prisoners. On the 16th of January, general Angerau attacked the Austrians at Anguiara, which produced a second battle of Anguiara. He took 2000 prisoners and 16 pieces of cannon, destroying all their bridges on the Adige; but the Austrians taking advantage of the night, defiled straight for Mantua. They had already attacked the suburb of Saint George, but failed in their attempt, as the French were strongly entrenched there.—

Buonaparte

Buonaparte arrived in the night with reinforcements, and the battle of La Favorite commenced, from the field of which he writes, that 7000 prisoners were taken, with colours, cannon, all the Austrian baggage, a regiment of hussars, a great convoy of grain and black cattle, which the Austrians were attempting to throw into Mantua; general Wurmser, the governor of Mantua, sallied out to attack the left wing of the French, but was repulsed.

These successes of the French in Italy, were followed by the surrender of Mantua. The republicans also reduced Roverado and Trent, penetrating into the emperor's dominions in Italy. Another wing of their army entered Trevisa, approached the Adriatic, and threatened Rome, as the Pope had refused to negotiate with Buonaparte, who declared, he was in the possession of facts to prove that he was not sincere, when he seemed in a disposition to treat, as if French sincerity was to be relied upon, when the plunder of Rome was their chief object.

Apprehensions were entertained, that the French would advance to Vienna, and on April the 17th, preparations to receive them were in some forwardness, being continued with uncommon dispatch. An intrenched camp was formed on the Wienerberg, by the road from Italy, at a little distance from the lines, and works were continuing round the town; on the morning of the 17th, numerous corps of volunteers assembled on the glacis, and marched to the villages round about, to be stationed there. Their regularity and good conduct was commendable, and the loyalty of all classes at Vienna, was manifested in a conspicuous manner; but providentially it was not put to so severe a proof as

might have been expected; for either the French wanted more time to ravage Italy, and plunder Rome, during an interval of treating, or the emperor being desirous to prevent the farther slaughter of his subjects; a treaty of peace was signed between him and the French, at Campo Formio, on the 17th of October, 1797. The articles were as follows:

Article. I. There shall be for the future, and for ever, a solid and inviolable peace, between the emperor of the Romans and the French republic.

II. Immediately after the exchange of ratifications, in the present treaty, the contracting parties shall cause all the sequestrations which have been placed on the property, rights, and revenues residing in the respective territories, which are united to them, as well as on the public establishment, which are situated in these territories, to be taken off. They bind themselves to discharge all that they owe, which has been lent to them as funds, by the said individuals, or republic establishments, and to pay or disburse all engagements entered into for their advantage, by each of them. This article is declared common to the Cisalpine republic.

III. The emperor relinquishes on his own part, and that of his successors, in favour of the French republic, all his rights and titles to the ci-devant Belgic provinces, known by the name of the Austrian Low Countries. The French shall possess these countries for ever, in full sovereignty and propriety, and with all the territorial possession which depended on them.

IV. All the mortgages before the war, on the land of the countries expressed in the preceding article, and the contracts of which shall be drawn

with the usual formalities, shall become the charge of the French republic. The plenipotentiaries of his majesty the emperor, shall furnish an account of them in as speedy a manner as possible, to the plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and that before the exchange of the ratifications, that when the exchange takes place, the plenipotentiaries of both powers may be enabled to agree, with respect to all the articles, explanatory of and additional to the present article, and sign them.

V. His majesty consents that the French republic possess in full sovereignty, the former Venetian islands of the Levant, to wit, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa Maura, Carigo, and other islands depending on them, as well as Butrinto, Larta, Venissa, and in general all the former Venetian establishments in Albania, which are situated lower than the Gulph of Londrino.

VI. The French republic consents that his majesty shall possess, in full sovereignty and propriety, the countries hereafter mentioned; to wit, Istria, Dalmatia, the former Venetian islands of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the canals and the countries comprehended between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor and king; the Adriatic sea, and a line which shall be drawn from the county of Tyrol, shall follow the torrent forward to Garda, and cross the lake of Garda, as far as to Lacissa; from there a military line as far as San Giacomo, holding out equal advantages to both parties; which shall be traced out by engineers named on each side, previous to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty. The line to ascertain the limits, shall cross the Adige, at San Giacomo,

follow the left bank of that river as far as the mouth of the white canal, comprehending that part of Porto Legnano which is on the right bank of the Adige, with a circle drawn of 3000 fathoms: the line shall be carried on by the left bank of the white canal and the left bank of the Tartaro, the left bank of the Polisella, until it discharges itself into the Po, and the left bank of the great Po, as far as the sea.

VII. His majesty relinquishes for ever, for himself and his successors, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, all the rights and titles arising out of those rights, which his said majesty might pretend to have on the countries which he possessed before the war, and which now constitute a part of the Cisalpine republic, which shall possess them in full sovereignty and propriety, with all the territorial possessions that depend on them.

VIII. His majesty acknowledges the Cisalpine republic as an independent power. This republic comprehends the former Austrian Lombardy, the counties of Bergamo, Bresica, and Cremona, the city and fortress of Mantua, the Mantuan territory, Pechiera, the former Venetian states to the west and south of the line described, in the 6th article, as the frontier of the states of his majesty the emperor, in Italy. The principality of Massa and Carrara, the country of Modena and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna.

IX. In all the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the present treaty, the sequestrations placed on the property, effects, and revenues of all the inhabitants, and properties of every description, on account of the war which has been carried on between his Imperial majesty and the French republic,

public, shall be taken off, without their being exposed in that respect to be molested in their property or persons.— Those who for the future may not wish to continue their residence in those countries, shall be bound to make a declaration to that effect three months after the ratification of the treaty of definitive peace. They shall be allowed the term of three years to sell their moveable or immoveable possessions, or to dispose of them as they may think proper.

X. The countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the present treaty, shall incumber those in whose possession they remain, with the mortgages that have been incurred on the land.

XI. The navigation of the part of the rivers and canals, serving as limits between the possessions of his majesty the emperor and those of the Cisalpine republic, shall be free, without either being able to establish any toll, or to keep any vessel for war, which, however, does not exclude the necessary precautions for the safety of the fortress of Porto Legnago.

XII. All sales or alienations made, engagements contracted, whether by the towns, or by the government, or the civil and administrative authorities of the countries, formerly Venetian, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, until the date of signing the present treaty, shall be confirmed and considered as valid.

XIII. The titles of the domains and the archives of the different countries ceded, or exchanged by the present treaty, shall be given up in the space of three months, to date from the exchange of the ratifications, to the powers which shall have acquired property of them. The plans and maps of the fortresses, towns, and

countries which the contracting parties acquire by the present treaty, shall be faithfully given up to them. The military papers and registers taken in actual war from the staffs of the respective armies, shall be equally restored.

XIV. The two contracting powers, alike animated with the desire of doing away every thing that might tend to injure the good understanding which now happily subsists between them, bind themselves, in the most solemn manner, to maintain the internal tranquillity of their respective states.

XV. A treaty of commerce established on equitable grounds, and on such as may give to his majesty the emperor, and to the French republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed by the most favoured nation, in their respective dominions, shall be forthwith concluded; in the mean time, all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established, in the state in which they were before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of all the countries, occupied by the Austrian and French armies, shall be liable to be prosecuted or affected, whether in person or property, on account of his political opinions, or his civil, military or commercial conduct during the war which has been carried on between the two powers.

XVII. His majesty the emperor shall not, conformable to the principles of neutrality, receive into any of his ports, during the course of the present war, more than six vessels armed for war, belonging to any of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His majesty binds himself to cede to the duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries which that

that prince and his heirs had in Italy, the Brisgau, which he shall possess on the same conditions, as those in virtue of which he possessed the country of Modena.

XIX. The real and personal property, not alienated, of their royal highnesses the archduke Charles, and the arch-duchess Christina, situated in the countries ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them, under the condition of selling them within the space of three years.

The same measure shall be observed with respect to the real and personal property of his royal highness the archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

XX. A congress shall be held at Radstadt, solely composed of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire, and the French republic, for concluding peace between those two powers; this congress shall be opened one month after the signing of the present treaty, or sooner if possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war, made on either side, and the hostages carried off, or given during the war, who have not been restored, shall be so within forty days, to date from the signing of the present treaty.

XXII. The contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and whatever assistances of war have taken place, in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XXIII. His majesty the emperor king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, shall preserve between them the same ceremony, with respect to rank and other etiquettes, which was constantly observed before the war.

His said majesty, and the Cisalpin^e republic, shall have between them the same ceremony of etiquette, as was customary between his majesty and the republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his majesty the emperor king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French republic, within the space of thirty days, to date from this day, or sooner if possible; and the acts of restitution shall be exchanged in due form at Radstadt. Done and signed at Campo Formio, near Udine, on the 17th of October, 1797.

(Signed)

“Bonaparte,

“The Marquis di Gallo,

“Louis Count de Cobenzel,

“The count de Merefeldt,

“Major General the Baron de
“Degelman.”

We shall suspend our remarks on the preliminary articles, until the actual negotiations upon it commence in concert with the Germanic states, and hasten to give an account of some domestic occurrences, which gave the British ministry a leading clue to trace out the conspiracy in Ireland, that soon after broke out into actual rebellion.

On Thursday, March 1st, 1798, some persons were brought to London, from Margate, where they had been apprehended, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the French government; their names were Arthur O'Connor, esq. the proprietor of a Dublin news-paper, called *The Press*; John Binns, a member of the London corresponding societies, a secretary of a division, and the same individual person who was tried some time before at Warwick, for sedition; James Favey, otherwise Quigley, other-
wise

wise captain Jones, otherwise colonel Morris: John Alley, a native of Ireland, and Patrick Leary, a servant to Mr. O'Connor.

The suspicious circumstances of their conduct, which led to a discovery of these men, were as follow in detail:— On the Sunday before, they proceeded by the Hoy, from London-bridge, to Whitstable, taking along with them a number of boxes, trunks, and parcels of different descriptions. On their arrival at Whitstable, Favey passed for a colonel Morris, and the others as his servants.

Early on Monday evening, the custom house officers examined their baggage; they readily allowed the examination of some packages, consisting of hams, biscuits and sea stores, and their trunks of clothes, but some very small heavy mahogany boxes they could not open, pretending that their servant had not come forward with the keys. The officers intimated that they could not be suffered to depart, unless these boxes were examined; thus finding they were suspected at that place, they hired a cart, to take their baggage across the country, to Margate, accompanying it on foot themselves, a distance of about 25 miles.

On Tuesday morning, they got into Margate, and in order to keep themselves private, put up at a small public-house, the sign of the King's Head, near the beach, where Favey again passed for colonel Morris, and the others as his servants; but notwithstanding the greatest circumspection which they took to cover their purpose, the appearance of strangers, and baggage of that description, at this particular period of time, excited a suspicion of their designs, which was heightened by their offer to a fisherman

of 150 guineas, to convey them and their baggage to the nearest port in France, and a deposit of 300 more guineas to be forfeited, in case his vessel should be detained there. The fisherman communicated this proposal to the collector of customs there, by whom an express was instantly dispatched to the duke of Portland's office, stating the cause of his suspicion, with a particular description of the persons so suspected. Upon this instructions were immediately issued to the magistrates of Bow-street, and two of the police officers, were dispatched to Margate, who arrived there between six and seven on Wednesday morning, and went without delay to the King's Head public-house, desiring to be shown colonel Morris's apartment.

They entered as directed, and found him in a contemplative state, sitting by the fire, whom they secured without any difficulty; and as they were returning down the stairs with their prisoner, they met Binns, whom they also took into custody. On returning to colonel Morris's apartment, to search it for papers or parcels, they discovered Mr. O'Connor, whom they had not seen before; they proceeded to seize him, which he resisted, and it was said that he levelled a pistol at Fugion, one of the officers; who, however, rushed on him, and with the assistance of a soldier, then entering the room, disarmed him. Alley and Leary were afterwards secured, and a party of light horse called in to assist the police officers.

They then took possession of their baggage, fire-arms, and daggers: the daggers were of a peculiar construction, and extraordinary length. The prisoners had plans and charts of the coasts,

coasts, and particularly those of Kent and Sussex. Some of their papers contained references to, and descriptions of the different houses where societies met in England, with the extent of their political connection and principles, particularly those which favoured the French levelling schemes.

Fugion and Rivet, the two Bow-street officers, then arranged the order of their journey to London. The prisoners were conveyed separately, in four post-coaches, with attendance.—The witnesses occupied a post-coach and four horses. The whole escorted by a party of light horse, altogether had a formidable appearance, and alarmed the country as they passed along. It was one o'clock on Wednesday when they set out from Margate, and as they proceeded but slowly, it was too late when they arrived at Canterbury to think of reaching London that night. They therefore concluded to remain there, at the Red Lion inn. Several military officers, and among others lord Paget, came to see the prisoners. Favey was civil, but reserved. Mr. O'Connor and Binns were very warm and indignant, speaking in terms designedly offensive to their visitors. They reclined upon mattresses all night, prisoners and officers, in the same room, and a military guard in the inn, for security of the prisoners.

The next morning they departed from Canterbury, and arrived about half past three in the afternoon at Bow-street, where the prisoners underwent a partial examination before Mr. Ford and Mr. Flood, but nothing particular then transpired; the boxes, parcels, &c. containing most of the papers, not being then opened. The prisoners would answer to no questions, and de-

nied, even disowned, the baggage to be their property, except a few articles of no consequence. Favey declaring, that he went to Margate for the purpose of sailing in a trading vessel to Ireland.

The officers also stated, that they found about 60 guineas upon the prisoners; 20 of which were in Mr. O'Connor's pockets, 15 in Favey's, 10 in Alley's three in Leary's, and about two in the pockets of Binns. On the person of Favey, a very sharp dagger was found; and upon Binns, a pair of pistols, loaded.

Mr. King, under secretary of state, attended their examination. Lord Romney sent up his card, and was in consequence admitted. But all others were excluded.

After examination, the prisoners were committed to separate prisons. Mr. Arthur O'Connor is nephew to lord Longueville, whose fortune he was likely to inherit, as his lordship had no children; but Mr. O'Connor's democratic principles, and violent opposition to government, disgusted his uncle so much, that he was resolved to leave him no more of his estate than what the law could enable him to inherit. Mr. O'Connor, however, is in the possession of a considerable fortune in Ireland, and was educated in the college of Dublin, where he was distinguished by his eccentric behaviour, and sudden effusions of his genius.

His late proceedings, so far as they related to the Irish newspaper called *The Press*, and withdrawing to England after he had owned himself as the responsible editor of it, were then known. These, however, are only collateral charges to those at this time fixed upon him.

Friday, in the afternoon, Mr. O'Connor,

nor, Binns, and the other prisoners apprehended at Margate, were taken to the duke of Portland's office, to be examined before the king's ministers.

Summonses for this purpose were issued at an early hour; in consequence whereof, the lord Chancellor postponed the sittings at Westminster-hall, and council being met, proceeded about twelve at noon to the investigation of trunks and boxes, supposed to contain treasonable papers. This employment engaged their attention until past three o'clock in the afternoon, during which time also, they examined the police officers who had taken the prisoners into custody. A variety of very interesting discoveries were then made, but nothing was suffered to transpire.

Four prisoners were brought up; Binns, O'Connor, Leary, and Alley. Binns was examined the first; but he would answer no interrogatories.—O'Connor followed in rotation. Leary and Alley were not examined, it then being a late hour of the evening. In the boxes there was found a considerable quantity of money, contained in bags.

The proprietor of the Morning Post newspaper was summoned, and interrogated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, respecting the source of information concerning the persons accused, communicated in his paper to the public; but it appearing that the information was obtained from one of the Bow-street officers, he was discharged.

The council adjourned at six in the evening, when the prisoners were separately ordered into the custody of four king's messengers.

On Saturday, Mr. O'Connor and the others connected with him, were again examined before Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, the duke of Portland, the lord

chancellor, the attorney and solicitor generals, and some others attending, at the duke of Portland's office.

Favey, who had otherwise assumed the appellations of captain Jones, and colonel Morris, was first brought in, and underwent an examination, which continued about three quarters of an hour, during which he avoided any farther communication than what he had given at Margate. Mr. O'Connor was examined twice, but his answers to every question were scrupulously reserved, and inconclusive. His stay before the council did not at either time exceed the space of five minutes. Alley and Leary also underwent an examination. But Binns, persisting in his determination not to answer interrogatories, was not called for; when the council broke up at three in the afternoon, and the prisoners were continued in custody of the same messengers.

Those mahogany boxes, making part of their baggage, and in which their papers were deposited, appeared to be of a singular construction, having at the bottom and sides several concealed drawers, for the secretion of papers. In other respects, they resembled medicine chests, but the locks were of such an excellent contrivance, that no key or pick-lock could be found to open them, and the boxes were nearly broken in pieces to obtain their contents.

The five prisoners were again brought up on Monday, and all but Leary, the servant of O'Connor, underwent an examination before the privy council. The master of the vessel was also examined, and proved the agreement which had been made between him and the prisoners, on condition of conveying them over to France. On

Tuesday, O'Connor, Binns, Favey, and Alley, whose real name seemed to be Allen, were again examined; and at eight o'clock on Wednesday morning they were conveyed to the Tower, under the care of his majesty's messengers Sylvester, Mason, Scott, and Fabiani, accompanied by several of the police officers. The prisoners were received by four Wardens of the tower and a serjeant's guard, being afterwards conducted to separate apartments; Mr. O'Connor appeared much dejected, and scarcely spoke to any of those who conveyed him to the tower. Leary, his servant, was sent under the care of Mr. East, to the house of correction in Cold-Bath-Fields; but having acted under the influence of his master, he was not implicated in the charge of treason, being to take his trial for a misdemeanour. Mr. Arthur O'Connor had before this been a prisoner in Ireland, for a seditious address to the people of that nation, and was for some time confined in Dublin castle; but suffered to be at large, and continued so under bail, when arrested at Margate. The Irish rebellion, to excite which he was a chief partizan, commenced the month after his detention here, of which we shall now give a particular narrative, previously stating the circumstances leading to it, and the manner in which it was conducted, from the report of a secret committee in the Irish parliament.

The report commenced with a general view of the conspiracy, and referred to the report of the committee in 1793, and that of both houses in 1797, which it stated "to have been fully confirmed by the evidence of some principal leaders in the society. The first objects of this society at its formation in 1791, were alledged to be catholic emancipa-

tion and parliamentary reform; but from the original scheme, as developed in a letter from the founder, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the true objects appeared to have been to separate Ireland from Great-Britain, to overturn the present constitution, and establish a democratic republic in this country.

"To forward these views, the public mind was prepared by the frequent circulating of seditious writings, in particular those of Thomas Paine; but the real objects of the society were not disclosed publicly until the time when the test of the society, which had previously bound its members to seek "a reform in the commons house of parliament," was changed by the substitution of the words following—"a more equal representation of ALL the people of Ireland;" and it had appeared to the committee, upon the testimony of ONE of the executive committee of that society, that this alteration was made in order to forward the plan of a separate republic.

The report then proceeded to state, "that great numbers of persons in the north of Ireland, having been induced to enter into the views of the union," an immediate and direct communication was opened with the enemy.

Upon the establishment of the yeomanry in the autumn of 1796, the union found it necessary to assume a military character, in order to counteract the efforts of government; and so far had they advanced in this system, that from the papers seized in Belfast in April, 1797, it appeared that the number of men arrayed for military purposes was not less than 100,000: that arms in great abundance, pikes, cannon and ammunition, had been provided; and that nothing had been neglected to prepare the members of the

the union to rise either upon the arrival of a foreign enemy, or the orders of the superior officers whom they were bound by oath to obey.

“ Beside these military preparations, every exertion was made to defeat the ordinary operations of justice. Witnesses, magistrates, and prosecutors, were murdered; or if not murdered, pursued with the most violent injuries; attacked in their professions, their business, their characters, and their property; every inducement of hope, and every menace of danger, was employed to encrease their number; and from the fear of ruin, multitudes were daily obliged to join the ranks of the disaffected.

“ To disarm the loyal, became as serious an object as to arm themselves; and in consequence of incessant outrage, and continued murders, the loyal inhabitants of many parts of Ulster were stripped of their arms and driven from their houses.

“ Government, as it was its duty, resorted to the best means in its power of suppressing these outrages, and the legislature, in 1796, having passed the law, commonly called the insurrection act, that law was enforced in many parts of Ulster with considerable advantage to the quiet of the country.

“ In October, 1796, parliament having sanctioned the establishment of the yeomanry, that body, the original estimate of which was 20,000 men, soon amounted to 37,000; and during the late rebellion their numbers exceeded 50,000 men, sharing all the dangers, and performing all the duties of his majesty's regular and militia forces.

“ Notwithstanding these measures, the numbers and confidence of the union encreased; to give encourage-

ment to their followers in the province of Ulster, a sort of military parade was adopted and frequently practised. In autumn 1796, and spring 1797, great multitudes of these persons were used to assemble under the pretence of digging or planting potatoes, but really with design to exhibit their numbers, and strike terror into their opponents. To suppress this practice, general Lake issued a proclamation, which for that time had the desired effect; many of the lower orders giving up their arms, taking the oath of allegiance, and receiving certificates of protection.

“ In the month of May, 1797, immediately before an intended insurrection, which was to have taken place in June, a proclamation was issued bearing date the 17th of May, offering pardon and protection to those who should renounce their treasons and surrender themselves; this proclamation produced some degree of effect: but a general insurrection was determined on, and a partial one took place, which, by the vigorous exertions of his majesty's troops, was speedily suppressed.

“ The industry of Ulster, which had been destroyed during the contentious proceeding, was upon this suppression immediately restored; and so much was the general tranquillity of the country re-established, that the authority of the civil magistrates became fully adequate to support the laws; the inferior orders of united Irishmen, betook themselves to their ordinary business, and only a few of the higher committees continued to prosecute their plans of treason; but so completely had their followers been dispirited, that until the province of Leinster was actually ready to rise in May last, no inducement could prevail on the

Northerns to rise; and when a partial insurrection did take place, it was speedily suppressed by the valour of the king's troops and yeomanry, and the unremitting zeal of the loyalists of Ulster."

The report then stated "that the union having perceived, during the transactions of 1796, the loyalty of the common people of Munster and Connaught, every effort was made to extend their principles into those provinces: that the consequences of their labours soon appeared in the plundering of arms and murders of the loyal, in the summer and autumn of 1798; that the midland and southern counties became soon distinguished in barbarity, resorting, in addition to murder and robbery, to the ancient practices of burning the corn and houghing the cattle of those against whom their rage was directed.

"The means employed to excite the lower orders in these counties, who are chiefly Roman catholics, were promises of the abolition of tythes, and the fabrication of the most abominable tests, falsely said to have been taken by his majesty's protestant subjects for the extermination of Roman catholics; these fabrications, monstrous and extravagant as they were, were the chief incentives by which the deluded and ignorant peasantry were engaged to enter into the plans of the union.

"In further prosecution of their plans, an infamous periodical paper was published in Dublin, called *The Union Star*, recommending by name the assassination of such persons as had, in the capacity of magistrates, jurors, or witnesses, impeded the designs of the society.

"With the same view, the paper called *The Press* was established, which was latterly printed in the name of

Mr. Arthur O'Connor, who in his examination before the committee, admitted himself to have been a member of an executive directory, and an active leader in the society.—The objects of this paper, which was even more licentious than a former instrument of the union, (*the Northern Star*), were to impede the course of justice, by reviling all judicial proceedings—to aggravate the power of the union—and to forward all its favourers, by continued misrepresentations of the conduct of the loyal, and unceasing publications in support of the designs of the union.

"By these different means, the southern counties were prepared for insurrection; the county of Kildare in particular was so forward as to have 12,000 pikes; and arms amounting to 120,000.

"No art was omitted which could tend to embarrass government and promote the cause of the union; from the authentic reports of their officers, and the confession of their chiefs, a large fund appeared to have been collected, by almost universal subscription, to forward the objects of the society; out of this fund all persons acting under their orders were defended when prosecuted—witnesses bought off—lawyers hired to undertake in the gross the cause of all persons accused of treason—under-sheriffs bribed to return partial pannels—and gaolers paid to favour the escape of the persons accused.

"Still farther to embarrass the King's government, the use of spirits were decried by the union, avowedly in order to injure the revenue; the circulation of bank paper was impeded by a variety of contrivances, and the value of public securities was attacked and depreciated by a studied system of misrepresentation."

The

The report then proceeded to state, "that so early as the year 1796, the society (as it appeared by the evidence of Dr. M'Nevin, who confessed himself to be *a member of the executive directory*,) despairing of success in the project of producing a democratic republic by the acquisition of what was stiled "*reform*," had applied its labours to effect a revolution by arms; that in consequence of the representations made by them to France, the government of that country resolved to send a force to this country, and made an offer to that purpose, which was accepted by the leaders of the union, and M'Nevin was sent to France with instructions to state the disposition of the people of this country, which he did, and received assurances of speedy assistance; that Arthur O'Connor and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald, also proceeded upon the same errand to Hamburgh and Switzerland; but did not enter France, lest the government of this country should receive intimation of their so doing; that at Frankfort they had an interview with general Hoche, where they settled the intended descent, which it was agreed should take place in December: that in December the society received from France several contradictory accounts of the number embarked for the invasion, and therefore doubting all of them, took no pains to prepare the people in the south for the French, which occasioned the peasantry to act with such loyalty in the winter of 1796."

It was then given as the opinion of the committee, "that no formal communication between the union and France took place until the year 1796, although it appeared by the trial of doctor Jackson, found guilty of trea-

son in 1795, that the agents of France had been employed in this country; and from the statement drawn up for the French government, and proved upon the trial, that the leaders of the union were the persons then considered as the friends of a French connection.

"That statement appeared to have been the joint production of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the society, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, one of its chief leaders—now both fugitives for high treason.

"In order to keep up the spirit of the union, the leaders assured their followers of the certainty of French aid in the spring of 1797; and in order to expedite this aid, found it necessary to dispatch a confidential person, named Lewiness, to press the directory for assistance; which person proceeded in May or June last to Paris, and has since remained there the accredited minister of the Irish union to the French directory.

"Another most confidential person was also dispatched in the course of last summer to France; this was doctor M'Nevin, heretofore secretary to the executive committee:—He went to Hamburgh, and presented himself to the French minister there in order to obtain a passport; finding some difficulty in this, he drew up and presented to the same minister a memoir on the circumstances of Ireland, in which he stated with great exaggeration the resources of the union—made promises of repayment to France, both for the expected aid and the expedition which had failed, the fund for which was to be raised by the sale of the church lands, and the confiscated property of those who should not join the union.

"Dr. M'Nevin was also requested to

to apply to France for an immediate loan of half a million, or 300,000*l.* to be repaid from the same fund; and if France were unable to raise so much, he was empowered to apply to the court of Spain for the purpose.

“From all the evidence, it had appeared to the committee, that France had been at all times disinclined to send any force into this country which should not be sufficient to secure and retain Ireland to herself as a French conquest, and this disposition in the French government was illustrated by a letter from Lewiness to lord Edward Fitzgerald, dated from Paris, and communicating to him, under the usual cloak of mercantile correspondence, the result of his negociations.—This letter mentioned, that “the trustees (*the French Directory*) had refused to advance the 5000*l.* (*send 5000 men*) or make any payment short of the higher sum (*send fewer than their own proposal of a large army*) and that not in less than four months.”

Through the same agents, attempts were made to induce Irish officers of high rank in the several foreign services to enter into their projected invasion; but from the over-caution of the agent, these attempts were unproductive.

“A second memoir was presented to the French minister, to urge their promised assistance; in this it was stated, that the delusions of reform and emancipation were beginning to fail from delay—that the true republicans would be abandoned and discouraged, and the cause utterly lost. The French government, anxious to discover the facts, sent a confidential agent with orders to proceed to Ireland: this person having arrived in London, found a difficulty in getting a passport to Ire-

land, and the late lord Edward Fitzgerald was dispatched to meet him in London. In consequence of the representations made by him, the directory gave every encouragement to the Irish agent in Paris: great preparations were made in Holland—the fleet, afterwards so happily defeated on the glorious 11th of October 1797, by the gallant lord Duncan, was fitted out for the invasion—the troops had been actually on board, under command of general Daendells, but disembarked when the Dutch admiral was ordered out by the French commissioner against his own desire, to fight the English fleet.

“Upon this failure promises were made of having succour in April; but notwithstanding the encouragement and temptation given by the late horrid rebellion, nothing was done.”

Here the report observed, that these circumstances are all fully proved by the admission and confession of the principal leaders of the union.

“In the beginning of the year 1797, the chiefs of the union fearing that the zeal of their followers would abate, and that government might take stronger measures to put down their designs before the French aid should arrive, had seriously discussed a plan for a general insurrection; but this plan was received so ill by the Leinster delegates, that the project was dropped, and a considerable degree of coolness ensued between them and the northern leaders, and a design for seizing the castle, and trusting to the mere mob of Dublin for assistance, was actually in the contemplation of the Ulster delegates in this city, and only abandoned on account of the military precautions adopted by government at that period; and in the latter end of May in the
1 same

same year, orders were issued for a general rising in Ulster, which was frustrated by the energy of general Lake, and many of the leaders obliged to fly the country. These fugitives arriving at Hamburgh, obtained passports to France, (where they were very lately) and still held communication with the disaffected in this country.

"It had appeared in the evidence to be the general policy of the union to discountenance any premature insurrection; and the late rebellion was obliged to break out so soon as it did by the well-timed measures of government subsequent to the month of March, 1798; the apprehension of the provincial committee of Leinster, on the 12th of that month, having so broken the order of the union, it was apprehended by the remaining leaders, that if a rising did not speedily take place the cause must be speedily abandoned. Reports were therefore to be made by the officers, of all the military circumstances of the country; of the several roads, rivers, mountains, fastnesses, defiles, and other kinds of knowledge, necessary to carry on a war. Orders were also given to have the proper means of announcing the approach of the enemy (the king's troops) put in practice; and that the several departments of military duty should be strictly attended to.

"On the 26th of February last, it appeared that so perfect was the military organization of the union, that by a resolution of that day, thanks were formally given to the different colonels, for the zeal and diligence with which they had perfected their several regiments in discipline, and they were recommended to exhort their troops to bear the shackles of tyranny but a short time longer, when the universal orga-

nization of Ireland would be able to burst forth, and overwhelm their oppressors!

"The same system of terror which had nearly succeeded in the north, was adopted in the midland and southern counties; not a night passed without new and horrible murders—the country was almost deserted from the continued outrages which disgraced it: witnesses, jurors, magistrates, were all pursued with the same savage rancour; and to such a degree did the insolence of the disaffected rise, that in the month of March last, in the county of Tipperary, a body of 300 armed and mounted insurgents entered the large and populous town of Cahir in the open day—searching it deliberately for arms—and having committed some acts of outrage, rode off with the plunder without opposition.

"Lord Camden, upon this and other acts of open treason, did, by a proclamation, dated the 30th day of March, 1798, give to the several generals commanding his majesty's troops, full power and authority to put down this rebellion by military force, at the same time holding to the peaceable and repentant offers of protection and forgiveness.—This proclamation was sent into the several counties, and the commander in chief dispatched to give the necessary directions, and full notice of the consequence of disobedience."—And here the report observed, "that in all the cases where the power of the state had been obliged to act for its preservation during this period of time, full time and sufficient notice for repentance and submission had been always given. By this proclamation and the consequent measures, tranquillity was greatly restored; the lower orders of the union began to acknowledge

knowledge their crimes—to give up their arms—to solicit and obtain pardon and protection—to betake themselves to their industry, and renounce the practices of outrage: their delusion was fast yielding before the measures of government, and the cause of the union was rapidly losing ground.

“No alternative now remained to the union but an insurrection, or an abandonment of their design.

“An insurrection was determined upon: the castle of Dublin, the camp at Lehaunstown, and the artillery at Chapelizod, were to be seized at the same time; the north and south were to rise in arms, and the signal for their insurrection was to be the detention of the mail coaches from Dublin. This plan, which was given in evidence on the trial of Henry and John Sheares, since executed for high treason, was also proved before this committee.

“The insurrection was fixed for the night of the 23d of May. On the 19th several of the chiefs of the union were apprehended; and such was the vigilance of government, that the intended movements in the capital were completely frustrated.

“On the 24th, the lord-lieutenant published another proclamation, by which he delegated to the several military officers the power of trying crimes connected with rebellion by martial law; and to this seasonable exertion of a constitutional power for the public safety, the report ascribes the suppression of the rebellion, very much to the loyalty and courage of the regular militia and yeomanry.

The report then proceeded to give as a general opinion upon the system of the united Irishmen, “that it originated not in a desire to obtain *Reform*

and *Emancipation*, but was devised for the subversion of the present constitution—the separation of Ireland from the British empire—the setting up a democratic republic—the abolition of rank, and the overthrow of every present establishment in church and state.

“That the means by which this system was forwarded, were the propagation of doctrines which flattered the passions of the ignorant and vulgar, by promises to the southern peasantry, of an *Abolition of Tythes*, and to the northern manufacturers, of *political power*; by seditious publications and perpetual falsehoods and misrepresentations.

“It ascribed the speedy suppression of the rebellion to the rashness of the attempt, and the vigilance of government in disconcerting the plans agreed upon.

The facts thus proved by the concurring testimony of some of the most active leaders of the union, were supposed by the report to be sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that a mask of reform and emancipation were only assumed in order to impose upon the public mind, and conceal and advance the real design of separation from Great-Britain, and establishing a republic, if not subject to, at least in alliance with France.

The committee then observed, “that the means already employed, and intended to be farther employed, by the society in case of success, were exactly those by which the happiness and honour of the French nation had been already destroyed; and which, wherever they have been practised, have blasted the country which they have invaded with all the curses of anarchy and desolation.”

The report then referred to an appendix

pendix, containing some of the depositions upon which the committee formed these opinions. The first of these was the examination upon oath of Dr. M'Nevin, which was given at large, as follows:

"Having confessed himself an united Irishman, he thus described the several gradations of committees, each chosen by delegation from that immediately below it in rank—the baronial from the original societies, the district from baronial, the county from district, and the provincial from county committees. He swore, "that the executive committee was chosen by the four provincial meetings, who having ballotted for five names, the secretary of the executive reported the event of the election to the persons chosen, but did not communicate the result to the electors, who were thus excluded from any knowledge of the persons by whom the union was directed."

He said, "that the words reform in parliament were struck out of the test, and a representation of ALL the people inserted, because the idea of reform was given up, and the establishment of a republic determined on.—The society became a military body in 1795; the delegates of the different societies were usually the military officers; those from the societies of twelve each, were serjeants; those of the baronial meetings usually captains, and so to the rank of colonels, who were county members, each battalion consisting of 600 men. The staff-officers were elected by the colonels giving three names to the executive, who appointed from them a general of the county.—He knew of a plan to procure Irish officers from the continent, which did not succeed; he did not know that any of the French emigrant

officers in Ireland were ever applied to; he knew that attempts had been made to seduce the soldiery to the party of the union, but those attempts had not been generally successful; he knew that a fund was formed to defend the persons accused of crimes committed under the Union, and to procure arms, and that those arms were to be employed in effecting a revolution and establishing a republic; that emissaries supported by this general fund had been sent not only through this country and Great-Britain, but into France. He had read the reports made in parliament in 1793 and 1797, and except that the numbers of men associated in the union were underrated, he believed those reports to have been well founded. The people had been long inclined to rise, but it was thought absurd to do so while their enemies were on their guard.—He knew that the military organization of Leinster and Munster began in 1797.

"In April 1797, an insurrection was planned, but the writing that contained the project was afterwards destroyed, and the idea given up.

"He knew that part of the system was to decry the use of spirits and the circulation of bank notes; it was also recommended not to aid public credit by the purchase of quit rents; an exhortation to this purpose was circulated by the executive.

"Communications were made from the Union to the French directory in 1796; a promise was then made of invading Ireland to support the designs of the union, and it was agreed on the part of Ireland to defray the expences of the armament.

"About October 1797, a special messenger arrived to say that these succours were ready to the number of

8000. These troops were to be landed at Bantry Bay.—An insurrection was to have taken place in the north, had these troops been landed when they arrived.—A conference was had with Hoche, at Frankfort, to settle the plan of this invasion. Witness knew that until the month of February last, an accredited minister from Ireland resided at Paris; since that time witness (having been apprehended in March) knew nothing of him. He knew that a memoir was given to the French minister at Hamburg upon the affairs of the union; that memoir was in English. It stated “that the Bantry Bay expedition had given confidence to the republicans; that the next landing in the south should be attempted at Oyster-haven, especially as government had fortified Bantry, and taken military precautions at Bandon and Fermoy; that the south was completely organized, and Bandon become a second Belfast: that 108,000 men were ready in the north, but from the quantity of arms surrendered to government in consequence of its measures, a large supply of them would be wanting: that in the north the peninsula of Donegal was organized, and Lough Foyle would be a proper place for landing, as the garrison of Derry was weak, and one regiment there disaffected. It also recommended a diversion to be made at Sligo; and represented the bay of Galway as very easy to enter, but very difficult to get out of. It further mentioned, that the catholic priests throughout the kingdom had ceased to be alarmed at the calumnies against the French, with respect to their conduct to their priests, and were to become active in the cause, and promised that France should be fully reimbursed for the expences of

this and the former unsuccessful attempt, provided the number of troops did not exceed ten, or fall short of five thousand men; provided with a sufficient train of artillery, engineers, &c.

“It was also recommended that the Irish seamen, prisoners of war, should be separated from the English, in order to induce them to join in the expedition; that the French should, upon their landing, publish a proclamation that they came as allies to deliver, and not as enemies to conquer Ireland; and it was urged that France should, in the negociations at Lisle, insist upon the independence of Ireland as a preliminary article; and as a future inducement to France, assured the directory that the Irish militia would join in the union.”

The writer of this memoir went afterwards to Paris, and was at Lisle during the last negotiation for peace.—He understood that the directory did not think the English ministry sincere, but that if what France had a right to expect had been offered, peace would have been made. After the rupture of the negociation, new assurances were given that speedy succour should be sent to deliver Ireland.

“He heard that three several accounts had been received from Paris since February last, promising that in April a descent should be made.

“Witness was himself a member of the executive directory of the union. The memoir he had mentioned was delivered to the French minister at Hamburg.

“The Irish minister at Paris was supported from the general fund; he took money with him, and had been since supplied with remittances.

“Witness knew that a resolution was entered into by the provincial committee

committee in February last, not to be diverted from their object by any concession of parliament; he knew that this resolution was communicated to the executive and approved by them, as a democratic house of commons were their objects, and the overthrow of the ecclesiastical establishment. A loan of half a million was attempted to be negociated in 1797 in France, but it did not succeed. He does not think the common people of Ireland care one farthing about reform and emancipation; he believed all they wish is exemption from the payment of tythes."

The testimony of Arthur O'Connor stated, "that he was a member of the executive directory: he had been an united Irishman from 1796, and a member of the directory until January 1798; he began his communications with France in the year 1796. He knew of no connection with the English and Scotch societies; the Irish union always wished to keep clear of them.

The remainder of O'Connor's testimony was nearly the same with that of M'Nevin.

Samuel Nelson deposed, that in May, 1795, the civil organization of the union was complete in Ulster, and that the military organization was settled in August 1796. The witness was taken up on a charge of Treason, and falling into sickness, was liberated last January, by government, on condition of his not engaging in treasonable projects; but when Bond was arrested, he came forward and gave his advice and assistance to the union. He was acquainted with a design of attacking Newgate on the night of the 23d of May last, which was frustrated by government; he was also acquainted with a design of attack-

ing Kilmainham gaol, but he dissuaded his friends from the attempt. He thought Ulster was by no means so well organized, or so hearty in the cause as it was twelve months ago, the most active leaders having been arrested or obliged to fly; the plans of the union were so well prepared and concealed, that until March, he did not think government had been well informed of their proceedings. He then corroborated M'Nevin's and O'Connor's evidence, and detailed the connection with France, &c.

Thomas Addis Emmit, barrister at law, in addition to the testimony in which he detailed the same facts as the other witnesses, confessed, "that he was a member of the executive directory of the union, being appointed in January, 1797, and continued till May in the same year; and afterwards from his being re-elected in January, 1798, until the time of his arrest.—The first communication with France, which came to his immediate knowledge, was in April, 1797, when, in order to establish a constant intercourse with the French directory, an agent was sent from Ireland to reside in France, where he still continues. He knew that France sent to this country assurances of her assistance, &c.; that it became necessary to apply to France, for a larger quantity of arms than were promised at first, in order to supply those given up to government. He was certain that France gave assurances that the armament in the Texel in the summer of 1797, was intended to come to Ireland; and that a farther promise of assistance in April 1798, was made by the directory.

"He accounted for the loyalty of the lower orders in Munster, during the Bantry Bay invasion, by the union

having taken no pains to prepare their minds for the French, as they had been amused with contradictory accounts from France; and it was always determined to avoid an insurrection until the French should come, had not the severe measures adopted in Kildare by the king's ministers, urged the alternative of rising, or yielding up the cause. He believed had they waited until the French came, the rising would have been more general and formidable.

"It was intended to raise a general fund, for the service of the union, by the confiscation of church property, and that of all those who did not join them; the persons of the latter, if they did not actively oppose the union, were only to be held as hostages until it would be convenient to transport them; and their wives, if they were not hostile to the new order of things, were to be supported by a stipend out of the husbands' property—the rest to belong to the republic.

Witness being asked as to the practicability of Ireland being a separate state from Great-Britain, when she had not means to build a navy, and must be dependent on England, for the mere articles of coals? he replied, "that he thought Ireland fully able to stand alone as an independent republic; her wealth and population had infinitely increased within the last century, and though she might and would for ten or twelve years, be much crippled by the fleets and power of England, yet the strength of the British navy would soon fail, when Ireland ceased to act with Great Britain; and as to the article of fuel, the extension of inland navigation would soon remove the necessity of importation."

It appeared by the concurrent testimony of all these witnesses, that as

every individual concealed his own arms, no *Depot* or collection of arms for the union existed.

[*Such is our sketch of the most important state paper which has for many years been made public.*]

We shall now give an account of the rebellion; and there is no occurrence which has happened in Ireland for a century past of equal moment, and productive of such destructive consequences as that rebellion, nor any which demands such circumstantial details to be handed down to posterity.

At the commencement of May, 1798, (as appeared by recent trials, and other documents) the insurgents had taken steps to seize the camp at Lehaunstown, the artillery and ammunition at Chapelizod; but the vigilance of government had penetrated their views. Many persons had been seized and imprisoned, several had been tried and executed for treason, and other crimes. A number of persons had been taken at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, and committed to prison, whilst many jails in the kingdom were crowded with persons accused of various crimes.

The impending trials and past executions, had made the friends of the insurgents anxious for the safety of those in confinement, and their fears urged them to accelerate the means of liberating the accused. Numbers came from divers parts of the country, and the streets of Dublin were crowded with strangers. In this pressing emergency, search for concealed arms was made in every quarter, and troops were put in motion for the protection of the country. On the 3d of May, 1798, the earl of Clanricarde issued an order for the surrender of arms at Galway, and similar orders were issued almost

almost universally, especially by the lord mayor of Dublin; ordering likewise lists of the inhabitants of every house to be affixed at the doors. Prisoners were daily bringing in from sundry parts. The yeomanry of Dublin went into permanent duty, and patrols were established through every street; the county of Dublin had been already proclaimed, and on the representation of the lord mayor and aldermen, the city was put under martial law on the 19th of May.

Information on oath having been received by administration, that lord Edward Fitzgerald, was a prime agent of the conspiracy for overturning the government; on the 11th of May, the lord lieutenant and council issued a proclamation for apprehending his lordship, and offering a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the place where he was concealed: some days previous to this proclamation, an order had been sent in conformity to the alien act, to his lady, the daughter of the late duke of Orleans, to quit this kingdom, although scarcely recovered from a lying-in.

Lord Edward had, we are informed, made sundry excursions into the country, and had recently come to town to embody those men who were destined to seize the metropolis; in expectation of which event, great bodies of men in arms, had approached the environs in almost every part, anxiously waiting the appointed signal, to rush in and effect their purposes. His lordship finding his plan was discovered, and himself proclaimed, kept himself concealed; yet the design was hastening to a crisis. A day was fixed when the surprizing of Dublin was to take place, and a number of his adherents, in yeomanry uniforms, were to be headed

by his lordship, and make themselves masters of the seat of government.

This settled plan was to have taken place on the 22d of May, and would in all human probability have succeeded, at least so far as to have induced a scene of distress and confusion, had not fate interposed of lord Edward, on the 19th of May, in the house of Mr. Murphy, a dealer in feathers and skins, in Thomas-street. Mr. justice Swan, accompanied by major Sirr and capt. Ryan, went there between the hours of six and seven o'clock, with a party of seven soldiers in two carriages.—Whilst major Sirr and captain Ryan were placing the guard to prevent an escape, Mr. Swan got into a small outer office, and from thence into the lower part of the house; he went up stairs, where meeting a woman, he pushed her aside, and got into a room on the first floor; where he found a decanter with the remains of some wine, and glasses on the table, with chairs round it: meeting no person there, he rushed into a back room, two stories high, where he found the owner of the house standing in the room, lord Edward lying upon a bed, with his coat off and his breeches and stockings on. Mr. Swan informed his lordship, he had a warrant against him for high treason. Lord Edward rose and snatched a dagger from the bed, with which he made several stabs at him, that passed through his clothes without wounding him. His lordship then closed upon Mr. Swan, shortened the dagger, and gave him a stab in the side, under the left arm and breast, having first changed it from one hand to the other over his shoulder, whilst struggling together. Mr. Swan, although severely wounded, was unwilling to take his lordship's life, desiring him

him frequently to surrender, and endeavoured to wrest the dagger from him; in the scuffle, his lordship made many violent attempts to repeat his blow, and extricate himself. Mr. Swan, feeling himself wounded, and finding it impossible to restrain lord Edward by other means, in defence of his life, discharged a double barrell'd pistol at his lordship, which wounded him in the shoulder: he fell on the bed, but recovering himself, run at him with the dagger, which Mr. Swan caught by the blade with one hand, and endeavoured to trip him up.—Captain Ryan, directed by the report of the pistol, ran up into the room, and found Mr. Swan bleeding, and entangled with lord Edward; Mr. Swan said to Ryan, “he has murdered me!” on which Ryan threw himself upon lord Edward and Swan; lord Edward made a strong effort, and rushing on Ryan, gave him three desperate wounds on the breast and belly.

Major Sirr then came up, and found upon the landing of the stairs, Mr. Ryan, down, wounded, clinging to the right knee of lord Edward, whose right hand was uplifted with the dagger in it, as if ready to strike, and Mr. Swan at his side, having a hold of lord Edward by the left breast, with his right hand struggling for the dagger.—Major Sirr immediately fired, and lodged several slugs in lord Edward's shoulder; the soldiers then came up, and he surrendered, and was brought prisoner to the castle, from whence he was committed to Newgate, where he remained in great agony until the 3d of June, when he expired, having the day previous been indulged with seeing his aunt, lady Louisa Connolly, and his brother lord Henry, who came from England on the occasion:—

his remains were interred in Werburgh's Church. Captain Ryan was so much wounded, he was obliged to remain in the house for some time, from whence he was removed to the house of Mr. Lawrence Tighe, of Thomas-street, where he died the 30th of May. The dagger which lord Edward Fitzgerald had, was a short two-edged instrument, with a rising in the middle, on each side of the blade, set in a black ebony handle. It was, strictly speaking, what is known as a stiletto.

The alarm caused by this event was almost inexpressible. The next day messieurs Henry and John Sheares, barristers, were apprehended.

In detailing the different skirmishes and battles, that have occurred since that period, no resort will be had to reports; but to the most authentic and undeniable authorities.

On the 23d of May, 1798, information was received, that it was probable the city and the adjacent districts would rise in the evening; subsequent information confirmed this intelligence; in consequence of which, notice was sent to the general officers in the neighbourhood, and Dublin was put in a state of preparation. The measures taken in the metropolis prevented any movement whatsoever, but acts of open rebellion were committed in the counties of Dublin, Meath, and Kildare.—About half past two o'clock that morning, there was a regular attack made by a rebel force upon the town of Naas, where lord Gosford commanded, with part of the Armagh militia, and detachments of the 4th dragoon guards and ancient Britons. The rebels consisted of about a thousand men, armed with muskets and pikes, and they made their attack with regularity, but were

were soon repulsed by the Armagh militia, and then charged and pursued by the 4th dragoon guards and ancient British: their loss amounted to near 200. Two officers and a few privates were lost of his majesty's forces. A small detachment at the town of Prosperous was surprised, and a detachment at the village of Clane cut their way to Naas, with some loss. There was also an attack on a small part of the 9th dragoons, near Kilcullen, which suffered; but in the course of the day, General Dundas was enabled to come up with a considerable body of the rebels near the hills of Kilcullen, where they were entirely routed, with the loss of 200 men. There were also several bodies collected in different parts near Dublin, which were attacked by the Rathfarnham cavalry, and by a detachment of the 5th dragoons, and dispersed with some loss, and some persons and horses were taken. A rebel party, however, assembled at the borders of the county of Dublin, near Dunboyne, and overpowered some constables, and afterwards took the baggage of two companies, guarded by a small party of the Reay fencibles coming to town, and had during the course of the day committed many outrages: several of them, however, were killed; but the body remained undispersed.

The mail coach going to the north was attacked, within a few miles from Dublin, by a select body, well armed; the passengers were taken out and the coach burned. The Galway mail coach was also attacked in the town of Lucan, but the rebel party was driven off before its destruction was effected.

A party of the rebels, to the amount of several hundreds, were attacked by a detachment of the Antrim militia,

a small party of cavalry, and captain Stratford's yeomanry, and being driven into the town of Baltinglas, they lost about 150 men.

May the 25th, a body of between 3 and 4000 had collected near Dunlavin, when they were entirely defeated, with the loss of 300 men, by lieutenant Gardner, at the head of a detachment of the Antrim militia, and captain Hardy's and captain Hume's yeomanry.

The troops and yeomanry behaved with the utmost gallantry in both actions.

Lieutenant-general Craig left Dublin the same day, in hopes of meeting the body of rebels which had collected near Dunboyne, and parties were sent in different directions to surprize them. They, however, fled in the night, on hearing the approach of the troops. The general came up, afterwards, with a party, consisting of about 500, some of whom were put to the sword.

By accounts from the north, it appeared that the province of Ulster was quiet.

The city of Dublin was perfectly tranquil, owing to the precautions which had been taken—and it was impossible to describe, in terms sufficiently strong, the indefatigable zeal, patience, and spirit of the yeomanry corps. Too much praise cannot be given to his majesty's regular and militia forces; and the latter had opportunities of evincing their steadiness, discipline and bravery, which must give the highest satisfaction to his majesty, and inspire the best grounded confidence in their exertions, should they have a more formidable enemy to contend with.

On Monday the 26th, the body of rebels, who for some days had been in considerable

considerable force to the northward of Dublin, were defeated, with very great loss on their part, by a party of the Reay fencibles, and the neighbouring yeomanry corps, on the hill of Tarah.

Five companies of the Reay fencibles, under the command of captain Scobie, had halted at Dunshaughlin, on their march to Dublin; and hearing that the rebels were in great force, and had taken a station on Taragh-hill, captain Scobie detached three of the companies under the command of captain M'Lean, with one field-piece, to the spot; who being accompanied by lord Fingal and his troop of yeomanry, captain Preston's and the Lower Kells yeomanry cavalry, and captain Molloy's company of yeomanry infantry attacked the rebels, who after some resistance, fled in all directions. Three hundred and fifty were found dead in the field that morning, among whom was their commanding officer in his uniform—many more were killed and wounded. Some horses were taken, and great quantities of arms. The loss on the part of the king's troops, was nine killed and sixteen wounded.

The town was perfectly quiet, and the only part of the country from whence an attack was threatened was from Wicklow.

May 28th, intelligence was received that the insurrection was spreading southward, and it had broke out in the county of Wexford; and that the rebels in that quarter assembled in such force, that they cut off a party of 100 men of the North Cork militia, which was sent to meet them. Col. Foote, who returned to Wexford, stated the number of the rebels to be at least 4000, and a greater number of them mounted. Measures were taken to march against this body, with hopes

they would be met and defeated. Accounts came from Colonel Campbell, at Athy, between whom and general Dundas the communication had been stopped, that he had partial engagements with the rebels; that at Monastereven and Carlow they had been defeated, and 400 killed at the latter place, and 50 at the former. He also informed General Lake, that his men were in high spirits.

General Dundas sent word on May 29th, that the rebels in the Curragh of Kildare had laid down their arms, and delivered up a number of their leaders. And Sir James Duff, with infinite alacrity and address, had opened the communication with Limerick, (that with Cork being already open) arrived at Kildare whilst the rebels had possession of it, completely routed them, and taken the place.

The south was entirely quiet, and the rebels in the neighbourhood of Dublin were submitted and delivering up their arms.

On the 24th of May, in the morning, about half past two o'clock, a dragoon, from an out-post, came in and informed major Wardle, of the ancient British, that a considerable armed body were approaching rapidly upon the town of Naas. The whole garrison were instantly under arms, and took up their positions according to a plan previously formed in case of such an event happening. They made the attack upon our troops posted near the gaol, with great violence, but were repulsed.—They then made a general attack in almost every direction, as they had gained possession of almost every avenue in the town. They continued to engage the troops for near three quarters of an hour, when they gave way, and fled on all sides. The cavalry immediately

mediately took advantage of their confusion, charged in almost every direction, and killed a great number of them. A great quantity of arms and pikes were taken, and within half an hour many hundreds more were brought in, found in pits near the town, together with three men with green cockades, all of whom were hanged in the public streets. Another prisoner was spared, in consequence of his having given information; and from this man it was learned that they were above a thousand strong. They were commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dressed in a yeomanry uniform; he unfortunately made his escape, but his horse was taken.—About thirty rebels were killed in the streets, and in the fields upwards of a hundred.

General Dundas marched from Naas the same day, about two in the afternoon, to attack the rebels, who had assembled in great force, on the north side of the Liffey, and were advancing towards Kilcullen bridge. They occupied the hills on the left of the road leading to Dublin. The road itself and fields on the right were much inclosed. They were attacked between three and four o'clock with success, the infantry forcing the rebels on the road, and from the hills on the left, and the cavalry cut off their retreat. The action ended soon after four, and the slaughter was considerable for such a short time; 130 lay dead, no prisoners were taken: but the king's troops did not suffer either in killed or wounded. The rebels left great quantities of arms behind them, and fled in all directions. The next morning, general Dundas was joined by general Wilford, from Kildare. In this second action of the 24th, the troops

of every description were so eager to engage, that it was difficult to restrain them within prudent bounds; and capt. La Touche's corps of yeomanry highly distinguished themselves.

A third discomfiture of the rebels took place on the same 24th of May: for the rebels appeared in the environs of Baltinglas, to the amount of four or five hundred, when lieut. Macaulay, with thirty of the Antrim militia, and cornet Love, with twenty of the 9th dragoons, proceeded to attack them. At the instant of their advancing upon them, in the town of Stratford-upon-Slaney, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town, with a part of his corps. Thus attacked both ways, they were completely routed, and fled, leaving behind them between one and two hundred killed, and some wounded, who escaped. Several of the loyal troops were wounded, and one of the 9th dragoons severely; but all behaved as well as could possibly be wished.

In consequence of an information received at Hacketstown on the afternoon of May 25th, that a large body of rebels were marching to attack that place, lieutenant Gardiner, with the men under his command, and a party of yeomanry, commanded by captain Hardy, went out to meet them.

Having reconnoitred their force, which amounted to between three and four thousand, the troops took a post on the hill under the church, and when the rebels came tolerably near, the officers made a feint, and withdrew their men into the barrack; the rebels seeing this, came on with great shouts, supposing the day was theirs, but in a few minutes, captain Hume came up, with about thirty of his troops, and charged them instantly, upon which they

they retreated. A general pursuit took place, and so complete was the rout, that above 300 of them lay dead on the field of battle.

The Antrim regiment behaved well as usual; the yeomanry under captain Hardy did wonderfully; capt. Hume's corps and himself were particularly active, for though his right arm was in a sling, owing to a fall from his horse, so as to prevent the using his sword, yet he headed his men gallantly, and went into action with a spirit that surprised every one, considering his situation; lieutenant Gardiner was active and steady throughout the whole affair, but received a severe blow with a stone on his breast, from a villain whose life he had just before saved, the miscreant was shot dead on the spot, and the lieutenant being let blood, was on the recovery. None of the troops but him and one soldier, who received a contusion in his arm, were in the least injured.

Lieutenant colonel Longfield arrived at Rathangan, on the 29th of May and found the rebels had taken a position at the upper end of that town, near the church, and in some parts had barricaded the streets, and drawn chains across the others. The lieutenant colonel placed his battalion guns in front, supported by the infantry, stationing his cavalry so as to support both. The action commenced by firing on the town with cannon, and after the second discharge the rebels fled in every direction, upon which the cavalry were ordered to charge, which was executed by captain Pack, with a detachment of the 5th dragoon guards, with great spirit and judgment. Lord Tyrawley joined immediately before the action, with a serjeant and twelve of the Romney fencibles, and six of

the yeomanry cavalry, who assisted with equal spirit in the charge. Colonel Robinson, of the Perthshire regiment, major Mallet, captain O'Calaghan, and captain Campbell, of the 41st regiment, exerted themselves greatly on the occasion; between fifty and sixty of the rebels were killed.

Major general sir James Duff marched from Limerick on the 27th of May with sixty dragoons, the Dublin militia, three field pieces, and two curricule guns, to open a communication with Dublin, then thought of the utmost importance to government; by procuring cars for the infantry, he was enabled to surround Kildare on the 29th, with 350 infantry, and 150 dragoons, being determined to make a terrible example of the rebels, having left the whole country quiet behind him, and well protected by troops and yeomanry corps, and having given an escort to the mail coach for Naas, and yet thought himself sufficiently strong, his seven guns well manned, and the troops in high spirits, the cruelties committed on some officers and men having exasperated them greatly.

At two in the afternoon they found the rebels armed, but retiring from the town; general Duff followed with the dragoons, and sent some of the yeomanry to acquaint them, that upon laying down their arms they should not be hurt; some of them fired on the troops, and from that instant they were attacked upon all sides, and nothing could restrain the rage of the troops, till between two and three hundred rebels were killed; three of general Duff's men were killed, and several wounded.

Captain Scobie, of the Reay fencibles, with five companies of that regiment, lord Fingal's troop of yeomanry cavalry,

cavalry, captain Preston's troop of cavalry, of the Lower Kells, and captain Molloy's company of yeomanry, arrived at Dunshaughlin on the 26th of May, in the morning. He was informed in the afternoon, that a considerable force of insurgents had taken a station on Tara-hill, and he instantly dispatched three companies of his division, with one field piece, and the above-mentioned corps of yeomanry, under command of captain Mac Lean, of the Reays, to attack them, and the issue so far answered his expectation, that the rebels fled in all directions, and 350 were left dead on the field. Among their slain was the commander; many more fell or were wounded in the pursuit. The loyal troops had nine rank and file killed, and sixteen rank and file wounded.—Colonel Campbell, with his corps, killed 50 more of the rebels, and they suffered considerably in an attack on Carlow and Monastereven. Upwards of 400 were killed at the former place, and 65 at the latter, with little or no loss to the loyal troops, which upon this success were in high spirits; but in the beginning of June, general Fawcett, having marched with one company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon fort, this small force was surrounded by a very large body of rebels, between Taghmon and Wexford. They were defeated, but the general effected his retreat back to Duncannon fort. About the same time the town of Newtown-Barry was attacked by a very large force from Vinegar-hill.

The town was surrounded in such a manner, that colonel L'Estrange retreated at the first, in order to collect his force, after which he attacked the rebels in Newtown-Barry, drove them

out of the town, with great slaughter, and pursued them several miles, until night obliged him to return from the pursuit. The rebels were of considerable force; colonel L'Estrange's force consisted of King's county militia, 230 men, 17 dragoons, and about 100 yeomen. Much praise was due to all the corps and major Marlay, who volunteered his service upon this occasion. The rebels lost about 500 men; and the piquet guard commanded by Mr. Cornwall, surprised that night a party of rebels trying to enter Carlow, and completely defeated them.

Major general Loftus, finding that colonel Walpole's detachment had received a check, thought it prudent to move to Carnew, which he effected without loss. It appeared that colonel Walpole had met the main body of the rebels in a strong post near Slieveby mountain, and attacked them, but he was unfortunately killed by a shot in the head, at the commencement of the action; his loss and the situation of the troops being such that they could not act with advantage, forced them to retire to Arklow; their loss was 54 men killed or missing, and two six-pounder cannons. The captains Stark, Armstrong, and Duncan, were wounded, but not dangerously; sir Watkin Williams Wynne received a contusion in the hand.

Major general Johnson's position at New Ross was attacked at six in the morning of June the 5th. They came on with a very large force, and great impetuosity; but after a contest for several hours, were completely repulsed, with considerable loss, the streets being literally strewed with their carcasses.—An iron gun, upon a ship's carriage, was taken; and late in the evening they retreated entirely to Carrickbyrne, leaving

leaving several iron ship guns, not mounted. The general highly commended the forces under his command, and major general Eustace in particular; but had to regret the loss of that brave officer, lord Mountjoy, who fell early in the contest. Returns of others killed or wounded had not been made, but appeared not to have been considerable.

The troops in the county of Wicklow behaved uncommonly well, especially the Wicklow yeomen. The Shillelagh corps acquitted themselves nobly in beating back the Wexford rebels. The yeomen had been 16 days upon hard duty, and the last ten nights constantly up: their hours of rest being only from three or four in the morning to ten or eleven in the forenoon. The insurgents were numerous in the woods and mountains, but from great exertions made to seize arms and pikes before they rose, and unremitting assiduity afterwards to prevent any from falling into their hands, they were prevented from acting with the same effect as their associates in Wexford. Five engagements had taken place in the county of Wicklow, and about 700 rebels were supposed to have been killed.

General Nugent having advice of an intended insurrection to seize the magistrates, who were to assemble at Antrim on the 7th of June, ordered a body of troops thither. But their arrival was not early enough to prevent the rebels from taking possession of the town; and the advanced party, consisting chiefly of cavalry, were repulsed in the first attack, with the loss of three officers, and 20 rank and file, killed and wounded.

Colonel Durham soon after arriving, by a well-directed fire on the town,

drove the rebels out of it, and without farther loss, retook two curricule guns which had fallen into their hands, and one of theirs, a six pounder, was taken. They were pursued to Shanes-castle and Randals-town, with great slaughter.

Another body of rebels attacked the town of Larne, where a subaltern's detachment of the Tay fencibles maintained their post in the barracks with great gallantry. General Nugent commended, in the highest terms, the spirit of the troops and yeomanry, and stated the offers of service by the loyal inhabitants of the north, as numerous and respectable. He also added, with concern, that lord O'Neil had received a dangerous wound; that lieutenant colonel Lumley, of the 22d dragoons, was wounded, cornet Dunn killed, and lieut. Murphy slightly wounded.

On the 9th of June, the rebels attacked general Needham's position at Arklow, about six in the evening. Advancing in an irregular manner, they extended themselves for the purpose of turning his left flank, his rear and right flank being strongly defended by the town and barracks of Arklow. But upon their endeavouring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the 4th dragoon guards, 5th dragoons, and Ancient Britons.—The rout here was complete, and all round the other points of the position they were defeated with great slaughter. The loss of his majesty's troops was trifling, and their behaviour spirited. About this time, the rebels were dispersed in all directions, except at Toome, towards which place general Knox and colonel Clavering were advancing; but many had then laid down or given up their arms; and Mr. M'Claverty returned from Donegar-hill,

hill, whither he had been carried by a body of 200 rebels, as their prisoner.—He reported, that while he was with them, they disagreed and quarrelled with each other; and that from his influence, 1500 of them left the rest, broke and destroyed their arms, swearing they would never more carry any weapon against his majesty or his loyal subjects. Many more dispersed, and their commander was left with 50 men only.

On the 11th of June, major general Nugent marched against a large body of rebels, who were posted at Saintfield. They retired, upon his appearance, to a strong position on the Saintfield side of Ballynahinch, and endeavoured to turn the general's left flank; but lieutenant-colonel Stewart arriving from Down, with a considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomanry, they fell back to a very strong position behind Ballynahinch.

The general attacked them at three on the next morning, having occupied two hills on the right and left of the town, to prevent the rebels from any way to retreat, but to the mountains in their rear. He then sent lieutenant-colonel Stewart to take post with part of the Argyle fencibles, some yeomanry, and a detachment of the 22d light dragoons, in a situation from whence he could enfilade the rebel line, while colonel Leslie, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry, and yeoman infantry, should attack their front. The two detachments had two howitzers, and six guns, six pounders, by means of which the general was enabled to annoy them very much from different points of his position.

The rebels attacked colonel Leslie's detachment with great impetuosity, and even jumped into the road from the

earl of Moira's demesne, with an endeavour to take one of the guns; but they were repulsed with great slaughter. Lieutenant colonel Stewart's detachment was likewise attacked by them with the same activity; but the fire from his howitzer and six-pounders, soon obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force on the 12th, was estimated at 5000 men; but as many were pressed into their service, almost unarmed, their effective numbers could not be so much.

About 400 of them were killed in the attack and retreat. The remainder were dispersed all over the country.—Parts of Saintfield and Ballynahinch town were burnt. The general highly commended the zeal and alacrity both of the troops and officers, which was manifest on this as on other services in which they were employed. He particularly expressed his obligations to lieutenant colonel Stewart, for his advice and assistance throughout the affair, and to colonel Leslie, for his readiness to volunteer the duty at all times. The yeomanry he praised for their extreme steadiness and bravery.—Three or four green colours were taken, and six guns, not mounted, which yet the rebels fired very often. A considerable quantity of arms and ammunition was secured. Their chief commander was reported to be one Munro, a shopkeeper of Lisburn, who had the temerity of heading such an undisciplined rabble against troops well trained, and commanded by officers whose long service and experience had procured them the rank which they bore in the army. Captain Evatt, of the Monaghan militia, was killed in this action; lieutenant Ellis, of that regiment, was wounded; five rank and file of the troops were killed, and 14 wounded,

wounded, besides several of the yeoman infantry killed or wounded.

The Portaferry infantry, commanded by captain Matthews, on the 11th of June, defended Portaferry most gallantly against a large body of rebels who attacked it. The yeomanry took possession of the market-house, from which post they repulsed the assailants, who left behind them above 40 killed, and many more were carried off. Captain Hopkins, of a revenue cruizer, brought his guns to bear on the town, and was of great service in defending it.

Major general sir Charles Asgill having heard on the 12th of June, that a large body of rebels had marched from the county of Wexford, commanded by Mr. Bagnal Hervey, and were burning the town of Borris, he hastened to its relief with 400 men, but the rebels had fled before his arrival. They had attacked Mr. Kavanagh's house, in which were only 29 of the Donegal militia, who yet, notwithstanding an incessant fire kept upon them for some hours, defended themselves most gallantly, and killed several of the assailants. Nothing could excel the determined bravery of these few men; they, before relief arrived, had repulsed the rebels, who effected their escape back into the county of Wexford.

On the 15th of June, the rebels who had been defeated at Ballynahinch, petitioned for pardon to general Nugent, offering to deliver up their arms and ammunition. The major-general in reply, promised to accept of their submission, on the farther condition of giving up Munro their leader, and the other principal traitors, who had instigated them to such wicked practices. They agreed to surrender at 12 o'clock the same day, but Munro was taken early that morning. It then appeared

that their loss in the action at Ballynahinch was above 500 men, and that many were afterwards taken prisoners. The major-general much commended the exemplary conduct of Mr. Boyd, of Ballycastle. Mr. Mac Naughton had sent to warn him of his danger, which induced him to retreat to Coleraine, where he collected the Dunsevenich and Giant's Causeway corps, with which, joined to his own, he returned to Ballycastle, and beat them out of the place, being then doing execution on them between that town and Glenarm.

On the 7th of June, a considerable body of rebels attacked Kilbeggan, but were repulsed by 50 only of the Northumberland fencibles, commanded by captain Fletcher; 120 rebels were killed, and a number wounded. On the 12th, colonel Irvine, with a detachment under his command, engaged above 2000 rebels at Oviolstown-hill, about a mile from Hartland. The rebels had 200 men killed; but the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops did not amount to more than 23. Ensign Inter, of the Highlanders, was killed; colonel Irvine and Sir R. Steele wounded, but not dangerously. All the officers and men behaved well; and col. Irvine received great assistance from colonel Burrowes, who volunteered his service that day.

The forces under lieutenant-general Lake, attacked the strong camp of the rebels upon vinegar-hill, on the morning of June 22d, and carried it in about an hour and a half. The relative importance of that very strong position to general Lake's operations against Wexford, made it necessary to combine his attacks in such a manner as to ensure success. Therefore, a column under majors-general Johnson and Eustace, was drawn from Ross, to begin the
attack

attack upon the town of Enniscorthy, on the right bank of the river Slaney, and close under Vinegar-hill, but rather in the rear of their post.

A centre column was under the command of general Dundas: this body was to be supported by a column on the right, under the majors-general Duff and Loftus; a fourth column upon the left, was commanded by the hon. major-general Needham. The determined spirit with which these columns were conducted, and great bravery of the troops, caused the resistance of the rebels to be but for the time above stated, during which interval they obstinately maintained their ground, until apprehensive of being surrounded, they fled with great precipitation.— Their loss was not ascertained, but from the time of their resistance, must have been considerable. That of the loyal troops was not great; but lieutenant Sandys, of the Longford regiment, was killed, and colonel King wounded, while gallantly leading on his regiment. Lord Blaney and colonel Vesey, of the Dublin county regiment, were also wounded, but none of the three dangerously. General Lake highly praised the conduct of the officers and men, for a prompt, brave, and effectual execution of his orders. Col. Campbell, with his light battalion, made a well timed and spirited attack. The earl of Ancram and lord Roden, charged most opportunely, when the moment occurred that cavalry was only wanting to complete the success of the day. Majors general Hewit and Cradock, col. Handfield, lord Glentworth, and lieutenant-colonel Meade, were active: these three last accompanied general Lake from Dublin, and served as volunteers in the action.

The rapid and well-directed fire of

the royal artillery did great execution. Captain Bloomfield commanded the British, and captain Crawford the Irish corps of artillery-men. Lieutenant-colonel Cole was slightly wounded.— The ordnance and ammunition taken at Vinegar-hill, were three brass six-pounders, one three-pounder, seven one-pounders, a five and a half inch howitzer, making seventeen guns, with some charges for them; but a cart with a variety of balls had been thrown down the hill after the action, and great quantities of lead and leaden ball were given up to the Dumbarton fencibles.

On the 20th of June, major-general sir Charles Asgill received intelligence that many of the rebels who had escaped from their camps in Wexford, had collected near Blackstain mountain, and was prevented from proceeding farther, by the posts which he occupied on the Barrow. He marched from Borris with 250 men, in two divisions, by two different routs, and found them scattered through the country, in considerable numbers.— Upwards of 100 were killed, and several of their arms and pikes taken. Lord Loftus, of the Wexford militia, commanded one division under the general's orders, and colonel Howard, of the Wicklow, had the direction of the other.

On the 19th of June, sir H. O'Reilly, lieutenant-colonel of the Westmeath militia, having a party of that regiment, amounting to 220 men, rank and file, under his command, with two six pounder guns, was attacked on his march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon, by a party of rebels, who had taken up the best position on his whole rout, near to the village of Ballynascorthy.

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The attack was made from the height, on the left of his column of march, with very great rapidity, and without the least previous notice, by between three and four hundred men armed mostly with pikes, and very few fire-arms. The party of militia had scarcely time allowed to form, but very soon repulsed them, with considerable loss, when they retreated precipitately, but not in much confusion. Sir Hugh then perceived they were joined by a considerable force on the height, and with great difficulty restrained the men; himself and officers being exposed to some risque, till they had halted, and formed the greatest part of them, when it appeared, that the rebels were filing off a high bank, with intent to seize the guns of the militia.

A detachment of 100 men from the Caithness Legion, commanded by major Innes, was on the march to replace this militia at Cloghnakilty, and on hearing the fire, very critically pressed forward and fired on the rebels, while the militia were forming, and made them fly every way with great precipitation; at the same instant, a considerable force shewed itself on the heights, in the rear of the militia, and some had hats on their pikes, of which great numbers appeared, and were thought to be signals for collecting their forces. The guns were now brought to bear upon them, with such good effect, that they soon dispersed, and must have left a considerable number of slain, as some were killed in an attempt to carry off their dead. A dragoon who came the next morning from Cloghnakilty, reported their loss to be 130 men.

Upon the 20th of June, lieutenant Pearce, of the Cork militia, sent a

serjeant and four men, as an escort with a prisoner to Sallins, and at Ponsonby bridge, they fell in with a number of rebels. The serjeant immediately retired, and sent off an orderly man, with the account, to the lieutenant, who dispatched a serjeant and eight men to his assistance, and three of the yeomanry joined on the spot, when an engagement took place, in which 25 of the rebels were killed, and the rest totally routed; one of the serjeants only was slightly wounded on the hand with a pike.

Brigadier General Dunn, on the 19th of June, sent a strong patrol under Captain Pack, of the 5th dragoon guards, from Rathangan towards Prosperous. The captain having fallen in with 100 rebels, well mounted and appointed, instantly attacked and defeated them, taking eight horses, and killing between 20 and 30 men.—Lieutenant-colonel Stewart, of the 5th dragoons, on the same day was detached to Prosperous, and found a body of rebels posted on a hill, to the left of the town. These fled into the neighbouring bog. His advanced guard having been fired upon from the town, he brought two curricule guns to bear upon it, and set fire to a part of the town. Much cattle were left by the rebels, pinned up near the mess-room of the barracks, with many pikes and drums; eight of the rebels were killed in their flight. On the same day, a detachment of the Reay fencibles from Mount Kennedy, commanded by lieutenant M'Lean, of the Reay fencibles, and lieutenant Gore, of the Mount Kennedy cavalry, attacked a body of rebels near Ballinarush. The fire commenced from that body which was posted behind a hedge on the top of a commanding hill, but after about

twenty minutes they fled, leaving 20 dead behind them.

On the 21st of June, general Lake entered Wexford without any opposition, for general Moore, with his usual enterprize and activity, had pushed on to that town, and entered so opportunely as to prevent its being laid in ashes, and the remaining prisoners from being massacred, according to a declared intention of the rebels, on the following day.

General Moore commenced his operations for reducing Wexford on the 19th, by taking post near Took's-Mill, in a park belonging to Mr. Sutton.—The next day, he sent a strong detachment under lieutenant colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tentern and Clonmines, with a view both to scour the country and communicate with troops expected to join from Duncannon; but the lieutenant colonel found the country deserted, and could procure no tidings of the party from Duncannon: general Moore despairing of their arrival, began his march to Taghmon, but had not proceeded above half a mile, when a considerable body of rebels advanced to meet him: upon this, he sent his advanced guard, consisting of two rifle companies of the 60th regiment, to skirmish with them, while an howitzer and a six-pounder gun were advanced to a cross road above Goffe's bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on either side of them under colonel Wilkinson. The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed and driven beyond the bridge. A large body was then moving towards general Moore's left; major Aylmer, and afterwards major Daniel, were detached against them, with five companies of light in-

fantry, and a six-pounder gun. The 60th regiment also finding no opposition in front, had of themselves inclined to their left, to engage that body then attempting to turn the loyal troops, and the action here was a short time pretty sharp, as the rebels came on in great numbers, armed with muskets and pikes, but they were forced to give way, fleeing towards Enniscorthy and Wexford. Their killed and wounded could not then be ascertained, lying scattered over the fields to a great extent, but they appeared to be numerous. The loyal troops behaved with great spirit, and major Daniel was the only officer whose wound was bad.

On the morning of the 21st, general Moore was proceeding to Taghmon, when he was met by an officer of the North Cork, with letters of submission on proposals made by the inhabitants of Wexford. He gave no answer, but took post above the town, by which means it was saved from fire, and the lives of many loyal subjects spared who were prisoners to the rebels: these fled on his approach. The terms offered were as follow:

That captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also.

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These terms we hope captain M'Manus will be able to procure.

Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford,

MATT. KEOGH.

This proposal was transmitted to general Lake, as the chief commander in that district, who returned the following answer.

Lieutenant general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels, in arms against their sovereign, while they continue so. He must use the force entrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction.

To the deluded multitude he promises pardon on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

Major general Asgill received information on the 23d of June, that the rebels had escaped from the county of Wexford, and formed a camp at Killymount, from whence they were proceeding to Gore's-bridge. He instantly assembled all the force he could collect, and marched towards them, but did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating a detachment there, and making twenty-four of the Wexford militia prisoners, when they marched off rapidly towards Leighlin. The troops from thence, consisting of a small party of the 9th dragoons, commanded by lieutenant Higgins, with lieutenant colonel Rochfort's and captain Cornwall's yeomanry, killed 60 of them.

Night coming on, general Asgill could not pursue them any farther, but by the position which they took near to Shanohill, he conceived a notion that they intended to join the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were able to move, he marched to at-

tack them with 900 men, but was concerned to find they had burned the whole town, and forced the soldiers who were in it to retire before his arrival. Having cleared the town with his guns, he attacked them on all sides, and killed about 400 men; the remainder fled. They were commanded by a priest, called Murphy, and amounted to about 5000 men.—The general's loss was inconsiderable: his force consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under lord Loftus and the hon. colonel Howard; the dragoons were commanded by major Donaldson, of the dragoons, and major Bernard, of the Romney fencibles, with several yeomanry corps from Kilkenny and Carlow, who all behaved exceedingly well.

General Asgill fearing the bad consequences which might result from allowing the rebels who fled from Wexford, to remain for any length of time in the county of Kilkenny, determined to attack them with the troops which he had there, without waiting for farther reinforcements, as he then had 1100 men under his command, and the rebels consisted of about 5000; accordingly, on the morning of June 26th, he attacked them in their position on Killconnel hill, near Gore's bridge, and soon defeated them. The priest Murphy, their chief, and 1000 men of them were killed, 10 pieces of cannon, two swivel guns, their colours, with quantities of ammunition and cattle, were taken. What gave the general a peculiar pleasure was, that some soldiers taken prisoners the day before, and doomed to death, were fortunately released by his troops. His loss consisted of only seven men killed and wounded. The remainder of the rebels were

were pursued into the county of Wexford, where they dispersed in different directions.

On the 25th of June, early in the morning, a body of rebels consisting of several thousands marched from the mountains of Wicklow, to attack Hacketstown. Lieutenant Gardner had under his command there 50 men of the Upper Talbotstown, 24 Shebough cavalry, 50 of the Antrim regiment, 46 of Hacketstown, and 30 Coolatten infantry.

With these he took post on the most advantageous ground near the town, endeavouring to hinder them from gaining possession of it; when, after a few discharges of shot he perceived them filing off in every direction, with an intent to surround and cut him off, upon which he retreated to the barrack, to line the walls and windows of it with infantry: a contest ensued there, in the midst of surrounding flames, for the rebels had set the town on fire, and continued to attack the barrack for nine hours; when they were beaten off, and compelled to retreat, having suffered greatly, so that 30 car loads of their killed and wounded were carried off by them on their retreat, and many of their dead were found in the streets and ditches. Lieutenant Gardner gave the highest encomiums of every corps engaged, but regretted the loss of a good officer, captain Hardy, of the Hacketstown yeoman infantry, who fell early in the action. The total loss of men on his part was 10 killed, and 20 wounded.

It having been reported that the mountains of Wicklow afforded a retreat to large bodies of rebel fugitives, lieutenant general Lake received directions from the lord lieutenant to move different columns in various directions,

for the clearing that part of the country: but he returned to Dublin on the 15th of July, and reported that he was not able to find any body of them assembled in that district, but gave an exceeding high character of the troops, for their spirit and perseverance during very long and difficult marches, through parts of the country almost inaccessible to any army.

It appeared at last, that the rebels who had been in those mountainous parts of Wicklow, passed over to the Bog of Allen, and that a body of about 1500 attacked the town of Clonard, but were repulsed, with the loss of 60 men killed, by colonel Blake, who marched against them from Mullingar, with about 50 infantry, and as many yeoman cavalry. This body of rebels, after their defeat, moved towards Longwood, from whence they were repulsed by a detachment under brigadier general Meyrick, and pursued almost to Culmullin, about 30 being killed in the pursuit; and a party of the duke of York's Highlanders fell in with 16 of them mounted, the next morning, and killed all but one of them, whom they made a prisoner. The main body of the rebels reached to Dunboyne, and proceeded to the hill at Garretstown, whither general Myers pursued them with a detachment of the Royal Buckinghamshire militia, and some yeomanry corps of Dublin; but they went off at night for the Boyne, and passed it. They were still pursued by two divisions, under generals Wemys and Meyrick; and their cavalry having come up with them, the rebels formed, taking a strong position in the road to Ardee. But as soon as the Sutherland regiment arrived with their battalion guns, the rebels fell into confusion, breaking and flying in every direction.

General Wemys then ordered the cavalry and yeomanry to attack, and complete their rout, while he followed with the infantry to support them.— Upon this, the rebels fled into a bog, where a considerable number of them were killed, and a great quantity of pikes, pistols, swords, muskets, and two of their colours were taken.

Some of them who escaped, went on toward Ardee. The rest retreated over the Boyne, towards Garretstown, where they were again attacked by colonel Gordon, of the Dumfries light dragoons, who had assembled 130 infantry, consisting of detachments from the Fermanagh and Carlow militia, some of the Swords yeomanry, and about 100 cavalry. The rebels being mounted, great part of the cavalry were ordered to pursue them; but on their advancing, the rebels dismounted, and fled in all directions, so that not 100 remained on the ground when the infantry came up, and those dispersed on the first discharge, being pursued by lord Gormans-town's troop. Colonel Gordon stated the loss of the rebels at 150 men, and 200 horses were taken, without any loss of his majesty's forces.

The expectations of the rebels had been long buoyed up by the promise of a French invading army; and on the 23d of August, near 1000 French were landed at Killala, in the county of Mayo. Major-general Hutchinson, who was then stationed at Castlebar, transmitted an account of their landing to Dublin, but stated that they had neither attempted to march from the coast, nor had they been joined by any number of inhabitants. The general was then preparing to act against them with the royal troops, who received every assistance from the inhabitants in that part of the country. The French did not

continue long inactive, but early on the morning of the 27th, attacked general Lake in his position near Castlebar, before his force was assembled, and compelled him, after a short action, to retreat to Holymount, with the loss of six field pieces; that of men was not considerable. The military genius of lord Cornwallis was roused upon this disaster, and he took the field himself, fixing his head-quarters at Holymount, but on the approach of his excellency, the French retreated from Castlebar, towards Foxford, upon which every motion they made was observed, and every measure taken to reduce them.

On September the 9th, advice was received from head-quarters at Carrick-on-Shannon, by which it appeared that the French had passed through Manor-Hamilton, and crossed the Shannon at Ballintra. They threw away eight guns and two tumbrils in their march, and many of the inhabitants who had joined, were deserting them. General Lake was following them with his corps. His excellency was marching upon Mohill.

A considerable body of insurgents having collected near Granard, several yeoman corps in the neighbourhood, and from the county of Cavan, commanded by capt. Cottingham, collected with celerity, and entirely defeated the insurgents at the town of Granard, killed about 150, and dispersed the remainder.

On the same evening, lord Longford, at the head of a body of yeomanry, assisted by a detachment of the king's troops, attacked a body of rebels at Wilson's-hospital, and put them to flight with much slaughter.

The lord lieutenant having very early in the morning of the 7th of September, received accounts from lieutenant general

neral Lake, that the French had turned from Drumahair to Drumkeirn, and that he had reason to believe that it was their intention to go to Boyle or Carrick-on-Shannon, his excellency in consequence thereof, hastened the march of his column, so as to arrive at Carrick before the enemy, and directed major general Moore, who was at Tubbercurry, to be prepared in the event of the enemy's movement to Boyle.

On his excellency's arrival at Carrick, he then found the enemy had passed the Shannon at Ballintra, where they attempted to destroy the bridge, but lieutenant-general Lake followed them so closely, that they were not able to effect it.

The enemy halted for the night of the 7th, at Cloone, on which his excellency moved from Carrick at ten o'clock of the same night to Mohill, and directed lieutenant General Lake, to proceed at the same time to Cloone, which is about three miles from Mohill; by which movement his excellency was enabled either to join with lieutenant general Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they should remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they should retire on the approach of the army.

On his excellency's arrival at Mohill, soon after day-break, he found the enemy had begun to move towards Granard; his excellency therefore proceeded with all expedition to St. Johnstown, through which, on account of a broken bridge, the enemy were obliged to pass in their way to Granard, and directed lieutenant general Lake to attack the enemy's rear, and impede their march as much as possible, without bringing the whole of the corps into action. Lieutenant general Lake

performed this service with his usual attention and ability.

General Lake finding upon his arrival at Ballaghy, that the French army had passed that place from Castlebar, he immediately followed to watch their motions. Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, who commanded his advanced corps, composed of detachments of Hompesch's and the first fencible cavalry, by great vigilance and activity, hung so close upon their rear, that they could not escape, although they drove the country, and carried with them all the horses.

After four days and nights most severe marching, the general's column, consisting of the Carbineers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the first fencible light dragoons, and the Roxburgh fencible dragoons, under the command of colonel sir Thomas Chapman, lieutenant colonel Maxwell, earl of Roden, and captain Kerr; the 3d battalion of light infantry, the Armagh, and part of the Kerry militia, the Reay, Northampton, and Prince of Wales's fencible regiment of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Innes, of the 64th regiment, lord viscount Gosford, earl of Glandore, major Ross, lieutenant-colonel Bulkely, and lieutenant-colonel Macartney, arrived at Cloone about seven o'clock on September 8th, where having received directions to follow the enemy on the same line, his excellency moved by the lower road to intercept them.

Lieutenant-colonel Crawford, on coming up with the French rear guard, summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to his summons, he attacked them, upon which upward of 200 French infantry threw down their arms, under the idea that the rest of the corps would do the same thing;

thing; captain Packenham, lieutenant general of ordnance, and major general Cradock rode up to them. The enemy, however, instantly commenced a fire of cannon and musketry, which wounded general Cradock; upon which, general Lake ordered up the 3d battalion of light infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's position. The action lasted upwards of an hour, when the remainder of the column making its appearance, the French surrendered at discretion.

Lord Cornwallis then published the following thanks to the army:

*Head quarters, near St. Johnstown,
Sept. 9, 1798.*

Lord Cornwallis cannot too much applaud the zeal and spirit which has been manifested by the army, from the commencement of the operations against the invading enemy, until the surrender of the French forces. The perseverance with which the soldiers supported the extraordinary marches which were necessary to stop the progress of the very active enemy, does them the greatest credit; and lord Cornwallis heartily congratulates them on the happy issue of their meritorious exertion.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the king's forces, at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8, 1798.

Officers wounded, 1; privates killed, 3; wounded, 12; missing, 3; horses killed, 11; wounded, 1; missing, 8.

Ordnance, arms, and ammunition taken.

3 light French 4-pounders—5 ditto

ammunition waggons, nearly full of ammunition.

1 ditto tumbril—700 stand of arms, with belts and pouches, and a great number of pikes.

Officers wounded—Lieut. Stephens, of the Carbineers.

Return of the French army taken prisoners at the battle of Ballinamuck, September 8, 1798.

General and other officers - 96

Non-commissioned officers

and soldiers - - - - 748

Horses, about - - - - 100

N. B. Ninety-six rebels taken, three of them called general officers, by the names of Roach, Blake, and Teeling.

The enemy, in their retreat before the troops, were compelled to abandon nine pieces of cannon, which they had taken in the former actions with his majesty's troops.

Major-general Trench, previous to leaving Castlebar, on Saturday the 22d of September, had ordered lord Portarlington, with the regiment under his command, forty of the 24th light dragoons, captain O'Hara's, captain Wynn's, and captain Crofton's corps of yeomanry, to meet at Ballina, at ten o'clock on Sunday morning, from Sligo. He also ordered the Armagh militia, consisting of above three hundred men, under major Acheson, to proceed from Foxford, and co-operate with him at the same hour. He then marched with the Roxburgh light dragoons, 300 of the Downshire, the Kerry regiment, the Prince of Wales's fencibles, and two curriele guns, with the Tyrallowley cavalry, by the Barhague road, and ordered colonel Frazer, with 300 of his regiment, to march from Newport, where he had detached him on Friday, in

in order, if possible, to cut off the retreat of the rebels. The forces under lord Portarlington had been frequently attacked on their march, and major Acheson was attacked by a large body of rebels at Foxford. On every occasion they were dispersed with slaughter.

On the general's arrival at Ballina, he found that the town had been evacuated by the rebels, and was occupied by the forces under lord Portarlington. He immediately marched without halting, for Killala. At about two miles from the town, his advanced guard was fired upon by that of the rebels. Finding that Ballina was possessed by loyal troops, and hearing that the rebels had retreated to Killala, he ordered the Kerry regiment of militia, with a detachment of the 24th light dragoons, the Trawley, and captain Wynn's corps of yeoman cavalry, to proceed by a forced march to Killala, by Rappa, which they performed with zeal and dispatch; they entered the town at one end, as his advanced guard entered it on the other, and maintained a quick and well directed fire on the rebels, who fled in all directions.

September 26. Having heard, late on the night of the 24th inst. that the rebels were assembling in great numbers, at a place called the Lacken, he marched on the 25th in that direction; they fled on his approach, but by the activity of the men, several were overtaken, between 50 and 60 were killed, all in arms, and five taken prisoners.—Among the killed were several in French uniforms.—The rebels lost between 500 and 600 men. He lost but one man, and a few wounded.

The armed rebels who appeared in such force and numbers a short time before, were no longer to be found;

the only trace that could be found of that rebellion was, that of armed banditti, who derived a subsistence from plunder: but the army, aided by the gallant yeomanry of that kingdom, would soon bring them under the sword of the law.

We shall now insert the trial of the two councillors, Henry and John Sheares, for high treason, in Ireland, being one of the most remarkable that has occurred since the rebellion broke out.

Thursday, July 12th, 1798. The court sat at nine o'clock, pursuant to adjournment, on the trial of Henry and John Sheares.

After a pannel of nearly two hundred respectable citizens had been called over to select a jury, and after a great number had been challenged by the prisoners' counsel for want of freehold, twelve peremptorily challenged on their behalf and eleven set aside on the part of the crown, the following gentlemen were sworn, both prisoners having joined in their challenges:

Sir T. Lighton, bart. foreman.—Robert Shaw, esq.—Price Blackwood, esq.—John Steward, esq.—George Palmer, esq.—Humphrey Woodward, esq.—Richard Sayers, esq.—John Farange, esq.—Cornelius Gautier, esq.—Wm. Sparrow, esq.—Charles Bingham, esq.—John Ferns, esq.

The clerk of the crown read the indictment, exhibiting two charges of high treason against the prisoners at the bar, viz. compassing and imagining the death of the king, and adhering to his enemies. These charges were grounded on seventeen counts in the indictment, specifying various overt acts to support the charge; manifesting a design to depose and dethrone the king, subvert

subvert the constitution, and involve the country in scenes of massacre and rebellion, by uniting to procure arms and ammunition to forward a rebellion; and by conspiring to levy war against the king, and to aid, consult with, and support the persons exercising the powers of government in France, in their attempt to invade this kingdom, the better to accomplish the purposes aforesaid; and for having combined, and associated with a society calling themselves United Irishmen, in receiving returns of men, arms, and ammunition, to be employed in said massacre and rebellion; also, for having attempted to seduce John Warnford Armstrong, a captain-lieutenant in the King's county militia, to join himself, and bring over his soldiers, to aid and assist in raising and levying said rebellion; and for having laid a plan, as appeared by a paper containing a proclamation or manifesto, to be issued throughout the kingdom, exciting his majesty's subjects to rise in rebellion, and concerting plans to seize the camp at Lehaunstown, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the city of Dublin; with the lord lieutenant and privy council, and other great officers of state.

Mr. Webber, as junior counsel, opened the case, by reciting the substance of the different counts in the indictment.

The attorney-general (Mr. Toler) prefaced an elaborate statement of the case, by lamenting that his new official situation, rendered doubly arduous by the eventful complexion of the times, should be embittered by the prosecution of gentlemen of talents, learning and rank in society, and of a profession which he was bound to consider with peculiar partiality and affection, and that for crimes almost too hideous for

recital, striking at the dearest privileges of society, while meditating the overthrow of the best of kings, and the subversion of the happiest constitution which the civilized world could boast of. But his public duty, his regard to his king, and the rights of a country personally dear to him, as well as to all his loyal and well-affected countrymen, must necessarily supersede the regret which his feelings would otherwise indulge him in.—Here Mr. attorney-general recapitulated generally the charges in the indictment, and anticipated with minute precision and suitable comments, on the substance of captain Armstrong's testimony.

Captain Armstrong, previous to his being sworn, was asked by Mr. Curran, counsel for one of the prisoners (Henry Sheares) whether he believed in the existence of a God, and in a future state of rewards and punishments? He replied that he did.

Being sworn, and examined by Mr. Saurin, he deposed, that he is a captain in the King's county militia, and knows the prisoners at the bar (whom he identified)—that he first became acquainted with them on Thursday the 10th of May last. [Here he took out notes which he said were taken on the occasion, in his own hand-writing.] That he came on that day to town from the camp at Lehaunstown, where his company was quartered, and went to the shop of Patrick Byrne, a bookseller, in Grafton-street, who asked him, after following him outside the street door from the shop, if he had any objection to meet and to be introduced to the Mr. Sheares, the lawyers? Witness replied, he had not. Was acquainted with Byrne for two years, merely as a bookseller, whose shop he much frequented; being in the habit of going there

there nearly every day, and purchasing there every political pamphlet that came out, as well as other books. Did not know the reason of Byrne's hinting such an introduction to him; but went to look for captain Clibborn, of his regiment, and his friend, to consult with him on the propriety of his introduction. This was before he saw the prisoners at the bar. He accordingly saw captain Clibborn, and, as he supposed, did consult with him about the matter proposed by Byrne. Captain Clibborn, in consequence, advised him to meet them; on which he returned to Byrne's shop, where he waited until the elder Mr. Sheares, (Henry) arrived, according to intimation from Byrne, that they would meet. They accordingly did meet, and Byrne introduced them to each other, by mentioning his (the witness's) name to Mr. Sheares, and told both, if they wished to converse together, they might retire into a room, at the rear of the back shop. Byrne here addressed Mr. Sheares in these words: "Captain Armstrong is a true brother, and you may depend on him." Mr. Sheares then expressed a wish to postpone their conversation until his brother arrived, to which the witness assented. The brother shortly after arrived, to whom he was introduced, nearly in the same manner as to Henry. The brothers were not together at either interview, Henry at the latter having gone away. [Here the witness mentioned that he took a sheet of notes of the conversation at each subsequent interview, which he communicated to captain Clibborn, to his colonel, L'Estrange, and frequently to lord Castle-reagh.] John Sheares, at this interview, mentioned to the witness, that he was emboldened by the knowledge of his principles, and for the good of

the cause, to make himself known to him, and shew him how their cause might be essentially benefited by his, the witness, joining it as ardently in action, as he did in inclination. Witness replied, that he was ready to do every thing in his power to forward their cause, if he, the prisoner, would but mention how he could be serviceable. The prisoner then told him that a rising of the people was near; that they could not now wait for the French, but were determined on their own exertion; that the particular manner in which witness could be serviceable, was by bringing his soldiers with himself over to the cause, to advise on the best means of seizing the camp at Lehaunstown; and the more effectually to bring over the soldiers, the prisoner advised him to practise on the privates and non-commissioned officers of the Roman catholic persuasion, being those most likely to be persuaded into an opinion that they were aggrieved.—Does not recollect any more of the conversation of that day, except an appointment to meet on the following Sunday; on which day he went to the prisoners' house, in Baggot-street, where the elder of the brothers only was at home; had a repetition of part of the conversation held on the last interview with John; then with his brother Henry, who told him, that he understood his brother and he, on a former day, had a conversation, apologized for not being present, as he was obliged to attend a committee of gentlemen who then were sitting. He asked him as to the state of the regiment, the situation of the camp, the number of troops, and where it was most vulnerable; asked him as to the possibility of taking it by storm, or by treachery, using the counter-sign; recollects nothing more until

John Sheares arrived, who asked him in the presence of his brother, if he knew any United Irishmen? said that he, the witness, could make good men of the soldiers; witness replied, he should be afraid to commit himself, until he knew their dispositions, and would then endeavour all he could to accomplish their project. John remarked, that he could inform him of some men well-disposed; and told him, it was their intention to seize the camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the city of Dublin, in one night:—that it was appointed there should be an hour and a half between seizing the camp and the artillery, and the city an hour after the latter place; that the news of the former being in their possession, should arrive in Dublin previous to the attack. He then told the witness, if he would meet him at eleven o'clock that night, he would give him a list of such men in his regiment as might be induced to come over. Witness accordingly attended at eleven, but was told by John Sheares, that he could not procure the names of the men he promised him in the morning, but that a man would call on him, the next day, for a pass to the camp, with whom he might converse without reserve: witness having regularly returned after each interview to the camp, and communicated the result to col. L'Estrange.—On the Wednesday following, the colonel expressed his surprise that no man called on him, recommending it to him to come to town and find out the reason. Witness called on Wednesday, as usual, at Baggot-street, did not find the prisoners at home, and left word he would call in the evening, between five and six o'clock; met the prisoners at home at that hour, and was shewed into the

library. John Sheares told him the rising was then very near, and that he wished to introduce him to a gentleman, with whom he might consult during his absence, as he should be obliged to go to *organize* Cork. Said he had not been able to procure the name he promised him, but that matters would be so ordered, that the news of a rising at Cork should reach Dublin at a critical time, and that he was only waiting for the executive to fix a day.

Question by the Jury.—What do you mean by the word *executive*?—*A.* I understand an executive directory sitting in Dublin.

John Sheares then appointed witness to meet him next day, to introduce him to the gentleman he mentioned to him: Witness went accordingly on Thursday the 17th of May, and met both brothers at the same house, but does not recollect any thing of moment passing until the gentleman arrived, when he was introduced to a Mr. Lawless, a relation of lord Cloncurry's, who told him he had been at a meeting some time before, composed of deputies from almost all the militia regiments in Ireland, at which he told witness there were two from his regiment; could not then recollect their names, but would procure their names, and leave them with Mr. Sheares for him; he could get them from a man who had been very active in making United Irishmen, who had made some in every regiment that had been quartered in Dublin for two years back.—At this interview, the elder Sheares told him, that all their corps were completely organized, and had their captains and adjutants appointed; called that evening to get the names which Mr. Lawless promised to procure; was

was shewn into the library, were John Sheares was in conversation with some man: when witness was going away, he (John Sheares) gave him a note of introduction to a serjeant Connor, of his regiment, informing Connor, that he (the witness) might be depended on. Mr. Lawless among other things remarked, that the trees at Lehaunstown camp, would be extremely convenient for hanging people who did not join them.

Witness being asked as to the nature of the duty to which he was appointed? replied, he was to have erected a standard, which was to be joined by all those who were previously known to be United Irishmen, none else being allowed the option of joining in the attack.

J. Sheares gave him the name of Pat. Linnar, a private in the regiment. An appointment was then made for the Sunday following, when witness was to have been introduced to more friends. On Friday he could not meet with serjeant Connor, to whom he had the note of introduction, but met him on Saturday; delivered the note to Connor, and asked him if he knew the men named in it; believes Connor to be now in confinement; called on Saturday at Baggot street, found the elder Mr Sheares at home, to whom he communicated, that serjeant Connor said he did not know the men mentioned in the note of introduction, at which Sheares expressed his surprize. Here Henry Sheares told witness to be extremely cautious, for that he and his brother escaped suspicion by their caution, government believing them to be inactive. The younger Sheares then drew a letter from his pocket, on which the names of three of his regiment appeared to have been written,

told him they were men on whom he might depend, also told him that he had on that day called at Lawless's, who, he believed, had absconded.—He then told witness, that a man had been all that day looking for him at the camp, and that the directory had come to a resolution to give him the command of the regiment to which he belonged! and he might inform every soldier disposed to join them, that he should get a portion of land in the King's county: and that it was also resolved on, to seize on the lord lieutenant and privy council at their respective places; that when the privy council were all seized, there would be no place to issue orders from; that in case of the failure of the attack on the camp, there were a sufficient number of houses in Baggot street friendly to their cause, from whence the military on their return to town might be fired on; that it was expected from various accounts, that all the militia regiments in Ireland would join their cause, as there were ten in one regiment, an hundred in another, and three in another, all well disposed; but they should get proper notice, as otherwise they would obey their officers; that the country people were extremely impatient, and threatened, if the rising was not speedy, to lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. The elder Sheares told him, that a former servant of his was inconceivably active in making United Irishmen.

Witness said, that although directed not to leave Dublin with his regiment, he had volunteered in the Londonderry regiment, to fight the rebels at Wexford, where he was wounded.

John Sheares was made a prisoner the morning after the last conversation
3 H 2 with

with witness, who saw him in custody at the castle, where the prisoner asked him if his brother was taken? Witness replied he did not know.—Asked him then if he knew that their papers were taken, and said that he hoped not, as there was one which might commit him.

In the course of a long cross-examination by Mr. Curran, it came out that the witness on his return from Wexford with a party, met three peasants with green cockades, on the road—that one was flogged to extort confessions from him, until he gave material information as to the position of the rebels; another was hanged, and a third was shot—but without the witness's act or advice. Being interrogated whether he ever, in company, denied the existence of a Supreme Being, and a state of rewards and punishment? he replied in the negative; acknowledged that he was free in his political opinions, and did not scruple to censure the measures of government, but denied that he ever had said he would consider it laudable to be the king's executioner himself, if no one else would undertake it.

Capt. Clibborn, of the King's county militia, corroborated that part of capt. Armstrong's testimony which referred to him.

A. Kearney, proved that he met John Sheares, at a meeting of United Irishmen, in Werburgh-street, where accounts of men and arms were investigating, and where it appeared, by an indorsement on a paper in his possession, that there were 8100 men, a great part supposed to be organized and armed, from different districts in the county of Dublin, in their cause.

Alderman Alexander deposed, that having been sent to the prisoners' house

to seize them and their papers, he found the following proclamation, or manifesto, in Mr. Sheares' house, in a small writing box in the street parlour:—

“ Irishmen! Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged.—That vile government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more! Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag—the sacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism; and that capital, which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue.—Arise, then, united sons of Ireland; arise like a great and powerful people, determined to live free, or die. Arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider, that for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful.—In the cause of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect: let his arms be seized, and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen! we swear by that Eternal Justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample recompence out of that property, which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into his hands, and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all, posterity: but we likewise

wise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy. We also swear, that we will never sheath the sword until every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of Nature has given to all men, until an order of things shall be established in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of *Erin*, but that of virtue and talent.

“Rouse all the energies of your souls, call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory. Heed not the glare of a hired soldiery or aristocratic yeomanry; they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freemen; their trappings and their arms will soon be yours; and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasure it exhausts on its accoutred slaves for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head.

“Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breasts, and have already joined the national standard. Receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example: they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter.

“Two other crimes demand—*left unfinished.*

“Attack them in every direction by day and by night. Avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with

which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks, cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them, as much as possible, from uniting their forces. Let whatever moment you cannot devote to fighting for your country be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies.

“Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors. Remember what thousands of your dear friends have perished by their merciless orders.—Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their legal military massacres and their murders. Remember ORR!”

Alderman Alexander deposed, that no attempt was made on the part of Henry Sheares to secret any papers, which he had an opportunity of doing, neither did he make any attempt to rescue himself. On being asked if he betrayed any confusion when the paper was taken, replied that he could not say he did.

John Dwyer, esq. secretary to the lord chancellor, sworn, and examined by Mr. Standish O'Grady, deposed, that he saw Mr. Henry Sheares write very often, had not seen Mr. J. Sheares write so frequently; thinks to the best of his recollection the paper presented to him, (the proclamation) is in the hand-writing of Mr. John Sheares, but cannot be certain; believes it to be his hand-writing. A note, supposed to recommend Mr. C. (i. e. Cormick) found in Mr. Cormick's house, from John Sheares to captain Armstrong, was also proved to be in the hand-writing

writing of John Sheares; also the name on the back of the letter alluded to by captain Armstrong, as well as an indorsement of names of districts, armed men, &c. on a paper which the former deponent Kearney referred to.

Cross-examined by Mr. Ponsonby.—Deposed that he had considerable dealings with the prisoners, particularly with Mr. Henry Sheares, and never knew men of more integrity in money dealings.

Mr. Sheriff Archer sworn, and examined by Mr Webber—Deposed that he saw the letter produced to him directed to captain Armstrong, recommending the bearer Mr. C. as a gentleman of honour on whom he might rely. The letter was found in the house of John M'Cormick, of Thomas-street, who fled. Mr. M'Cormick is supposed to have been the person introduced under the initial C.

Major Sirr examined by the attorney general. Deposed that he arrested J. Sheares, in French-street, at the house of surgeon Lawless. Being presented with a letter and memorandums, was asked where he found them? Replied on Mr. John Sheares's person, in his pocket. Said he had been in search of Lawless, but could not find him.

Cross-examined by Mr. M'Nally.—He searched Mr. John Sheares immediately on apprehending him! remembers that he searched his pockets, and believes that he asked him to surrender all the papers he had. Was searching Lawless's apartments for papers, when Sheares rapped at the door, on which he secured him, and told him he was his prisoner. He made no resistance or attempt to fly. Having proceeded in the search of Lawless's parlour, he required of Mr. John Sheares to give

his papers, which he immediately delivered to him, without an attempt to destroy any of them.

Benjamin Rickey, deputy clerk of the crown, deposed, that judge Day went down to Naas at the adjournment of the assizes there on the 23d of May. (At this assizes, it was alledged on the testimony of captain Armstrong, that the people, as he had been told by John Sheares, were anxious to commence a rising in order to avoid trial.)

The counsel for the prisoner here applied to the bench to have the trial adjourned to the next day, on account of the extraordinary fatigue, and the lateness of the hour.

The court, however, refused the application.

Mr. G. Ponsonby opened his client's (Mr. Henry Sheares) case, by deprecating any prejudicial effects in the minds of so liberal a jury, from the high ferment of the public mind, and the peculiar circumstances of the times; but when he considered the infirmities of human nature, and the predominance of prejudice, which the eventful crisis we all labour under might induce, he felt it necessary, highly as he respected the gentlemen whom he addressed, to warn them to keep their minds as free as possible from the contemplation of public calamities, and popular disorders, which might warp their good understandings, and honest hearts, from the habitual emotions by which they were usually actuated. Mr. Ponsonby here expatiated on the different counts of high treason laid in the indictment, the difference between the interpretation of the law in England and Ireland, touching the overt acts, to prove the treason of imagining the death of the king, or adhering to his enemies.—Imagining the king's death, he in-

formed the jury, by any overt act to accomplish the same, did not mean the political or metaphysical dissolution of his high rank and authority exclusively, but meant the natural and physical dissolution of this mortal frame—a design as incapable of being effected in his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, where the king is a non-resident, by any possible overt act, as it could be in any part of his majesty's most remote dominions in Jamaica, Granada, or the island of St. Vincent's. From this principle, Mr. Ponsonby launched into the spirit of that law in England, which requires two witnesses to come forward in order to prove overt acts of high treason. He adverted slightly to the evidence which would be produced in the progress of the trial, to invalidate the testimony of captain Armstrong, on the ground of Atheism and political disaffection; and concluded with affirming, that he knew his client stood at the tribunal of men as capable, as they were willing, to decide his case, not misled by any species of popular bias, but acting on the sole ground of truth and inflexible justice.

Mr. Plunket, in opening the case of Mr. John Sheares, deviated but little from the arguments which Mr. Ponsonby adduced.

Mr. M'Nally, as counsel for Mr. John Sheares, relied upon three distinct points as matter of law: that the king cannot quit the realm of Great Britain without the concurrence of the parliament, and consequently can incur no danger of his natural life from any conspiracy in this kingdom, where he is not present. He secondly referred to an English act, which gives a caution to the court and jury, that no judgment of criminality can lie against a man impeached of high treason, unless

he his proveably attainted; and thirdly, insisted that it is the uniform practice in England in all criminal trials, to consider doubt and acquittal, in the sentiments of jurors trying their fellow-citizens, as synonymous terms.

Three witnesses were produced to impeach captain Armstrong's credit, on the score of infidelity acknowledged by himself, and two on the score of political disaffection; the reports of which, our limits will not permit us to detail, any more than those of several gentlemen who deposed to the amiable characters and constitutional politics of both the prisoners.

Mr. Curran spoke to evidence for three hours; in a great measure recapitulating the arguments of Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. M'Nally. He was replied to by the prime serjeant; and lord Carleton, in his charge to the jury, quoted besides lord Coke, lord Hale, and sir Michael Forster, in answer to the argument that the common law required two witnesses in England, in cases of high treason, so as to refute the arguments of the prisoners' counsel, whose ingenuity he however complimented, and whose zeal he praised. Mr. Justice Crookshank, and Mr. Baron Smith, said they had nothing to offer to the jury, lord Carleton having very ably anticipated any idea they could form on the subject. The jury having then retired for about fifteen minutes, returned a verdict **GUILTY** against both prisoners.

Upon hearing the verdict, the prisoners embraced each other, and burst into tears, exhibiting a scene of affection and distress which penetrated every person present.

The court then adjourned until three o'clock on Friday, when they met, and the prisoners, Sheares, were ordered to

to the dock. They respectively claimed the attention of the court before it proceeded to sentence.

Henry Sheares requested some short respite to settle the affairs of a large family, before he was consigned to that fate which awaited him—a fate to which he was perfectly reconciled; this unexpected mode of termination to his existence not having permitted him to attend to the necessary arrangement of his affairs, or the final accommodation of his family, obliged him to claim this last favour from the humanity of the court.

Mr. John Sheares requested merely an opportunity to ease the intolerable burden of a mind labouring under unmerited calumny, in one point alone. He did not mean either to impeach the laws which adjudged him, the jury which condemned him, the witness who prosecuted him—or the court which had tried him—a court from which he had experienced repeated acts of indulgence—but with his latest breath he would appeal to that God from whom he expected mercy, and at whose awful tribunal he was so shortly destined to appear, for the truth of his last assertion—that no sentiment of abhorred iniquity was ever more foreign from his mind, than that with which he was charged, of determining to give no quarter to such of the army as should be taken opposed to them, if submitting—or that he should have felt reluctance to extend mercy to the submission of any class of a suppliant foe. He hoped that this declaration at so awful an hour, would make an indelible impression on the hearts of others, and turn them from any ferocious or sanguinary plans which they might have fatally adopted. With the prospect of the grave at his feet, and all those so-

lemnities which can render the last hour awful, he hoped the court would too believe him—he hoped his countrymen would believe him—he knew his God would believe him. He had no other favour to ask for himself; but, turning to his brother, he in a most pathetic manner, entered into his family affairs, and made a supplication for some respite.

There was scarce a dry eye in the court; and lord Carleton, in his address to them, quickened the sensibility which they had excited. He pronounced the painful sentence incident to high treason, with all its terrible accompaniments.

The court adjourned to Monday.

Execution of H and J. Sheares.

Saturday morning having been appointed for the execution of these wretched victims of a diabolical ambition, the sheriffs attended at the New Prison at twelve o'clock, in order to perform their duty.

The prisoner Henry, seemed to be sunk into a state of lifeless insensibility. John displayed at times somewhat more of fortitude, but appeared on the whole dreadfully agitated.

Throughout the night after their conviction, they were strictly watched, to prevent their making any attempt upon their own lives; but of this they appeared to be incapable, as during that time they continued either sunk in utter inattention, or only rousing themselves to join in bitter lamentations of their unhappy fate.

When any person approached, this despondence was shaken off for a moment by John Sheares, and sometimes, at his exhortation, by Henry; but upon the departure of strangers they instantly relapsed.

When

When the sheriffs arrived, the prisoners entreated them to be the bearers of a supplication to government for a short respite, in consideration of which they offered to make the most useful discoveries.—This message being carried to the castle, government being already possessed of complete information of every thing which the Sheares' could discover, refused to grant the respite.

Upon receiving this refusal, a new supplication was made in the most abject terms, intreating a respite until Monday for at least one of them.

Of this message the sheriffs were humane enough to be also the bearers, but returned with a second refusal.

At this repeated disappointment the prisoners were most dreadfully shaken, but upon being directed to prepare for death, made a sudden and short effort by mutual encouragement, to rouse themselves.

Between the reply to the last message and their execution, the clerical gentleman who attended, continued to exhort them to full repentance and disclosure of their crimes; Henry declared that his object was a reform, and that he never had intended to excite indiscriminate massacre—John made the same declaration, and added, "I hope this example will have the effect it is intended to have; I fear it will not; *government little know whom they ought to execute.*" The Rev. Mr. Gamble, alarmed at the uncharitable tendency of these words, asked if they died in charity with all men? they replied that they did.

While the executioner was fitting the rope, he by some awkwardness pressed the neck of Henry Sheares, with a degree of asperity and violence, ill-suited to his situation, cried out,

"damn you, you scoundrel, do you mean to strangle me before my time?"

They requested that they might not continue long exposed to the gaze of the multitude, and having each an halter fixed round his neck, and a cap drawn over his face, holding by each other's hands, they tottered out upon the platform in the front of the prison.

In making the rope fast within, John Sheares was hauled up to the block of the tackle, and continued nearly a minute suspended alone before the platform fell.

It did fall—and instantly both were suspended. After hanging about twenty minutes, they were, at a quarter after three o'clock, let down into the street, when the hangman separated their heads from their bodies, and taking the heads, held them severally up, proclaiming,

"Behold the head of a traitor!"

In the evening the trunks and heads were taken away in two shells (provided by a respectable gentleman unhappily connected with one of the brothers,) and buried in the church-yard of St. Michan's.

The anxious desire expressed by the prisoners for a short respite is variously interpreted; perhaps there may some elucidation be found in the question of John Sheares to the gaoler, on the morning of Saturday, when he asked, "was the city of Dublin disturbed or attacked in the course of the night?"—and his obvious disappointment at being answered in the negative.

A small party of the Loyal Dublin cavalry attended as a guard on the execution; the number of spectators was incalculable.

It is singular to recollect that these unhappy men were tried on the 12th of July, the anniversary of the battle

of Aughrim, and executed on the 11th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution—in which the wretched sufferers are said to have been peculiarly active.

In the fate of these wretched men, we have another melancholy proof of the horrid effects which the diabolical principles devised in France, and scattered like the contagion of a pestilence through every neighbouring country, produce on the human mind. The two unfortunate gentlemen might, from their birth and education, their affluence and their talents, have aspired to the highest elevation, and the most untroubled prosperity;—their father, a worthy and respectable gentleman, acquired a large fortune in the very lucrative and honourable profession of a banker, in the great commercial city of Cork. Henry Sheares, the elder brother, who was remarkable for a large purple mark on his cheek, had served in the army as a lieutenant, and was reduced at the peace of 1783, to half pay, which he enjoyed at the moment of his conviction; he afterwards was called to the bar; though he was never very conspicuous in that profession. His brother John was also called to the bar, and the general opinion of his talents rated him as highly in point of professional merit as those of the most eminent lawyers. Unhappily for these wretched men, they were resident in France during the dreadful æra of the revolution of the 10th of August, which overturned the throne: by the horrible scenes which passed around them—in which we have too much reason to suppose them to have been actors—where they prepared to look upon murder as a necessary duty of republicans, and massacre as merely a revolutionary engine. With what

fatal impressions those doctrines weighed upon their minds, the sad detail of their trial will manifest. After the murder of the unhappy Louis XVI. these two unfortunate men left France and came to this country: they found a society ready to receive and encourage the doctrines which they imported from France; and in the original United Irishmen of Dublin, they could observe no very faint resemblance to their prototypes—the jacobins of Paris.—How far they designed to go was perhaps at first not very clear to themselves; from step to step they proceeded, from libellous manifestoes issued from Taylor's-hall, to the demoniac spirit which dictated the merciless proclamation discovered in their papers. In saying this much, we feel perhaps, that we have said too much; it is far from our wish to wound the feelings of their miserable friends, or excite against the wretched victims of infuriate ambition, a sentiment of indignation or unkindness. But when we reflect upon the extent of their crimes—in its avowed objects and inevitable consequences—we are bound (while we bestow our pity upon gentlemen reduced by poisonous principles to such a state of degradation) incessantly to return our thanks to that providence which has baffled the designs of our desperate and sanguinary enemies.

We proceed now to the trial of John M'Cann, for high treason, who acted as secretary to the provincial committee of United Irishmen.

July 17th, 1798. John M'Cann was put upon his trial upon a charge of high treason.—The following Jury was, after a number of challenges, sworn:

Patrick Bridge, William Thompson,
Frederick

Frederick Kilpatrick, Thos. Hendrick, Richard Hewson, Richard Jackson, Arthur Stanley, Archibald Hawksley, Thomas Black, Michael Culloden, Peter Roe, Richard Quinton, esqrs.

The indictment contained two counts, one charging the prisoner with compassing the death of the king, and the other with adhering to his enemies.

To support each of these counts, the following thirteen overt acts of treason were specified:

The first overt act; assembling and conspiring with other traitors to stir up rebellion, and procure arms, ammunition and men, for that purpose.—2d. Conspiring with other traitors to depose the king.—3. Conspiring with other traitors for to overturn the government.—4. Conspiring and consulting with other traitors about the means of raising rebellion, procuring arms and armed men to overturn the government and constitution by force.—5th. Conspiring with other traitors to depose the king by an armed force.—6th. Becoming a member of the society of traitors called United Irishmen, with design to raise rebellion and overturn the government by force.—7 h. With such design keeping and receiving accounts and returns of arms, men and money, for the purpose of rebellion — 8th. Causing and procuring armed men to the number of 1000, to assemble at Clondalkin, to levy war against the King.—9th. Assembling to receive returns of armed men, &c.—10th. Obtaining and procuring a chamber in the house of Oliver Bond, in order that certain traitors might meet for those purposes.—11th. Giving notice of such meeting, and summoning divers traitors to attend the same.—12th. Collecting money to purchase arms for

rebels.—13th. Procuring a chamber in the house of Oliver Bond for traitors to meet in, and devise the means of stirring up the rebellion."

To this indictment the prisoner had pleaded not guilty.

The solicitor general (Mr. Stewart) in a short, simple and concise manner, stated the case against the prisoner, which, being little more than an anticipation of the evidence, we shall not attempt to follow; the observations which he made were few, but forcible. It would be found, he said, that on the very night on which lord Moira was making an attempt to conciliate (as it was phrased) the agitators of the country, those very agitators were resolving that nothing short of the entire separation of the two countries, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, would satisfy their furious ambition. He also observed, that the old complaint, that though by an English law two witnesses were necessary to overt acts of treason, one only was necessary here, could not now avail; two witnesses would be produced; it was true, both in the light of accomplices, but who else could give information of such dark and desperate conspiracies as existed in this country? One of them would be found to be a man of sense, property and education, unhappily seduced by a wretched young nobleman, who had already fallen the victim of his diabolical ambition, who, though born of the first family in Ireland, had, to forward those ambitious hopes he had conceived, entered into fraternity even with an ironmonger's clerk, the prisoner at the bar. The solicitor shortly sketched the miserable state to which the country had already been reduced by the practices of such men, and in order to prove the deliberate,

rate guilt, and confidential situation of the prisoner M'Cann, read a number of papers taken on him when arrested, written in his own hand, and evincing that he was indeed a very principal agent in the conspiracy which has laid waste his country.

Thomas Reynolds, esq. sworn—examined by the attorney general.

Witness had formerly been a resident of Dublin; had lived in Park-street in the Liberty; his house of business was in Ash-street; he was a silk manufacturer, he believed the most extensive in Dublin; had acquired a considerable property in the county of Kildare, and lived at Kilkea-castle, in that county. Witness has been an United Irishman, was sworn shortly after the French left Bantry; he knows the prisoner; saw him at the house of Oliver Bond; the prisoner resided as clerk with Mr. Jackson, in Church-street, the iron-founder; was an United Irishman, and acted as such; Witness has been in baronial meetings with him.

A baronial meeting is composed of delegates from the simple societies of each barony; the gradations of the society differ in Dublin and in the country; in the country they are from simple societies to baronial, thence to county, and thence to provincial meetings by delegation; in Dublin, on account of the baronials being numerous, there is an intermediate society between them and the county society, called the district committee. Witness has heard of the executive committee in these societies; he understood it to consist of the heads, who sent orders and regulated the business of the kingdom at large; he does not know whether they were elected or not.

The general object of these societies was to overturn the constitution and the present government, and establish a republican government instead of it, and to favour any landing of the French to forward those views.

Witness knew of the meeting of the 12th of March, at the house of Oliver Bond, when the prisoner was taken; he had conversation with the prisoner on the subject; Witness had been directed by the county meeting of Kildare, as their treasurer, to attend a former meeting at Bond's house, and to apply to the prisoner, who would introduce him; Witness had gone to the prisoner shortly before the 12th of March, and asked him when and where the next provincial meeting would be held? Prisoner asked the witness if he had his country returns (of men, arms, money, and ammunition?) Witness said, he had not. M'Cann then said, he could not give information of the meeting, until these returns were brought by Witness, to be laid before the provincial meeting. Witness never attended a provincial meeting himself, but at the baronial and county meetings, bringing and receiving such returns always made part of the business.

On the Saturday after, Witness went to the county of Kildare to procure the returns, and called on Mr. Daly, at Kilcullen, for them: Daly is son to a man who keeps a shop there, and was a delegate with Witness to the provincial meeting; he wrote copies of the returns and gave them to Witness, who brought them to Dublin on the Monday following, and either on Wednesday or Thursday, called on M'Cann to shew them to him; M'Cann looked over them, and expressed his surprize that there had been no increase since the former returns; he added, that he could

could not then give Witness information of the place and time of the provincial meeting, but would call on Witness the next Sunday and tell him; Witness asked him to come to breakfast, which he did; this was Sunday the 11th of March, the day before the arrest at Bond's. Mrs. Reynolds having left the room, M'Cann told Witness that the provincial meeting would be the next day at Bond's, at eleven o'clock, and desired Witness to be precise in his attendance, as business of very great consequence was expected. The members of this provincial meeting were delegates from the county societies.

Witness had been at Bond's on Saturday the 10th; M'Cann was there also, and said, "Bond, we must have a room for Monday." Bond replied, "you shall have the room you had last; will you have the little room also?" Bond and prisoner then walked up the ware-room and whispered together, and shortly after Witness retired.

Witness had heard M'Cann speak of lord Edward Fitzgerald—not much though—remembers his saying that "he was a fine fellow, and warm in the cause."

Lord Edward did reside at the Black Rock, where Witness visited him: Witness held the command of colonel of the barony of Kilkea and Meone; he became colonel in this manner—Lord Edward called at his house in Park-street, in November last—

[Here the prisoner's counsel insisted that no conversation with lord Edward could be given in evidence against the prisoner, when he was not present at it; the crown lawyers however insisted that having once proved lord Edward

and M'Cann to have been engaged in the same treason, the words and acts of one were to be taken as the words and acts of both; to this the judges assented, and the examination continued.]

Lord Edward was an United Irishman; the prisoner said he was a fine fellow, and warm in the cause; Witness has always understood from them that the cause was the overthrow of the constitution, &c.

Witness was appointed a colonel through lord Edward, in November last, at Witness's house, in Park-street; lord Edward solicited him to become a colonel for the barony of Kilkea and Meone; Witness hesitated; Witness had a property in that barony; lord Edward had one in the same county, about eight miles from Witness's. Lord Edward argued with Witness, and persuaded him to accept it. In a subsequent conversation, lord Edward told him that one Kenna would call on Witness before the election. Witness expressed doubts that the United Irishmen could stand in battle before the king's troops; lord Edward replied, "that this was not altogether necessary, that a landing of the French was expected; that some of the United Irishmen would certainly fall into their ranks, but that the great body would only have to make the king's troops feel themselves in an enemy's country, by attacking their convoys, cutting off their detachments, forage, and provisions." Witness went to Killea in January. Matthew Kenna, who is a farmer's son, called upon him, and told him that at the first meeting in February a colonel was to be chosen, and asked Witness would he stand the ballot? This was to be a meeting of the captains of the barony; Witness told

told him he would, for that lord Edward had been speaking to him.—Kenna said he knew that; that it would be necessary for Witness to hold a civil employment in the service of the United Irishmen:—would he choose to be secretary or treasurer? Witness said treasurer, as least responsible, and least trouble. Kenna said he was glad of it; that he would go forward himself as secretary. About the 15th of February, he called again, and told Witness he was unanimously chosen colonel and treasurer.

After lord Edward had applied to Witness and he had consented, Witness met Oliver Bond—

[Here prisoner's counsel objected to any evidence concerning Bond, who was not on his trial.]

Witness was strengthened in his determination by another person. Kenna came about the 15th of February, (he was an United Irishman, and one of Witness's captains) and told Witness that himself had been chosen secretary; that a county meeting would be held next Sunday, at the Nineteen-mile house, that he would meet Witness on the road, and ride with him to the meeting.

Witness went with him to the meeting; each member first took an oath of secrecy, and then went to the election of a new delegate to the provincial meeting, and secretary and treasurer for the next three months.

Mr. Cummins, of Kildare, was chosen secretary: a doubt arose as to the propriety of electing a new treasurer, out of respect to lord Edward, the former treasurer, who was absent: but Cummins saying, that he had directions from lord Edward to say, that being a marked man, he wished for a while to drop attending the meetings,

and desired them to appoint a new treasurer for three months; Witness was chosen treasurer; and Daly, of Kilcullen, delegate. The secretary and treasurer are, from their offices, delegates. Michael Reynolds, of Naas, had acted in some appointment (Witness believed that of secretary) for three months preceding; he told Witness that a provincial meeting would be held next day at Oliver Bond's, at one o'clock; Witness did not attend; it was too far; Witness had to go home fourteen miles and return thirty-six, and it was then four o'clock in the evening.

The arrest took place the day after M'Cann breakfasted with the witness.

Michael Reynolds was the person who desired Witness to call upon M'Cann with the return, and told him he should be thereupon admitted.

About four o'clock on the day M'Cann had breakfasted with the Witness, Witness called upon lord Edward at Leinster-house; Witness had got a printed paper of orders from captain Saurin to the Lawyers infantry, directing them "to repair to Smithfield in case of alarm, to apply to him for ball-cartridge, and if obliged to leave town, to deposit their arms at his house for safety," and inclosing an injunction on another piece of paper, "to keep those orders secret." Witness shewed this paper to lord Edward, who seemed greatly agitated on reading it, and said, "he thought government intended to arrest him, and that he wished he could get off to France to hasten the invasion, which he could do by his intimacy with Talleyrand Perigord, one of the French ministry;" he said, "he would not approve of a general invasion at first, but that the French had

“had some fine fast sailing frigates, on
 “board which he would put as many
 “English and Irish officers as he could
 “procure to come from France, and
 “as many persons capable of drilling
 “men as he could get, with stores,
 “ammunition and military, and run
 “these into some port in this kingdom
 “—he thought Wexford—as the most
 “likely to be unsuspected, and being
 “amongst their friends; if this succeed-
 “ed, he could establish a rallying-point
 “until other help should come.”

The meetings at which Witness attended with the prisoner, had for their business the receiving returns of men, arms and ammunition, &c. for the general cause: Prisoner acted as secretary to baronial meetings, where Witness was present. Witness was delegated along with John Cormick, of Thomas-street, to attend a baronial committee at the Struggler's, in Cork-street; when they went, M'Cann came out of the room and took them into an adjoining one, and there swore J. Cormick, that he had been duly delegated to attend the meeting, and also to answer for the due delegation of Witness. He then brought Cormick and Witness into the committee; Mr. M'Cann was that day re-chosen secretary; this was in March twelve-month; Witness has known him ever since perfectly well.

Witness has heard that M'Cann was taken at Bond's; the officers taken there made a number of vacancies—saw lord Edward the Wednesday after in his place of concealment, in Aungier-street, who bid him come to him the next night—which he did: lord Edward said, he had money as treasurer of the county of Kildare; and also as treasurer of the barony of Ophaly; that he would have these sums settled. He gave Witness a paper, which he

desired him to give to the county committee as his address to them—“not to think any thing of what had passed—it was a trifle—that they should fill up their vacancies as speedily as possible; that they would be very soon called upon”—[This paper was afterwards burned at a meeting of Witness's captains at Athy, because it was in lord Edward's hand; it had been first read at a county meeting at Bell's on the Curragh: the Tuesday after, being market day at Athy, Witness met his captains, when the paper was read and afterwards burned]—“and that they might rely upon his being in his place in the day of need.” In consequence of this, a new election took place in the room of Cummins; Michael Reynolds was elected. Witness knew M. Reynolds from meeting him; he is a little dark-coloured man;—Cummins was an apothecary in Kildare, of a thin countenance, rather tall, with dark lank hair.

Witness first disclosed the United-Irishmen's business to Mr. William Cope, with whom he had considerable connection; Witness had mortgaged a property to him for 5000*l.* and on the death of the late sir Duke Gifford, they went together to Castle Jordan, to take possession of it; they dined there; lord Wycombe and other persons were present, and the conversation ran on general politics; returning to town next day, Mr. Cope renewed the subject of politics, and represented the horrors of a revolution—the murders, robberies, and devastations; the overthrow of all religion, government, property, and every thing near and dear to man, in such a way, that Witness was shocked at the description. Witness then told Mr. Cope, that he believed he knew a person who

who was not sanguinary, and did not wish for murder, who would desert the United Irishmen, and to make amends for any crime he had committed in being one of them, would give government such information as he possessed, which Witness believed was very considerable.

Mr. Cope seized on this, and said that such a man would be, and ought to be placed higher in the country than any man that ever was in it: Witness told him, neither honours, nor rewards would be desired or accepted if this man came forward, and that he, the Witness, would call upon him in two or three days on the subject.

Witness did call, and said he had seen his friend, and prevailed on him to come forward on certain conditions, and that he had considerable information to give. Mr. Cope said, the man ought to have greater conditions than he would wish for—a seat in parliament and a thousand a year; Witness replied, that the conditions were misunderstood—that all that was required was, that the person should not be prosecuted himself, nor forced to prosecute any other person, and that the channel of information should be kept a complete secret; and that as the person would be in danger of assassination if the things transpired, he would be obliged to leave the country for a time, and therefore required that his extraordinary expences should be paid. Mr. Cope desired to know what they would be?—Witness said, a liberty to draw on him for any sum under 500 guineas would be required. Mr. Cope pressed greater rewards, and expressed his surprise that they should be refused; at length he acquiesced, and received the information which Witness gave him as from another person.

Witness told Mr. Cope of the meeting at Bond's before it was held;—Witness had heard of it from Daly about a fortnight before, but Daly could not give him precise information; on Sunday, however, after M'Cann had told Witness, he told Mr. Cope decidedly of it.

Witness had incurred losses to the amount of 600*l.* and has received 500 guineas.

Witness never told any one, even his wife, of his communication with Mr. Cope.

Witness went afterwards to Kilkea, attended one county meeting, and one meeting of captains—shortly after Kenna came to him, and told him it was said he was the man who betrayed the meeting at Bond's; that he had heard it as a rumour, but if he heard more of it he would acquaint him.—On the 16th of April, the delegate of the barony of Narra and Rheban, whose name Witness does not know, came to him from the county meeting, and said, he (Witness) must attend the county meeting at Bell's, on the Curragh, to stand his trial on accusations brought from Dublin, from the provincial meeting, by M. Reynolds, for having betrayed the meeting at Bond's; he said he was sure, and so were all the rest, that Witness would be acquitted.

Witness had before determined to quit the country, but had been delayed by Mrs. R's. being ill; he intended to have set out on the Monday after, but on Saturday captain Erskine and a party of the 9th dragoons, came to live at free quarters at Kilkea, and put Witness under arrest: they staid eight or ten days, and destroyed much of his property, eat his provisions, and drank his wine—after they left him, Witness set

set out for Dublin; at Naas he met Mr. Taylor, of Athy, who told him he had intended to write or come to witness, to let him know that he (witness,) was the public talk of Dublin, as the person who had betrayed the meeting at Bond's, and that if he went there he would be murdered, and the house in which he was pulled down; witness then went back to his own house, and the next morning as he stood at the post-office, in Castle Dermot, he was arrested by a party of the 9th Dragoons, and sent to Athy gaol, on information sworn against him by one of his own captains.

Witness does not suppose that government knew him to be the person giving information, for he desired Mr. Cope not to mention his name, and he has reason to believe, that even Mr. C. did not know that the information came from the witness himself.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curran.

Said he was married to Miss Witherington, the 25th of March, 1794; was not more than 16 years of age when his father died; had two sisters: his mother carried on business for some time after his father's death; does not recollect any charge having been made on him of stealing trinkets belonging to his sisters, nor of stealing his mother's cash; knows that a charge has been made on him by his mother, of having procured a skeleton-key to an iron chest, where she kept papers, but no cash, "*her partner, Mr. Warren, having taken care that she should not have much of the latter to encumber her.*" Is confident his mother was a woman incapable of making any charge which she did not believe true, as she was a woman of truth, though passionate; was charged with stealing

trinkets belonging to his mother, and a piece of lustring, (during her partnership with Mr. Warren,) to give to a girl, which charges he acknowledged were well founded; denied having had a skeleton-key. Being asked how long his mother-in-law, Mrs. Witherington, was dead? replied, about 12 months, last April; she lived at his house, in Ash-street, 10 months, previous to her death; complained of being ill a few days before she died; recollects he had brought her medicine; explained this circumstance, by saying, that a Mr. Fitzgerald, who was an apothecary, and friend to his family, on quitting business, had left him a chest of medicines, composed of castor oil, tartar emetic, rhubarb, &c. that he himself was very subject to a sickness in the stomach, and that Mr. Fitzgerald made up some papers of tartar emetic for him, to take when indisposed, which he frequently had occasion to do, and never failed to experience instantaneous relief from the dose; on the occasion, recollects this medicine had saved his life. Mrs. Witherington having complained violently of her stomach, he recommended to her to take a paper of the tartar emetic, which had so often relieved him in a similar complaint; she consented, and it was administered to her. Being asked, if she did not expire in eighteen hours after having taken the dose? replied, "she did not"—she lived from Friday to the Sunday following, and then expired to his sorrow. Acknowledged to have paid her 300l. a few days before her death, for which he took her receipt; the money, he said, was not found after her death. Being asked, if he knew he had been charged, by any of her family, with having purloined this money? replied, that

that he certainly never had been charged to his face with such an act, but believes his brother-in-law, Captain Witherington, capable of saying unkind things of him. Accounted for the money not having been found after her decease, by expressing a confidence, that her son Edward had taken it, for whom she meant to purchase a commission in the army, and assigned that as her reason for calling it in so precipitately, as well as an hundred pounds for which she had his bond.

Being asked, if he knew a woman of the name of Cahil? answered in the affirmative. Did execute securities to her several times for money she lent him, particularly a bond for 100l. and a note for 25l. Mrs. Cahil having drawn 5l. of the latter, before it became due, he executed a part note to her for the remaining 20l. cannot say whether he gave her any other notes or not; owed her 50l. besides; executed the bond to her shortly after his marriage. Said Mrs. Cahil was an old woman, who passed the principal part of her life in his family, and became latterly blind and infirm. After his marriage, Mrs. Reynolds had her brought to his own house, in which there was a room allotted to her; shortly after her becoming an inmate in his family, she consulted with two ladies, friends of her's, one a Mrs. Molloy, his grand aunt, and the other a Mrs. Fitzgerald, his immediate aunt, whether she had not better sink the 170l. with him, for her life, at 14 per cent. as she said, she intended the principal at all events as presents to his children. He always paid her the interest as she called for it, and when she demanded a settlement, he consented; but on receiving his former bond, instead of giving her a new one

in return, he, by mistake, gave her an old bond and warrant filled up: paid her part of the money, and gave notes for the remainder. Had been in the country when he received a letter from a Mr. Sullivan, acquainting him of the mistake in the bond, which he answered immediately, saying, he would shortly come to town and rectify the mistake. Received after a letter from an attorney on the same subject.—When he came to town he went to Mrs. Molloy, who he knew was in the confidence of Mrs. Cahil, and he believed might have had the bond in trust. The note he acknowledged to have antedated to the day he received the money; cannot charge his memory with having antedated it within the period of his minority; was of age in 1792, and the transaction of the settlement was in June 1793; received an angry letter from his aunt, Mrs. Fitzgerald, touching this business, but does not recollect that it contained any charge against him of having deceived an old, blind and helpless woman.—Mrs. Reynolds some short time since brought him the bond and note, telling him that Mrs. Cahil had given them to her, to deliver to him as the right owner. Mr. Oliver Bond, he said, went to Mrs. Cahil to get the paper from her, he supposed, in order to injure him; offered her moreover a bribe to prosecute him for an alledged fraud, and threatened her with a gaol if she did not comply. Mrs. Cahil answered, that he, the witness, had always behaved to her like an honourable gentleman, and rejected his bribe. Mr. Bond then offered to give her a considerable sum of money to deliver the papers, which she again refused, alledging she had given them to the right owner.—In course of the cross-examination,

examination, witness asserted, he had paid the money to Mrs. C. and discharged his obligation, by passing negotiable notes for the demand, part of which he had taken up as they fell due, and part remaining out, not having become due. When he received the fictitious bond and the note from Mrs. Reynolds, he burned them.

Being asked if Mr. Cope did not threaten to prosecute him as a swindler for taking double credit for 1000l. in the course of their dealings? replied in the negative, and explained the circumstance to which it referred, by adverting to the transaction of having given him a mortgage for 5000l. on part of the property of the present sir Duke Giffard, which witness purchased during his father's life time. With this mortgage he passed his personal security, continued still to deal with him, and incurring a debt on balance of account of 1100l. beside. Wishing to rescue his personal security, he offered Mr. Cope 1000l. to relinquish it. But he must confess, that on Mr. Cope's shortly after demanding a settlement of the balance due to him, he, the witness, attempted to stipulate that, on paying him the thousand pounds due on account, Mr. Cope should relinquish his personal security, connected with the mortgage for the 5000l.; against this, Mr. Cope very strenuously expostulated, and at length became displeased, offering him however one week, and no more, to consider on his conduct, and come to a fair settlement. The week having expired before he could satisfy Mr. Cope, being then in the county of Kildare, the latter wrote a very earnest letter to Mr. Val. O'Connor, his friend, on the subject, which Mr. O'Connor transmitted to him in the country, to-

gether with a letter of his own, in which he reproached witness very roundly for ingratitude and misconduct to Mr. Cope. When he received the letter, he was returning from a journey to his house in the county of Kildare, where he would have rested, but instead of alighting, he pursued his way to town. Went straight to Mr. Val. O'Connor's, and from thence to Mr. Cope, whom he satisfied without hesitation.

On being asked, if he ever denied to any one that the bond which he got from Mrs. Cahil was not the real one? replied, *he did not*. On being asked when he burned the bond? replied, about fourteen or fifteen days ago.

Q. Was it or was it not previous to your receiving a summons to attend the court as a witness on this trial, Mrs. Reynolds received the bond from Mrs. Cahil? A. I cannot say; but I am certain that Mrs. Reynolds never thought about a summons when she went to Mrs. Cahil. Witness said, he burned the papers after Mr. Bond had endeavoured to get them from Mrs. Cahil, he was sure for the purpose of injuring him. Acknowledged he took the oath of allegiance, and afterwards the oath of an United Irishman; that the latter was administered with more solemnity than the former; he took an oath of secrecy to the fraternity of United Irishmen beside. When he took these oaths, he knew the extent of the views which the parties had in binding themselves, being no less than to destroy the government, and subvert the constitution. He took the oath of allegiance before he took the latter; had become a yeoman, but took no oath in consequence. Took both the oaths, he acknowledged, with equal intent to keep each. Being asked

when his mother died, and if he prescribed for her in her last sickness? replied, she died last November—did not know of what disease—and never prescribed for her. Said he has a sister married to a Mr. Prendergast, and knows nothing of any deed of annuity perfected to her; knows of a certain deed—not of annuity—attempered to have been perfected.

William Bellingham Swan, Esq. sworn, and examined by the Prime Serjeant.

Identified the prisoner, whom he saw on the 12th of March last, at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street. Discovered him with thirteen or fourteen more in company in a back room; having received previous information that he would find them there, he went thither, accompanied by three serjeants of the army dressed in coloured clothes, two of whom he posted in different situations to secure the hall and inner-doors. He entered the house with a serjeant M'Doogan, of the Dumbarton Fencibles, who also accompanied him up stairs, and on entering the room, saw a certain person at a table, with a paper before him. He saw the prisoner with the words newly written on the paper, "I, A. B. do solemnly declare that I have been duly elected." When witness entered the room, he found the prisoners seated at a table, with papers lying before them, on which he desired the parties "to hold up their hands;" this he did lest they should destroy the papers, and threatened to fire on them if they refused to comply. He found a prayer-book on the table, with various papers on their persons; and serjeant M'Doogan having by his directions approached the fire-place, in searching for papers, there he disco-

vered a bundle with a memorandum-book, which he brought to him. In this room he found the following persons, of whose names and places to which they acknowledged to have belonged, he took a list, which he read:

Mr. Ivers, from Carlow; Laurence Kelly, Queen's county; George Cummin, Kildare; Edward Hudson, Grafton-street; John Lynch, Mary's-Abbey; Samuel Griffin, Tullah, county of Carlow; Thomas Reynolds, Clonmelon; (the prisoner) Church-street; Patrick Devine, Ballymanner, county of Dublin; Thomas Trenor, Poolbeg-street; William Byrne, Summer-hill; Chris. Martin, Dunboyne; Peter Bannon, Portarlinton; James Rose, Windy harbour.

Richard Dillon, Bridge-street, who said he only followed the army into the house, and was in a few days afterwards discharged. He arrived at eleven o'clock exactly, and entered by a pass-word which the serjeant procured, which was, "Where is M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?"

Cross-examined by Mr. M'Nally.

As to the situation of the house and the rooms therein, which he said he had reconnoitred the night before, it came out that Mr. Swan had warrants against Oliver Bond, Henry Jackson, Hugh Jackson, Dr. M'Nevin, and others.

Serjeant M'Doogan corroborated the testimony of Mr. Swan, as far as related to himself; with the addition, that along with the bundle of papers found near the fire, he also found a green ribbon knotted in form of a *Shamrock*, with the device of a harp without a crown, worked therein in gold letters, and the words

words *Erin go Bragh*, worked in the same manner over it.

Arthur Guinness, junior, sworn and examined by Mr. Mayne.

Deposed that he knew the prisoner at the bar, and is acquainted with his hand-writing; believes the paper No. 1, presented to him, to be in the prisoner's hand-writing; to the paper No. 2, he could not swear; a part of No. 3, was in the prisoner's hand-writing; No. 4, a letter addressed to Edward Ratigan, esq. he proved to be the prisoner's hand-writing; all of No. 5, 6, and 7, he proved, except the signature of Mr. Swan. No. 1, was a letter directed to M. Byrne, esq, Grumley's Hotel, addressed thus: "Brother, inclosed you have a letter to citizen F. (i. e. lord Edward Fitzgerald) will make inquiries to know if L. E. F. (the same) is in town, if not, you may see him at the Rock. I am to organize a new set this evening, and to attend my B. C. (baronial committee) which may detain me longer than I thought; but it is probable I may see you at ten o'clock.

(Signed) J. M'C."

No. 2, letters and lists, on which appeared returns of armed men, from different counties of the province of Leinster, amounting in all to 67,295, of which Wicklow returned 12,095, Queen's county 11,680, Carlow 9414, Meath 14,000, Kildare 10,863, and the county of Kilkenny but 604. This list and two duplicates thereof were dated the 18th and 19th of February last; the amount of money received did not appear to exceed 40l. 18s. 3d. At the foot of No. 2, were certain resolutions, which appeared, as stated by the Solicitor General, to have been

formed on the very night (February 19th, 1798) when the earl of Moira moved the question in the house of lords, to enquire into the cause of the distracted state of the kingdom. The resolution ran as follows:

"Resolved, that we will pay no attention to any measure which the parliament of this kingdom may adopt, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing less than a complete emancipation of our country can satisfy us.

"Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other provinces be in the same state of forwardness, as to men, arms, &c. as Leinster, as soon as we can obtain information thereof, we will immediately proceed to act, and that the executive be requested to take such measures as shall bring about an union of the provinces."

Another resolution was, "That the committee of five do prepare a military test, to be laid before the provincials at their next meeting."

Another resolution recommended the appointment of an adjutant-general, from three officers from each regiment, whose names should be sent in to the executive directory by their respective colonels, and the proper officer for that appointment to be from thence selected by the directory.

Another resolution went to order sixteen guineas, to purchase a horse for a delegate, to be sent with orders from the executive, and when there should be no further use for him, to be sold, and the value deposited in the treasury.

The military test was also found, and ran as follows:—"I, A. B. do solemnly swear that I will perform my duty, and obey all lawful commands of my officers, while they act in due subordination

subordination to the lawful committee."

William Cope, esq. deposed nearly in substance, what Reynolds related of the intercourse between them, touching the information which he prevailed on him to give; also his (witness's) communication to government, touching a resolution of 500 guineas, which was expected to defray the extraordinary expences of his friend, to be incurred by retiring from the kingdom. Mr. Cope alledged, that when he commenced the conversation on the subject with Reynolds, he suspected as little as he did his own brother that he was an United Irishman.

William Harris examined by the Solicitor General.

Deposed, that he was an United Irishman, and appointed treasurer of a baronial committee, belonging to the Coombe, in the Liberty; saw the prisoner frequently, whom he identified, having met him at societies. Saw him for the first time in the county committee, at Jackson's, in Church-street, to which he was secretary; this was about twelve or thirteen months since. Saw Mr. Miles Dignam, of Grafton-street, there also, and a Mr. Shaw. The meeting was composed all of treasurers and secretaries, from the baronial and district committees; they were respectively summoned to deliver in accounts of men, arms, and ammunition, that the strength of the city might be known. Witness deposed, that he was at several meetings in the same house, at six meetings at least, at all of which the prisoner acted as secretary. At these meetings it appeared to be the prisoner's duty to deliver to each member a general account of the strength of the city, taken from the particulars

of each barony and district, communicated to him by the members, which accounts the several members on their return to their own committees, were to lay before the respective meetings. From the conversation in these meetings, he expected the French to arrive in this kingdom in June or July last. The prisoner was present when witness was told it. He was also told that a plan was laid to seize the barracks and the castle; was never at any county meeting where the prisoner was not present. At the meeting the members were instructed to exert themselves to bring over the soldiery; was treasurer to his baronial committee only for three months; was obliged to give way when higher people came into place.

On cross-examination by Mr. Curran, it appeared that the witness was one of fourteen men, taken last week by captain Beresford's cavalry, on the road to Rathfarnham, five of whom were hanged; that he gave testimony to save his neck, which, however, he was not yet certain would be spared.

The prosecution being closed, Mr. M'Nally stated the case for the prisoner at some length.

First witness on behalf of the prisoner examined was Eleanor Dwyer; she deposed to a meeting between Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Cahil, wherein the former embraced the old woman with a great shew of affection, and obtained the papers she sought for from her; she knew nothing of Mr. Bond's tampering with Mrs. C. to get them; this circumstance occurred, she thought, within a fortnight or three weeks.

Thomas Warren examined by Mr. M'Nally.

Deposed, that he was a partner of old Mrs. Reynolds, in the silk manufacture,

facture, previous to her son, Thomas Reynolds, the witness, having joined in the partnership; from his knowledge of the witness, Reynolds, did not believe him a man worthy of credit on his oath.

On cross-examination it appeared, that on quitting the partnership he retired to the country, where he has lived these four years, and never since entered into any political society; that on going to the country, he carried with him a duplicate of the accounts belonging to the partnership, which he lost on the road, and never since entered into any settlement about them, nor was there any demand made on him.

Peter Sullivan, an United Irishman, with a protection from government in his pocket, having come in on the proclamation, deposed, that he was a clerk to Reynolds, and from his knowledge of him, would not give credit to his oath.

On cross-examination by Mr. J. O'Grady, it appeared that he was the adviser of Reynolds, to enter the association of United Irishmen.

Mr. Curran occupied two hours in speaking to evidence; in the interval, two gentlemen, Mr. Cope, and Mr. Furlong, of Aungier-street, deposed to the character of the witness, Reynolds, that notwithstanding any publick rumour to his prejudice, from their long acquaintance with him, and the satisfaction they had with him in extensive dealings, they believed him as worthy of credit on his oath, as any other man in the community. This they re-asserted with the approbation of the court, after an ingenious cross-examination.

Mrs. Molloy was previously brought forward, to discredit the witness Rey-

nolds—she could say no more than on having been applied to for Mrs. Cahil's papers, which she had in trust, by Mrs. Reynolds, she thought proper, to avoid the inconvenience of being troubled with their litigations, to give them to Mrs. Cahil herself, to dispose of as she pleased.

After Mr. Saurin's very able address to the jury, Mr. Baron Smith laid down the law of high treason in his charge to them, and recapitulated the evidence with a variety of candid and pertinent observations, and a strong remark, that whatever degree of turpitude might appear generally to have swayed the principles and conduct of Reynolds through life, the jury were not warranted to reject his testimony solely on that ground, the most they were entitled to do was, to weigh his testimony with due consideration of the corroborating circumstances, contrasted with the suspicion of his veracity, which the witness's conduct or character might excite.

The jury retired, and in two minutes returned a verdict—**GUILTY**.

The unhappy culprit addressed a few words to the court, to exculpate himself from the stigma fixed on him by the witness Harris, whom he solemnly declared he never saw at any meeting whatsoever. Baron Smith, after an awfully impressive charge, pronounced sentence of death on him in the usual form.

The execution took place about one o'clock on Thursday. The prisoner appeared to act with a composure becoming his unhappy state. Before he went out upon the scaffold, the Sheriffs asked him, "have you any thing to say to us?" He answered, nothing; but, God bless you. I forgive every one; and may God forgive me for any crimes

crimes I may have been the means of committing."

Previous to his going on the platform, he delivered a written paper to Mr. Sheriff Pasley, and requested him to leave his prayer-book at Mr. Jackson's, Church-street.

He was then turned off, and having hanged for some time, his head was severed from his body. He was attended by a Catholic priest.

Trial of W. M. Byrne, Esq.

Wm. Mich. Byrne having been put to the bar on trial for high treason, fifteen peremptory challenges were made on the part of the prisoner—sixteen out of the pannel set aside for want of freehold, and fourteen set aside on the part of the crown: the following jury were sworn:—Joseph Ashley, foreman; William Pike, Chas. Bingham, George Darley, jun. Mountiford Hay, John Crosthwaite, William Long, George Walker, Joshua Manders, Benj. Simpson, Wm. Wainright, and Frederick Parker.

The indictment against the prisoner consisted of two counts: first, "compassing and imagining the king's death;" second, "adhering to his enemies now at war with him." To support the first count, the ten following overt acts were laid, and eight out of the ten went to support the second count:

"1st, Assembling and conspiring with other false traitors unknown, to stir up rebellion within the kingdom—and procuring arms, ammunition, and a number of armed men to be employed in effecting the same. 2d. Assembling and conspiring to depose the king. 3d, Conspiring to overturn, by force, the lawful government of the

country; and also to change by force the constitution. 4th, Assembling with other false traitors to consult on the means of raising rebellion, &c. 5th, Assembling, &c. to consult on the means of deposing the king. 6th, Becoming a member of a treasonable society, called United Irishmen, the better to effect the purposes aforesaid. 7th, Assembling to take and receive returns and accounts of men, names of officers, arms, ammunition, &c. to be employed in raising and levying war and rebellion. 8th, Procuring and obtaining certain paper writings respecting the aforesaid returns of men, arms, &c. 9th, Assembling with other traitors at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street, to consult on the means of raising rebellion. 10th, Assembling at the said house to take and receive returns and accounts of men, arms, and ammunition, &c. as aforesaid."

The Prime Searjeant, on behalf of the crown, stated the case. He told the jury, that if he were authorised to follow the dictates of his own judgment, he would not trespass on their time by expatiating on the enormity of the crimes with which the prisoner stood charged, nor anticipate by any detail the train of evidence to support the prosecution, which must necessarily be laid before them. But custom rendered it necessary to state a case, the better to enable the court and jury to form that opinion which they must ultimately give; with this custom he should therefore comply. The Prime Searjeant then briefly adverted to the law respecting the crime of compassing and imagining the death of the king—a crime, he said, neither capable of being aggravated, nor admitting of extenuation; and called

William

*William B. Swan, esq. who was sworn
—and examined by the Attorney
General.*

He is a justice of the peace for the county of Dublin, and confidentially employed under the authority of government, as a peace officer; in consequence of which he obtained a warrant from Mr. Pelham, the late secretary, to arrest a convention of persons assembled at the house of Oliver Bond, on the 12th of March last. On that day he repaired thither, accompanied by thirteen military serjeants, in coloured clothes, one of whom he ordered to go before the party and procure admittance by the following pass-word. "Where is M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?" Having gained admittance, Witness proceeded to the room where his informations stated conspirators were to meet—it was a back room, on entering which, he perceived a number of men in small groups, and one man sitting at a table, with papers and a prayer-book before him. He snapped at a paper which the man had apparently been writing on, the ink being wet, and in his anxiety to come at it, the man escaped, and joined one of the parties who were standing in the room, so that he could not afterwards identify him. After seizing on the paper, he cocked a pistol, and told the persons in the room to hold up their hands, and threatened to fire on them, if they attempted to destroy a single paper remaining, and he gave previous directions to the serjeants to be exact in examining, the hands of the parties within, lest they might attempt to destroy any.

The witness here identified the prisoner at the bar as one of the party.

He took a list of the parties' names and residences. [This list is published in the report of M'Cann's trial, also the contents of a letter from M'Cann to the prisoner.] Witness identified a paper found in the prisoner's pocket. A paper was also produced, which, Witness deposed, was found on the person of John Lynch, one of the party arrested. A red-leather pocket-book was produced to the witness, and he was asked if he could swear it was found on the person of the prisoner?—he answered, after some consideration, "that he could not be certain of it." A paper, No. 4, was produced to him, which he swore to have found on the prisoner; it was a receipt for 5l. passed by T. Fleming for M. Dowling. He searched the persons of the parties himself, and perceiving a group of men approach a large fire, he cocked a pistol at them, with threats to discharge it if they did not remove. This he did to prevent them from burning any of the papers. He ordered a serjeant M'Doogan to search, about the hearth, and bring him any books or papers he found there, and in consequence the serjeant brought him a pocket book. Papers No. 7, and 8, were found in the room.

Mr. Curran, as counsel for the prisoner, asked the witness on cross-examination—"If the prisoner was not standing at the door when the witness went in?" Answered he did not recollect.

*—Williams, esq. barrister-at-law,
being sworn.*

Knew the prisoner at the bar—that he has seen him write, and was acquainted with his hand-writing. A paper, No. 3, was produced to the witness, the 1st, 2d, and part of the

3d side of which he believed to be the prisoner's hand-writing;—the figures thereon he could not swear to.

Mr. Arthur Guinness, jun. was produced to swear to the hand-writing of M'Cann, in the papers found at this meeting. They were here resorted to as part of the written evidence in proof of the object and intention of the meeting at which the prisoner was found. The paper, No. 3, proved by Mr. Williams to be the prisoner's hand-writing, commenced thus, "The C. W. (county of Wicklow) committee inform their constituents," &c. and was in substance as follows, viz. "That it appears very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which, in a few days, would be officially communicated; that the provincial returns of men have only encreased a few thousands since the last reports. The committee earnestly recommend to pay no attention to any flying reports circulated to disunite them: that the C. C. (Co. Committee) hear with regret the dissatisfaction expressed by the Baronial Committee, of Newcastle, at their not having been supplied with arms—that quantities of p-k-s, (pikes) were ready manufactured for delivery, but recommended to have as many more made as they could, to prepare for a speedy rising; that they felt with concern the apathy of the C. W. in refusing one penny per man, in support of the number of their brethren famishing in the different prisons for want of the necessaries of life, who yet scorn to betray the trust reposed in them. It was next recommended to forward 18l. 4s. 2d. to a person not named, who had been uncommonly liberal himself for the relief of the prisoners. The number of prisoners from the different baronies were speci-

fied, in all amounting to forty-two, without the smallest fund for the ensuing months. A resolution was annexed, requesting, that the next meeting might be more punctually attended to. There followed a return of the number of men in arms from each barony, in all amounting to 12,800, and an account of 162l. 3s. 4d. from which 73l. 4s. 6d. was to be deducted, and the balance to be provided for the relief of prisoners; the number of guns, pikes, pistols, bayonets, ball-cartridges, powder, &c. were also stated by initials, and the names of the baronies, with the respective number and quantities of arms and ammunition in each, annexed." The paper, No. 2, was read, being the letter from M'Cann to the prisoner, and directed for him to Grumley's Hotel, Kevin-street, purporting, that lord Edward Fitzgerald was not then in town—advising the prisoner to go and wait on him at the Black Rock.

Mr. Bushe, as counsel for the prisoner, rose to object to this species of evidence, on the ground, that a letter found on the prisoner's person, not being his own hand-writing, was not admissible evidence in point of law, nor was the production of papers found in the same room with the prisoner at the time he was arrested, sufficient to operate against him, no evidence of the alledged conspiracy having been adduced.

Attorney General in reply said, that if in this case, he made a concession to alter the arrangement of the evidence, having ample parole evidence to produce of the conspiracy, besides the internal written evidence in the papers found in the room, it would operate forcibly for the great purpose which the crown had in view, to put down a rebellion

a rebellion, not yet extinguished, by making salutary examples of the persons most conspicuous in fomenting it. In reply to the objection against the production of a letter written to the prisoner, and found in his pocket, he was proceeding to cite the case of lord Preston, where letters addressed to him, and found in the boat which was conveying him to France, were admitted in evidence, when the court over-ruled Mr. Bushe's objection.

Thomas Reynolds, esq. sworn — and examined by Mr. Saurin.

Nearly retailed the evidence he gave on the trial of M'Cann, omitting only the circumstance of going to Leinster-house, to confer with lord Edward Fitzgerald. In stating how the different committees of United Irishmen, were organized and linked with each other, he mentioned how the money in their funds was to be appropriated. He said it was applied various ways—principally in the purchase of arms and ammunition, and in the support of the families of those who were obliged to fly the country; also to support the prisoners, and to fee lawyers on the prosecution of such of their fraternity as were to be tried on criminal charges. He mentioned, that in baronial committees, it was a frequent practice to read lists of informers, spies, and others obnoxious to their principles or institution.

In the witness's cross-examination by Mr. Bushe, there was no material deviation from what he stated in that which occurred on the trial of M'Cann. Touching the transaction in which it was endeavoured to stigmatize him, with having purloined the 300l. which he paid his mother-in-law, Mrs. Witherington, and for which he had her

receipt, it appeared that his mother-in-law was not an inmate in his family; that she rented a house from him in Ash-street, where her husband and one of her sons lived with her constantly, and where he was only a *frequent visitor*. He denied having given any wine to his mother in her last illness, or having taken a bottle of wine away with him, from her apartment, which she refused to drink of. Being asked, if he expected any additional reward or compensation for *losses* from government, to requite his services, replied, he did not.

Q. Would you accept of any, if tendered to you?—A. I can't answer what I *would* do; I can only speak of what I *have* done.

Q. From the present disposition of your mind, can you answer whether you would accept of a reward or not, if immediately offered to you?—A. I would not.

Q. Would you accept of a reward to-morrow?—A. If you ask me to-morrow, I'll make you an answer.

Q. Can you guess in round numbers, you need not mind fractions, how many oaths you have taken within these six months?—A. About seven or eight.

Q. Were they all consistent with each other?—A. They were not; but I trust that the oath I have taken in court this day, added to that I have taken on the last prosecution, will, in the eyes of God and MAN, absolve me from my former crimes. (Our readers will please to remark, that the witness swore in his direct examination on M'Cann's trial, as well as on this, "that he was induced to communicate the informations he gave to Mr. Cope, to be transmitted to government, by the horror he conceived at the crimes to which the schemes of his

his associates would lead.") He said he did not recollect having taken a voluntary oath at Naas, to exculpate himself from a charge of having betrayed the United Irishmen, but he gave the most solemn assurances to a Mr. Flood, at Naas, who told him, that he was aspersed with having betrayed his friends, that he had not done so. These assurances, he said, were extorted from him, by a just apprehension, that he otherwise might be assassinated—and, were it requisite, he would give fifteen times as many assurances, and take fifteen times the number of oaths he had taken to save his life.

Being asked (though not exactly in the order in which for brevity we have stated it,) what were the principal objects to which the first oath of an United Irishman was directed? He replied, to obtain an equal representation of the people in parliament, and an emancipation of the Catholics. Being asked, why the real views of this fraternity, (that of substituting a republican form of government in this kingdom, as he swore, after subverting the constitution) was not avowed as an obligation in the test oath? he replied, that such views were studiously concealed in the oath under the mask of reform and emancipation, lest by having their schemes too suddenly developed, it might deter people from uniting with them.

Q. Did not numbers of people join the cause, who never thought the object of the society extended beyond parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation?—A. There did, hundreds upon hundreds.

Thomas Miller sworn, and examined by the Solicitor General.

Deposed, that he was an United

Irishman, and knew the prisoner at the bar, whom he identified; that he lived within three miles of the prisoner in the county of Wicklow: that the prisoner sent for him before he, the witness, ever knew him: that on going to the prisoner's house, according to the message he received, he met the prisoner on the road, who asked him, if he was an United Irishman? Witness replied he was: The prisoner then observed, that he was appointed to regulate the barony or half barony of Rathdown in that way, and asked witness shortly after, if he could bring in a return of 120 men from the parish of Powerscourt? Witness replied to the prisoner, that he believed he could. Prisoner then shewed witness the form of the return he was to make—was in three weeks after in company with the prisoner, at a house in the Glen of the Down—many others of their society were present, who elected him to accompany the prisoner to a county meeting to be held at Anna Curry. The county did not meet then according to appointment, as there were not members enough—saw the prisoner afterwards at a meeting in Francis-street, where nothing material happened, except a controversy whether they should rise of themselves, or wait for the French; the latter was determined on. At a meeting in Francis-street shortly after, he saw the prisoner again, who paid him some money. Witness got 84 or 85 pikes made by a smith, which he gave up and down to the people of the division to which he belonged: those to whom he gave them subscribed a shilling a piece for them; and the money he received for the pikes he paid over to the prisoner. He gave voluntary informations of this business to lord Powerscourt and lord Monk,

Monk, knowing himself to be in danger, and having been obliged to abscond and join the camp at Blackmore-hill; he thought giving the informations might secure him from being taken. It appeared also, that he was elected a captain over 120 men.

On cross-examination by Mr. Curran,

It came out, that the witness had no trade or calling, but lived with his family dependent on his father, who was a working farmer. He acknowledged having frequently stolen (or as he expressed it, "taken without leave,") holly timber, and other kinds of timber to make cars, &c. which he sold in Dublin. He was in no battles during the rebellion; for when the army approached their camp, his friends retreated. His company, he said, laid down their arms before he took refuge in the camp.

James Ryan sworn, and examined by Mr. Webber.

Said he was a shoe-maker, and knew the prisoner at the bar; acknowledged himself an United Irishman since April 1797. He was appointed secretary to a meeting the harvest after; he saw the prisoner at a meeting, where he told the society he was head-delegate from the county. Prisoner then asked the society if they had formed the military system yet? to which witness replied, they had not; but that he had formed the splits. Prisoner then called for pen, ink, and paper, on which he wrote, "We the undersigned (meaning certain authorised individuals) do hereby certify that we are satisfied with the conduct of —, since his commencement with us, and do send him in a military capacity to act as our serjeant." This paper was produced to

the witness, and identified by him. Witness deposed, that he understood the object of their society was to overturn the king and constitution, and put to death every one who was not an United Irishman. Prisoner at this meeting said, it was ordered that they should lie by for three weeks; at the end of which, by every information he could procure, the French would land, and then they should rise to aid and assist them. He said it was resolved, that rewards of different proportions of lands and properties, belonging to those who should be dispossessed, should be given to those who should fight in their cause, according to their respective merits. When witness found that the time for rising was approaching, he, on the 20th of May last, communicated these his informations to lord Powerscourt and lord Monk voluntarily, and without any hope of reward.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bushe.

Said, that whipping had not been introduced by the military in the county of Wicklow when he gave the information, consequently he was not in dread of being whipped—was neither offered or promised any kind of reward by lord Powerscourt or lord Monk.

William Cope, Esq. corroborated that part of Reynolds's testimony, respecting the conversation with him on the Journey from sir Duke Giffard's, as stated in M'Cann's trial, and the informations he procured from him in consequence.

Mrs. Ann Fitzgerald, first witness for the prisoner, and a professed religious, belonging to a convent of Nuns in King-street, deposed, that from her particular knowledge of Mr. Reynolds, her nephew, and his general character,

he was not worthy of credit on his oath before a court of justice.

A Doctor Paisley, from the county of Wicklow, deposed to the character of the prisoner, whom he knew. Said it was a general good one, as far as he could hear of him in his neighbourhood. It appeared that witness, as well as the prisoner, was a yeoman in the Mount-Kennedy cavalry, and that they both had resigned. The prisoner, he stated, previous to his resignation, when the French were at Bantry-Bay, volunteered marching to resist them.

Captain Gore was produced to the prisoner's character, while under his command. He deposed, that he considered him a well-behaved, gentlemanly young man, and assigned a reason for the prisoner's quitting the corps, his having taken part with a Mr. Hoey, the prisoner's brother-in-law, in some difference which occurred between Mr Hoey and his (the Witness's) brother. He knew nothing of the prisoner's political conduct or opinions since he quitted his corps, which was in the month of October last.

Cross-examined by Mr. Saurin.

Acknowledged he had heard that all the chief Roman catholics, in the county of Wicklow, had been aiding the rebels, and he knew the prisoner was among the chief Roman catholics.

Mr. Furlong, attorney, was called on by the crown to support the character of witness, Reynolds. He deposed that he did, from his knowledge of him, and his general character, believe him worthy of credit on his oath in a court of justice.

Mr. Bushe proposed to the counsel for the crown, to rest their case here, and let it go to the jury; which was refused. Mr. Bushe then spoke to evidence for near two hours.

Mr. S. O'Grady, one of the counsel for the crown, spoke to evidence in reply.

After which each judge respectively charged the jury, who, after retiring a few minutes, returned with a verdict, **GUILTY.**

The prisoner addressed a few words to the court, expressive of his gratitude to his counsel for their zealous and able defence of him, and hoped, if at all compatible with the duty of the bench, that they would not proceed to sentence for a day or two, that he might have time to adjust his worldly and spiritual concerns.

The Attorney General replied, that sentence may be pronounced, but his execution should not be precipitated, and that he should have every possible indulgence consistent with the nature of his situation.

Judge Crookshank, after a concise but impressive address to the prisoner, recommending his attention to futurity, pronounced the awful sentence of death in the usual form.

The following is a particular account of the conduct and behaviour of John James Coigly, at the place of execution, who was found guilty of high treason, and suffered on Pennenden Heath, near Maidstone, on the 6th of June, 1798, together with the genuine speech made by him previous to his being launched into eternity.

This unfortunate man, since his conviction, had conducted himself with great piety, fortitude, resignation, and decorum: and by his behaviour, had obtained the respect of all those who had attended him in the prison. The only relation, and that a distant one, who had visited him since his confinement, was Mr. Derry, the gentleman desired to publish

lish his memoirs. Mr. Derry had not seen him for some days. We could not learn that any other friend had visited Mr. Coigly, except a gentleman who saw him yesterday, and Mr. Griffiths, a Roman catholic clergyman, who attended ministerially on this unfortunate man, who was also a Roman catholic. Mr. Griffiths, in conformity to the tenets of his faith, had often solicited Mr. Coigly to make full confession of what he knew of any treasonable practices; but the prisoner uniformly answered, he had no confession to make: on this point Mr. Griffiths had so often pressed him, as to give great offence to the prisoner.

Government, to prevent a crowd, and perhaps a riot, had taken great pains to keep the time of his execution a secret; and they were very successful. It was announced to him by Mr. Watson the gaoler, on Wednesday, about five o'clock. Mr. Watson, who, it appears, acted with great humanity, was very much agitated in communicating the dreadful intelligence. Mr. Coigly received it with composure. Very few knew of it in London: very few in Rochester and Canterbury: and even in Maidstone on Wednesday night, respectable shopkeepers, and the general inhabitants of the town, were uncertain of the fact. It had been so often reported that it would take place, that they at last doubted all reports of the kind; and the idea circulated that he would make confessions, filled some persons with an expectation that he would not suffer at all. These circumstances combined, prevented so great a concourse from assembling on the ground as might have been expected: the number of spectators was about one thousand.

It was settled that the cavalcade should leave the gaol at eleven o'clock, and proceed slowly to the ground, about a mile distant; at half past ten there were only three people on the ground. The place is an eminence that overlooks a common: a gibbet stands always fixed upon the spot. About eleven o'clock, a deal coffin, not painted, together with the platform, &c. were brought upon a car to the ground; the platform was put up; it is what is called a drop.

Mr. Coigly, after hearing the orders for his execution on Wednesday afternoon, conducted himself in his usual tranquil manner. He went to bed at his usual time; but two men, who were left in the room to sit up with him, insisted on keeping up a fire, and they continued talking together a great part of the night: this annoyed the prisoner, who, in consequence, had but little sleep; and in the morning he said, that for the first time he felt himself rather unwell; but his illness was very slight, and he took his breakfast as usual, and manifested his usual fortitude. The Rev. Mr. Griffiths had come from London to him on Wednesday night, and attended him to administer consolation. Mr. Griffiths left him about ten o'clock at night, and returned to attend him again about eight o'clock next morning.

About the same time, a gentleman from London obtained an interview with him, to know if there was any last duty he could perform. The prisoner said, his mind was perfectly easy in every point but one: he had heard that many gross falsehoods had been inserted in some papers, especially respecting confessions said to have been made by him; he was very desirous his behaviour in his last moments should

not be misrepresented. The gentleman assured him that no misrepresentation should go uncontradicted. He replied, "I am relieved from the only anxiety that was on my mind."

At a quarter past eleven o'clock, Mr. Coigly left the gaol. He was dressed in a black coat, black kersey-mere waistcoat and breeches, and black worsted stockings; his hair (which was grey) was cropped. Whether it is usual so to prepare for execution, or whether it was on account of the great heat of the day, his shirt collar was open, and he wore no neck-cloth; his elbows were tied behind with ropes, and over his shoulders was the rope with which he was to be executed.

He stepped into the hurdle, a large deal box, with two seats across; and, on his sitting down, a chain was put round his waist, to fasten him to the machine. He sat with his face to the horses, of which there were three to draw him; he had nothing on his head; he continued all the way earnestly reading a prayer-book. The executioner sat in the hurdle opposite him. Mr. Watson, the gaoler, on horseback, followed the hurdle, which was surrounded by about two hundred of the Maidstone volunteers. The deputy Sheriff, Mr. Hodges, and the Rev. Mr. Griffiths, followed. The sheriff himself was not present the whole day. The whole was preceded by about twenty javelin-men. In this manner, the procession moved slowly forward, followed by about four hundred people, besides the military. The prisoner's cloaths were much covered with dust in the way, and he appeared to be considerably overcome by the great heat of the day.

The javelin-men first came on the

ground, which they cleared. When the prisoner arrived, the hurdle was drawn up close in front of the gallows, and the horses were taken out. The military then formed a small square on the spot, to keep off the spectators. Mr. Coigly was unchained from the hurdle; he rose up, stood in it, and read a prayer; he next read aloud a long Latin prayer. After he had read about five minutes, he took an orange out of his pocket, and then a pen-knife; but his arms being bound behind, he could not cut the orange; upon which he beckened to his friend who attended him in the morning, who then came close to him, and Mr. Coigly gave his friend the orange and pen-knife, saying, "Open this orange with my pen-knife; it has been said they would not trust me with a pen-knife, lest I should cut my throat; but they little knew that I would not deprive myself of the glory of dying in this way."

He desired his friend to keep his pen-knife for his sake, and to hold some of the pieces of orange, all of which he eat in the course of his devotions. After he had finished the long prayer, he kneeled in the hurdle, and sung a psalm; he then repeated another prayer to himself, with which he concluded.

The Rev. Mr. Griffiths, who, during the whole time, had stood close to him with his hat off, now whispered to him, but in so low a tone, we could not hear what passed: we could only hear Mr. G. say, repeatedly, "But consider! consider!" This, we believe, was an entreaty to Mr. Coigly to confess; but he shook his head, frowned with much dignity, and said, "No! no!" After the clergyman had for some time persevered in this manner, he begged pardon,

pardon, and hoped Mr. Coigly was satisfied, that he had only done his duty." Mr. Coigly said, "Yes, yes." The clergyman gave him absolution: Mr. Coigly crossed himself; they shook hands, and bade each other farewell! He then stepped out of the hurdle, and said to his friend, "You are a new friend, but a kind one—God bless you! farewell! He then turned to the gaoler, who remained on horseback, and said, "Mr. Watson, farewell! God bless you! Your conduct to me has been very kind and generous, and I thank you for the many civilities you have shewn me—God bless you!" They shook hands, after which he proceeded to ascend, by a ladder, to the platform. He went up with solemnity and the most unshaken courage.

When he was on the scaffold, the executioner proceeded to tie him up to the gallows. In doing this, we suppose the executioner was apologizing, for we heard Mr. Coigly say to him, "Say nothing! You know you must do your duty." The executioner said, "You must turn your back to me, sir." Mr. Coigly bowed, and turned round.

When he was tied up, and his arms tied behind him, he addressed the deputy sheriff in the following manner:

"Mr. Sheriff,

(The sheriff, thinking the prisoner wanted him, came up close to the gallows, with his hat off.)

"Put on your hat, sir," said Mr. Coigly.—[The sheriff stood the whole time of the speech with his hat off]—"In cases of this sort, I believe it has been usual for persons standing in my unfortunate situation, to say more or less to those who have accompanied them to this spot. But I do not find

"it necessary to say much as I otherwise might have done, having taken some pains to send a regular declaration, signed with my own hand, to a friend in London, together with a sketch of my unfortunate and afflicted life, which I hope will convince the public of the truth. These, I hope, will be published. I shall only here solemnly declare, that I *am innocent of the charge for which I suffer*. I never was in my life the bearer of any letter, or other paper or message, printed, written, or verbal, to the Directory of France, nor to any person on their behalf; neither was I ever a member of the London corresponding society, or any other political society in Great Britain; nor did I ever attend any of their meetings, public or private—so help me God!"

[Here there was a general murmur of pity among the surrounding spectators, with great expressions of astonishment, and some clapping of hands.]

"I know not," continued Mr. Coigly, "whether I shall be believed here in what I say, but I am sure I shall be believed in the world to come. It can hardly be supposed that one like me, in this situation, going to eternity, before the most awful tribunal, would die with a falshood in his mouth; and I do declare, by the hopes I confidently feel of salvation and happiness in a future state, that my life is falsely and maliciously taken away by corrupt and base perjury, in some cases proceeding from mistake, no doubt, but in others from design. I have long been persecuted by the government of Ireland, by the administration of it. The cause of this was, that I taught the people to believe that no man could serve his God by persecuting others for religious opinions.

one. For this I was given up for a persecuting spirit. This was the first cause. The second cause of that government's persecution occurred in a contested election. My father and brother were both freeholders, and I was supposed to have advised them to vote for the opposition candidate. The third and final cause of my persecution was, and it was supported by charges on oath, which have been since retracted—this third and final cause was my being very active and instrumental in procuring a long address to the king, to put an end to this calamitous and destructive war, and to dismiss those ministers who are falsely called his majesty's servants. I forgive all who have had a share in my murder, for I repeat that it is murder. Some of the evidence were perjured."

Here he enumerated by name, those persons who, he said, had perjured themselves, and one of them, he said, had most maliciously perjured himself, and suppressed the proofs in his favour. After stating how such a one perjured himself, Mr. Coigly concluded, "But God forgive him!" One of the witnesses he accused of being a most infamous character, and he concluded this part of his address with "But God forgive them all, as I do now!"

"I have no doubt," said he, "that when the clouds of prejudice and alarm shall have passed away, justice will be done to my memory; and I hope my fate will warn jurors to be cautious how they"

Some little disputes have taken place between me and my brother clergyman who has attended me; but they are now agreeably settled; and if I have said any thing to his prejudice, I sincerely ask his pardon. I wish to die in

amity with all mankind; and I shall now conclude by recommending it to you, men of Kent! in time to come, to beware how you permit any persons to take advantage of you,

Almighty God! forgive all my enemies!—I beg of you to pray that God will grant me grace—for I have many sins to answer for, but they are the sins of my private life, and not the charge for which I now die."—(Raising his voice,) "Lord have mercy on me, and receive my soul!"

Having concluded this speech, he signified that he was ready; and while the white night-cap was pulling over his face, he made signs to his friend to come near, when he dropped his handkerchief, made of blue linen, to him. The executioner pulled the spring to make the platform fall; but in the first attempt he failed: in the second, however, it succeeded, and he was plunged into eternity. During the first two minutes he made no struggles, but then he became a little convulsed. The deputy sheriff desired the executioner to do his duty, and the executioner pulled him by the legs to kill him more speedily.

It is impossible to give the reader a just idea of the magnanimous conduct of this unfortunate man. Throughout the whole of these awful proceedings, he displayed the most perfect firmness and composure. There was nothing of audacity, no indifference, nor levity in his behaviour. With a placid and resigned countenance, he went through the whole with perfect calmness and collection of mind. We watched him to the very last, but his resignation and fortitude never, in the slightest degree, forsook him; he never once changed countenance, nor heaved a sigh. But while

while he manifested so much firmness, he also shewed that he had a due sense of his situation: he was grave, solemn, and respectful in all he did: and the spectators shewed the greatest respect and decorum towards him: many of them wept, and even some of the military could not repress their tears. He spoke in a firm, audible, though not a very loud voice: and he died praying.

After the body had hung about twelve minutes, it was lowered, the executioner holding it in his arms, till it was laid gently on the platform.—A young man, a surgeon, put on a yellow linen dress, and prepared to cut off the head, the other part of the sentence being remitted. The coat, waistcoat, and shoes were taken off, and the cap was taken from his face, which, lately so comely (for he was a very handsome man, with a good complexion,) was now the colour of lead. He appeared to be quite dead. The surgeon felt if there was any pulse, and then proceeded to cut off the head, which was laid so as to hang over the edge of the platform. When the head was severed from his body, the executioner held it up to the spectators, and, turning round to shew it to them all, said three times, "This is the head of a traitor!"

Mr. Coigly came on the ground about a quarter past twelve; he was turned off about a quarter before one, beheaded at one, and buried in about a quarter of an hour afterwards.—Never was any execution conducted with more quiet, decorum, and respect.

Trials by Court-martial.

The following persons herein named, were tried and found guilty of treason and rebellion, by a court-martial, held in the barrack of Dublin, in May and

June last, and executed on the bridges of that city.

Wade and Ledwich, charged with being leaders of the rebels, were hanged on the Queen's-bridge, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial. The execution was extremely awful: the whole of the yeomanry corps attended it. The criminals confessed their crimes, and asked pardon of their injured country. They were both yeomen.

On the evening of the same day, Carrol, taken in arms, and convicted before a court martial of being a rebel, was, by his sentence, hanged at the Old-bridge, May 26th.

May 31st.—A man who had been under-steward to the right hon. David Latouche, and another named Fennel, the owner of gardens at Portobello, were hanged upon the Old-bridge, according to the sentence of a military tribunal. The former was convicted of aiding armed insurgents in an attack upon his master's house near Rathfarnham. The latter for having knocked down a soldier, and rescued prisoners.

June 1st.—John Raymond, one of the St. Sepulchre's corps, was hanged on the Old-bridge, pursuant to the sentence of a court-martial, for having conspired the death of Mr. Maturin, one of his officers.

June 14th.—Thursday evening, pursuant to his sentence, Dr. Esmond was taken from the barrack, and executed at Carlisle-bridge. The procession was solemn, and the unfortunate offender experienced from the gentlemen of the yeomanry horse, who were appointed to attend his execution, every indulgence that could be looked for under his melancholy circumstances. At about three o'clock he proceeded from the place of condemnation, with a
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serene and undisturbed countenance. He set in the cart till his arrival at the place of execution; and but a short interval elapsed before he was launched into the world of spirits.

Having given an account of the rebellion in Ireland, and the trials in consequence, we shall now resume our narrative of naval occurrences.

The following action, as gallant as any perhaps ever recorded in the annals of naval history, took place lately in the neighbourhood of Naples:—About four leagues from that port, the *Herald*, of Jersey, a letter of marque, of about eighty tons, and ten guns, of different calibres, three, four, and six pounders, and twenty-eight men, laden with cod-fish, was attacked by three French privateers at once, one of which mounted five eighteen-pounders, and the two others eight four-pounders each. Pickstock, who commanded the *Herald*, after a short, but spirited exhortation to his ship's company, began a most furious engagement, which lasted upwards of three hours, when the Frenchmen sheered off, much shattered, and with the loss of thirty men. In the night of the same day a felucca, with twenty-two men, suddenly appeared along-side of the Jerseyman, determined to board him; but a broadside from the *Herald* sent them all to the bottom. On his arrival at Naples, Pickstock received the highest marks of respect and attention for his glorious conduct, from all ranks of people. Prince Augustus, of England, honoured him two or three times with an invitation to breakfast, and presented him with a sword of considerable value, in testimony of his royal highness's approbation of his intrepidity: Mr. Veers, a gentleman of his suite, gave the gallant captain a pair of

pistols; and Sir William Hamilton, our ambassador, received him repeatedly at his table. The English merchants there, with that liberality which distinguishes gentlemen of that nation in every quarter of the globe, presented the crew with two hundred dollars.—Pickstock reports, that there is a small harbour, within three miles of Naples, filled with French privateers, who take, indiscriminately, all vessels, whether enemies or neutral vessels, which are going into Naples; and, what is singular is, that these privateers are manned entirely with Neapolitans, the captains only being French. A great number of neutral vessels, laden with pilchards, from Falmouth, had been taken; and, in an hour after their arrival at Naples, they are condemned by the French ambassador, who is omnipotent there, and sold. Such is the dread entertained at that court of the Gallic government, which makes them close their eyes to the most barefaced violation of their own rights, their own interests, and those of other nations. The intrepid captain of the *Herald* returned directly to Jersey, having completed his voyage from that island to Naples and back again in the space of ten weeks.

The following is an authentic account of the brilliant action lately fought by his Majesty's ships *Arrogant* and *Victorious*, with admiral Serizy's squadron, on the coast of Sumatra, in the East Indies:—The two ships fell in with the French squadron off Acheen Head, consisting of *Le Forte*, admiral Serizy, carrying 52 guns, viz. thirty 24-pounders on her deck, the rest long French twelves and heavy carronades, and manned with 480 picked men; *Le Virtu*, of 40 guns, commanded



SIR SYDNEY SMITH



By J. J. P.
MARQUIS CORNWALLIS

commanded by captain l'Hermit; an officer who had particularly distinguished himself in the North Sea; *Le Regeneu*, of 40, and *Le Seine*, of 36 guns, all extremely well manned.—The wind was light, and continued so at the commencement and during the action. The *Arrogant*, after a few broadsides, separated, and the *Victorious* supported the action alone, against the four, forty-five minutes, close on board, in which time, from the tightness of the wind, and the advantage the frigates had by their sweeps and boats, she received several raking fires, which shattered her stern and quarters a great deal, but not attended with that loss of men as might have been expected. Seeing the little impression they made, the admiral judged it prudent to sheer off, which they effected by the sweeps, and all the boats of the squadron towing a-head. They made their attack on the *Victorious* in the most resolute manner; *Le Seine*, though the smallest, determined to board, and rigged her booms out for that purpose; but a well-directed broad-side from the *Victorious* killed her captain, and about 80 of her crew fell, or were wounded with it; and, before she could get from under the *Victorious's* guns, was hulled upwards of eighty times. Capt. Clarke received a very severe wound from his scymitar being torn from his hand by a grape shot; it lacerated his thigh, and caused a great effusion of blood, which obliged him to quit the deck; but he almost immediately returned, which again occasioning a violent hæmorrhage, he was forced below, a mortification being apprehended. At the time the action commenced, the *Victorious* was short of her complement near one quarter, her first lieu-

tenant, an experienced officer, with 90 of her men, having been sent from Pul Penang with a valuable store-ship, to join admiral Rainier at the Moluccas. Although the very fortunate circumstance of the light wind to the frigates allowed them to get off, yet the consequence of this defeat were at that time of the first importance in India; it forced the French squadron to Mergui, at the time when both coasts were open to their depredations; and, on a report of their condition to admiral Serizy, from the consequences of this action, he was forced to Batavia, where three of the frigates were obliged to undergo a thorough repair; and it so disappointed the prospects of their cruize, that from Batavia they returned to the islands, and did not again sail from thence till the 18th of August 1797. Admiral Serizy, and his officers, both at Batavia and the islands, made the most honourable mention of the bravery and conduct of captain Clarke, and the gallant defence made by the *Victorious*, in such particular circumstances, against such a force.

The following is an authentic information respecting the escape of sir Sydney Smith, and his companion, Mr. Wright.

Finding that all hopes of an honourable exchange were vanished, from the rancour which the directory constantly manifested towards the above officer, a plan was formed in this country to effect his escape, and a foreigner of some distinction undertook to make the attempt. He went to Paris, and, having procured some blank warrants used in the office of the minister of police for the delivery of prisoners, he obtained a forged signature of the minister, directed to the gaoler of the temple, extremely well executed, to deliver

deliver up to the bearers of it, who were national guards, the persons of Sir Sydney Smith and Mr. Wright, that they might be conveyed to another prison. Four persons, in whom confidence could be placed, were accordingly employed to represent national guards, in which habit they went to the gaoler of the temple, with a forged warrant for the delivery of the prisoners, who were accordingly delivered up, and put into an hackney coach. So well was the escape conducted, that, though this event happened on the evening of the 24th of April, it was not even known to the directory till the 4th of May, at which time sir Sydney was out of the limits of the republic.

Mr. Wright was a midshipman; he was sir Sydney's secretary on board the *Diamond*, taken prisoner with him, and had been his constant companion in the temple. When they had proceeded through three streets, agreeable to a preconcerted plan, a cry was raised that the coach was running over a child, a woman shrieked, the coach stopped, and in the confusion that ensued, the prisoners jumped out, and mixed with the crowd. They walked on foot through several streets, until they came near the Bouvelardes, where a chaise was in readiness to carry them off. They were provided with passports in fictitious names, and a guide, and, speaking the French language fluently, met with no interruption. They halted five days in a little town not far from the metropolis, until proper measures could be taken to secure their retreat to the coast; they were near two days more in the woods near Havre. They at length found a small boat in a creek, which led to the mouth of the harbour of Havre, and, jumping into it, rowed

out to sea. They had seen sir R. Strachan's squadron from the heights above the town, and therefore knew the direction they were to take after getting on board the boat, in which they embarked about twelve o'clock at night; at three the next morning they descried the *Argo* frigate, captain Bowen, and, hoisting a white handkerchief as a signal, were fortunately observed, and taken on board. Captain Bowen determined to set the gallant knight immediately on his native land, and accordingly sailed for Portsmouth, where they arrived on Saturday evening, May 5, 1798; and the next morning sir Sydney, Mr. Wright, and the guide, set off for London, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants and seamen, who took the horses from his chaise, and drew him out of the town in triumph.

Sir Sydney Smith had been in confinement rather more than two years, having been captured in April 1796. He was in good health, though thin and weakened by his imprisonment.

The directory had refused every overture for the release of sir Sydney; unless 4000 French seamen were given in exchange.

Captain Winthrop, of his majesty's ship *Circe*, arrived this day with a dispatch from captain Home Riggs Popham, of his majesty's ship *Expedition*, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following is a copy:

Expedition, Ostend Roads,
May 20, 1798.

Sir, I beg you will do me the honour to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that, in pursuance of their orders of the 8th instant, I proceeded to sea the 14th, with the ships and vessels as follow:—*Hecla* Bomb,
J. Oughton;

J. Oughton; Harpy, H. Bazeley; Ariadne, J. Bradby; Expedition, H. Popham; Minerva, J. M'Kellar; Savage, N. Thompson; Blazer, D. Burgess; Lion, S. Bevel; Circe, R. Winthrop; Vestal, C. White; Hebe, W. Birchall; Druid, C. Apthorpe; Terrier, T. Lowen; Vesuve, W. Elliott; Furnace, M. W. Suckling; Champion, H. Raper; Dart, R. Raggett; Wolverene, L. M. Mortlock; Crash, B. M. Praed; Boxer, J. Gilbert; and Acute, J. Seaver; having on board the troops under the command of major-general Coote, for the purpose of blowing up the bason, gates, and sluices, of the Bruges canal, and destroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. On the 18th, P. M. I spoke the Fairy, when captain Horton told me he had taken a cutter from Flushing to Ostend, and he understood from the people on board, that the transport schuyts fitting at Flushing were to go round immediately by the canals to Dunkirk and Ostend; and although it was impossible that any information could give additional spirit to the troops forming this enterprize, or increase the energy and exertion of the officers and seamen under my command, yet it convinced major-general Coote and myself, that it was of the greatest importance not to lose any time, but to attempt, even under an increased degree of risk, an object of such magnitude as the one in question; and, as the weather appeared more favourable than it had been, I made the signal for captain Bazeley, in the Harpy, to go a-head, with the vessels appointed to lie as beacons N. W. of the town of Ostend, and for captain Bradby, in the Ariadne, to keep between the Expedition and Harpy, that we might approach as

near the coast as possible, without the chance of being discovered from the shore. At one A. M. we anchored; soon afterwards the wind shifted to west, and threatened so much to blow, that the general and myself were deliberating whether it would not be better to go to sea and wait a more favourable opportunity, when a boat from the Vigilant brought a vessel along-side, which she had cut out from under the light house battery; and the information obtained from the persons who were on board her, under separate examinations, so convinced us of the small force at Ostend, Newport, and Bruges, that major-general Coote begged he might be landed to accomplish the great object of destroying the canals, even if the surf should prevent his retreat being so successful as he could wish. I of course acceded to his spirited propositions, and ordered the troops to be landed as fast as possible, without waiting for the regular orders of debarkation. Many of the troops were on shore before we were discovered; and it was not till a quarter past four that the batteries opened on the ships, which was instantly returned in the most spirited manner by captain Mortlock, of the Wolverene, lieutenant Edmonds, of the Asp, and lieutenant Norman, of the Biter. The Hecla and Tartarus bombs very soon opened their mortars, and threw their shells with great quickness and precision. The town was on fire several times, and much damage was done to the ships in the bason. By five o'clock all the troops ordered to land, except those from the Minerva, were on shore with the artillery, miners, wooden petards, tools, and gunpowder; and, before six o'clock I heard from general Coote, that he had no doubt of blow-

ing up the works: I now became very anxious for the situation of the major-general, from the state of the weather, and I ordered all the gun-boats that had anchored to the eastward of the town, to get as near the shore as possible, to cover and assist the troops in their embarkation. The batteries at the town continued their fire on the *Wolverene*, *Asp*, and *Biter*; and, as the *Wolverene* had received much damage, and the *Asp* had been lying near four hours within 300 yards of the battery, I made the signal to move, and soon after directed the *Dart*, *Harpy*, and *Kite*, to take their stations, that the enemy might be prevented from turning their guns against our troops; but, it being low water, they could not get so near as their commanders wished. At half past nine the *Minerva* came in, and as I thought an additional number of troops would only add to the anxiety of the general, from the little probability of being able to embark them, I sent captain Mackeller on shore to report his arrival, with four light companies of the guards. In his absence, colonel Ward filled two flat boats with his officers and men, and was proceeding with every zeal to join the battalion of guards, without considering the danger he was exposed to in crossing the surf, when captain Bradby fortunately saw him, and advised him to return immediately to his ship. At twenty minutes past ten, I had the pleasure of seeing the explosion take place; and soon after the troops assembled on the sand-hills near the shore; but the sea ran so high that it was impossible to embark a single man, therefore I could only make every arrangement against the wind moderated; and this morning at day-light, I

went on shore, in the *Kite*, for the purpose of giving every assistance, but I had the mortification to see our army surrounded by the enemy's troops; and, as I had no doubt the general had capitulated, I ordered all the ships to anchor farther out, and I sent in a flag of truce, by colonel Boone, of the guards, and captain Brown, of the *Kite*, with a letter to the commandant, a copy of which I enclose for their lordships' information. At ten this morning, the general's aid-de-camp, captain Williamson, came on board; and, though it was very painful to hear general Coote was wounded, after all his exertions, yet it was very satisfactory to learn, that under many disadvantageous circumstances, and after performing a service of such consequence to our country, the loss, in killed and wounded, was only between 50 and 60 officers and privates; and that the general capitulated in consequence of being surrounded by several thousands of national troops. I inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of such minutes as were left me by captain Williamson, from which their lordships will see the sluice-gates and works are completely destroyed, and several vessels, intended for transports, burnt. I this morning learnt that the canal was quite dry, and that the works destroyed yesterday had taken the states of Bruges five years to finish. Capt. Mackeller, with the officers and men on shore, were included in the capitulation: but I have not yet been able to collect an exact return of the number of seamen taken.—I transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships; and have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Home Popham.

To

*To the officer commanding the sloops of
the national convention at Ostend.*

Expedition, Ostend Roads,

May 20.

Sir, I have just heard with concern, that the British troops and seamen under the command of major-general Coote, and captain Mackellar, of the royal navy, have capitulated to the troops of the republic, and I trust they will be treated with that attention which is due to officers and men executing the orders of their sovereign. It has been the invariable rule of the British government to make the situation of the prisoners as comfortable as possible; and, I am sure, sir, in this instance, you will do the same to the troops, &c. who have fallen into your hands. It will not be against any rule to exchange the prisoners immediately, but on the contrary, add to your name by marking it with humanity and liberality; and I give you my word the same number of troops, or other prisoners, shall be instantly sent from England to France, with such officers as you shall name, or shall be named by the national convention, provided no public reason attaches against the release of any particular person.—I have sent the officers what things they left on board the ship, and I am confident you will order them to be delivered as soon as possible. I beg you will allow the officers and men to write letters to England by this flag, as a satisfaction to their families, it being impossible for me to know who have fallen or received wounds, which I hope will be very inconsiderable, from the accounts which I have received from the shore. I beg your answer to this letter without loss of time; and, confiding in your liberality towards the troops under capitulation to you,

I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Home Popham.

[It is a little remarkable, that captain Popham should not have stated whether the French commandant had returned an answer to his letter or not.]

*Extracts from the minutes left on board
the Expedition by captain Williamson,
aid-de-camp to general Coote, dated
10 A. M. May 20, Ostend Roads.*

Sluice-gates destroyed in the most complete manner. Boats burnt, and every thing done, and the troops ready to embark by twelve o'clock. When we found it impossible to embark, took the strongest position on the sand-hills, and about four in the morning were attacked by a column of 600 men to our left, an immense column in front, with cannon, and a very large column on the right. The general and troops would have all been off, with the loss of not more than three or four men, if the wind had not come to the northward soon after we landed, and made so high a sea. We have not been able to ascertain the exact number of men killed and wounded, but it is supposed they amount to about fifty or sixty. The officers killed and wounded are, major general Coote, wounded; colonel Hely, 11th regiment, killed; colonel Campbell, wounded; captain Walker, royal artillery, wounded.

A list of killed and wounded in his majesty's ships and vessels under the command of Home Popham, esq. May 19, 1798, Ostend Roads.

Seamen, &c. of the *Wolverene*—1 killed, 10 wounded.

23d regiment, on board the *Wolverene*—1 killed, 5 wounded.

Asp—5 seamen killed, lieutenant Edmonds wounded.

Parliament-street, May 22.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has this day been received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from lieut. colonel Warde, of the 1st regiment of guards, dated on board the Expedition frigate, eight o'clock P. M. May 20.

Sir, In consequence of the Minerva frigate (on board which were the four light infantry companies of the 1st regiment of foot guards) having unfortunately lost her situation in the squadron under the command of captain Popham, of the royal navy, during the night of the 18th instant, the command of the remainder of the troops, from that accident, has devolved upon me; and I have the honour to transmit to you the most correct account that I have been enabled to collect.

Early on the morning of the 19th instant, the following troops, under the command of major general Coote, viz. two companies of light infantry, Coldstream guards; two ditto, ditto, 3d guards; 11th regiment of foot; 23d and 49th flank companies, and six pieces of ordnance disembarked, and effected their landing, at three o'clock in the morning, to the eastward of Ostend, and completed the object of the expedition, by burning a number of boats destined for the invasion of England, and by so completely destroying the locks and bason gates of the Bruges canal, that it was this morning without a drop of water; and, as I understand, all the transports fitting out at Flushing were intended to be brought to Ostend and Dunkirk by the inland navigation, to avoid our cruizers,

that arrangement will be defeated.—The troops had retreated, and were ready to re-embark, having effected their purpose with the loss of only one rank and file killed, and one seaman wounded, but found it impossible, from the wind having increased, and the surf running so high as entirely to prevent their regaining the boats, upon which they took up a position on the sand-hills above the beach, where they lay the whole of that day and night upon their arms. The enemy, taking advantage of the length of time and the night, collected in very great force, and soon after day-break this morning, attacked them on every side, when, after a most noble and gallant defence, I am grieved to add, they were under the necessity of capitulating to a very great superiority of numbers.

I herewith inclose a list of the killed and wounded, and I have every reason to believe it correct:

Lieutenant colonel Hely, 11th foot, killed. [Colonel Hely was a gallant veteran of near 70 years of age. He was desirous to retire and sell his commission for the benefit of his wife and family, and 5000 guineas were actually lodged by a gentleman who was to be the purchaser.]

Major general Coote, wounded.—Colonel Campbell, 3d guards, wounded.—Major Donkin, 44th foot, wounded.—Captain Walker, royal artillery, wounded.—And sixty rank and file killed and wounded.

Henry Warde.

Captain Caulfield, in the Peterel sloop, captured Le Leopard French letter of marque, of 12 six-pounders, 14 swivels and 100 men.—Captain Dacres, in the Astrea, captured the Renommée French schooner privateer, of five nine pounders and 54 men; a most

most complete vessel, her guns fitted on slides a-midship, so as to fight all on either side.—And capt. Woollaston, in the Cruizer sloop, captured le Chasseur Republican lugger, of four guns and 48 men. Le Dragon lugger, in her company, threw her boat and other things over-board, and escaped.

A dispatch from rear-admiral Harvey, dated Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, inclosed an account of the capture of the Violette French privateer sloop, of six guns, and 36 men, by the Amphitrite; and another privateer of four guns and 39 men, by the Garland tender, of six guns and 18 men.

Likewise a letter from vice admiral Kingsmill, dated at Cork, gave an account of the following captures made by sir Thomas Williams, captain of the Endymion, viz. Le Ravanche, French schooner privateer, of 12 brass six-pounders and 88 men; coppered, victualled and stored for three months cruize, out 21 days, had taken nothing. Le Brutus French lugger privateer, of six six-pounders and 50 men, fitted for two months cruize, out 15 days, and had taken two neutral ships.—The St. Antonia, Spanish schooner, pierced for 16 guns, had six six-pounders only mounted, last from the Havannah, and charged with dispatches from thence and South America, for Spain; the dispatches were thrown overboard, attached to one of the vessel's anchors, but were recovered by the Endymion's boat. Les Huit Amis, French ship privateer, of 20 six-pounders and 160 men, entirely new, built for the purpose of a ship of war, and never before at sea; fitted, victualled, and stored, in the most complete manner, for four months cruize; out 20 days, had taken nothing.

His majesty's sloop Hawke, captain Rotherham, captured, the 15th of March, off Grenada, and sent into that island, le Furet French privateer schooner, belonging to Guadaloupe, of two guns and 27 men: and his majesty's ship Lapwing, captain Harvey, captured the 1st Feb. off St. Bartholomew's, and sent into Martinique, le Hardi French privateer schooner, belonging to Guadaloupe, of four guns and 47 men; they had both been out some time, but had not made any captures. His majesty's ship la Concorde, captain Barton, captured, the 1st of April, to windward of Montserrat, la Rosiere French privateer schooner, of two guns and 15 men, which he sent into St. Christopher's: she had been out but one day, and had not captured any thing.

Sir Francis Lafory, captain of his majesty's ship Hydra, had a very gallant action with the French frigate la Confiante, and Vesuve, a corvette, both of which were forced on shore, together with a cutter that accompanied them.

Captain Brisac, on the 1st of June, in his majesty's ship Iris, after a chace of six hours, captured the Leger French lugger privateer, carrying four 4-pounder guns. She had the temerity to fire on the Iris, when her captain and crew escaped on shore in fishing-boats, about three leagues eastward of the Scaw. It appeared from the papers found on board, that she was commanded by monsieur Lallemand, with a crew of thirty-five men, and had captured three vessels, which were sent into Norway.

Captain Digby, of the Aurora, having convoyed the Newfoundland fleet safe to the westward, on his return captured the Spanish brig El Recoviso,

of six guns, from the Havannah, with government dispatches. Capt. Dickenson, of his majesty's sloop the Victorious, sailing to leeward of Guadaloupe, with the trading ships from Trinidad to St. Kitt's, saw two French privateers to windward, who bore down with an intention of boarding him; one was a schooner of 12 guns and 80 men, the other a sloop of six guns and 51 men; the sloop soon struck, as she was near sinking, and proved to be the Brutus, commanded by citizen Rousel, out ten days from Gaudaloupe, but had taken nothing; four of her crew were killed, and four wounded. The schooner escaped, though much damaged, as captain Dickenson, did not think it prudent to chase far from the convoy. Captain Warren, in his majesty's sloop the Scourge, chased on shore at Saint Martin's, a French privateer, of 14 guns; the crew set her on fire, and escaped on shore, when she blew up before boats from the Scourge could get to her, and was consequently destroyed. Eight other privateers fitted out from Guadaloupe and Porto Rico, were captured by different ships of the squadron in the West Indies, commanded by rear admiral Harvey.

Captain sir Thomas Williams, of the Endymion, when cruizing with his squadron at the entrance of St. George's channel, was informed on the 19th of June, that the king's forces were to commence an attack on the Irish rebels, at Wexford, and immediately proceeded off the harbour, in the Endymion, with the Phoenix, Glenmore, Melampus, Unicorn, and five cutters, which he had collected. Lieutenant Carpenter, senior officer of the Endymion, was immediately dispatched in command of the cutters and ships' launches, manned, and armed

with carronades in their prows, to blockade the inner part of the harbour, and prevent the rebel armed vessels from escaping, with others of which they were in possession, amounting to 40 or 50 sail.

On the 21st of June, he was joined by the Chapman and Weasle sloops, which took less draught of water, and anchored nearer than the frigates could venture to approach, which gave more effectual protection to the cutters and launches, destined to attack the harbour and a fort at the entrance of it, which fired on them. Captain Keen, of the Chapman, arriving, was directed to conduct the operations of the cutters and launches, and endeavour to take possession of the harbour and fort. The tide being low, and the wind [out of the harbour, neither of the sloops could get in, but the launches proceeded to attack the fort, which they soon carried; more than 200 of the rebels precipitately retreating from it, left behind their colours flying, and 3 six-pounder guns. The launches then proceeded up the harbour, and upon their arrival at the town, had the pleasure to find the king's troops just entering it, having entirely defeated the rebels in two separate engagements, who were flying in all directions. Sir Thomas was happy to find that his appearance off Wexford, at that critical time, had been of great service, and contributed much to check the horrid barbarities committed in that part of the country; and there being a number of small vessels and boats, belonging to the rebels, along the coast, in which some fugitives might escape, he ordered out boats from the squadron, which destroyed about 100 of them; in some of these pikes were found concealed.

On the 30th of June, captain Halsted,

of the *Phoenix*, took the *Caroline* French privateer, and recaptured the *Henry*, of Liverpool, her prize. The *Caroline* was a very fine ship, coppered, and a fleet sailer, of 20 guns, 12 and 6 pounders, but most of them thrown overboard in the chase; her crew consisted of 105 men, out ten days from Nantz, and had captured a Danish ship, beside the *Henry*, a valuable ship, bound to Jamaica.— Captain Hood, of his majesty's sloop the *Hound*, on the 14th of June, captured the Dutch lugger *Sea-hound*, of 14 guns; and a squadron under sir Hyde Parker, captured four French privateers, mounting 24 guns among them, in the West Indies, where lieutenant Ross, of his majesty's schooner *Recovery*, captured *Le Ravanche*, a French privateer of 12 guns and 45 men, after engaging her most of an hour. She belonged to Cape Francois, and had taken ten vessels that cruize, and nineteen the preceding one; was commanded by Antoine Martin. He shortened sail, and hove to for engaging lieutenant Ross, who had the weather-gage, and stood on to within pistol shot, before the firing commenced. The enemy had three men killed, and nine wounded; but his majesty's schooner had received little hurt, either in her hull, or small crew, consisting mostly of inexperienced boys and lads; but these displayed the utmost cheerfulness and intrepidity during the action. The lieutenant also captured the French privateer schooner *L'Incredule*, with two long six-pounder guns, and four swivels, manned with thirty-three men.

His majesty's ship the *Shannon*, captured and sent into Cork *La Julie* a fine French privateer, of 18 guns, and 120 men, had sailed from Nantz, but

last from Corunna ten days, quite a new ship, copper-bottomed, a remarkable fine vessel, and a prime sailer.

Captain Luke, of the *Caroline*, captured *La Zinodone* French privateer, of 10 guns, and 61 men, out from Carthagena ten days, but had taken nothing. The Indispensible letter of marque, captured a Spanish letter of marque, of 12 guns and 32 men, laden with tallow, hides and herb tea, bound from Monte Video to Lima, value estimated at 10,000*l.* sterling.

Captain Stirling, of the *Jason*, having under his command the *Pique* and *Mermaid*, gave chase to *La Seine*, a French frigate, off the Saints, at eleven at night. The *Pique* brought her to action, and continued a running fight till the *Jason* hove between them; at that instant land was seen near Point de la Franche, on the *Jason*'s larboard bow, and before the ship could answer her helm, she grounded close to the enemy's ship, which had taken ground also. Unfortunately, as the tide rose, the *Jason* only hung forward, and therefore swung with her stern close to the enemy's broad side, who failed not to take an advantage of that position; but a well-directed fire was kept up from the guns abaft, and as she was before dismasted, made her strike at last: she was commanded by captain Brejot, had 42 guns, 18 and 9 pounders, with carronades, and had 600 men then on board, including troops: she sailed from the Isle of France, and was bound to L'Orient. In the early part of the fight, captain Stirling was wounded, and obliged to leave the deck; but the service did not suffer by his absence, for Mr. Charles Inglis, to whom the captain professed great obligations, continued the action as his first lieutenant,

tenant, with great bravery, skill, and the utmost exertion.

Captain Stirling then gave an account of the loss of his majesty's ship the Pique, whose officers and crew deserved a better fate. Captain Milne had led her to action in an officer-like manner, and the main-top-mast being carried away, he was obliged to drop astern; but, endeavouring with ardour to renew the action when the Jason was grounded, he did not hear captain Stirling, who hailed him to drop his anchor, so that his ship also grounded on the off-side of the Jason, near enough to receive the enemy's shot over her, and yet very awkwardly situated for returning her fire. In the morning, every effort was made to get the ships off, and the Jason was extricated, but the Pique being bulged, captain Milne was ordered to destroy her, and exert the best of his ability to save the prize, which he effected with great difficulty, getting her afloat in the evening of July 1st, the day after the action; but their guns and heavy materials were thrown overboard to lighten her.

The carnage on board the Seine, was, indeed, very dreadful; for being full of men, she had 170 killed, and about 100 wounded, many of them mortally. The Jason had lieutenant Robotier, a corporal of marines, and five seamen killed. Captain Stirling, Mess. Bedford, Luscomb, and nine seamen wounded. The Pique had one seaman killed, four seamen and four marines wounded.

Every effort was made on board of the Mermaid to come up, but, during the long chase, she fell too much behind; yet she was fortunately of great service in getting the Jason afloat, as that was the only possible means to

save her. The Pique's officers and men went on board of the prize, and by that time the ships were all afloat. Captain Stopford was seen in the offing, and ordered them in by signal, which would enable them to refit.

Vice admiral Vandeput, commander in chief of his majesty's ships at Halifax, put to sea in the Asia, with his squadron. The Hind, one of them, captured La Amiable Juana Spanish privateer, of six guns, and 46 men.—The Resolution, after a chase of fifteen hours, took a French schooner privateer from Curacoa, of four guns and 35 men, which had taken, some time before, an American vessel belonging to Baltimore. The Thetis captured the Revenge, a French privateer, of 14 guns, and 84 men, which had taken no prize. The Thetis also took a French privateer of six guns, and sent her to New Providence. The Rover, on her passage to Bermuda, captured a French sloop privateer of 14 guns, and 57 men, which sloop had taken three American ships; being the Thomas, from Liverpool to Philadelphia; the Merchant, from New York to Bristol; and the Diana, from New York to Demerara.

Captain Digby, of the Aurora, an active and deserving young officer, on the 16th of June, destroyed two Spanish vessels in Curonas-bay. On the 19th, he chased an hostile ship of force, with five merchant brigs, and drove two of the brigs on shore in the harbour of Cedoira, and silenced the guns of the fort. He chased a cutter on the 20th, and a lugger on the 21st; which last proved to be a Guernsey-man, and made him chase far into the bay. On the 22d, he chased a large French privateer of 20 guns, but she hauled in for land, and anchored in an opening

ing under a fort; he gave her some broadsides, which shot away her cables and masts, while the sea made a fair passage over her, when the Aurora cleared the land, the fort firing without effect, and on the evening of the 24th, he destroyed a coasting vessel in an inlet called Finis.

Captain Foote, of the Seahorse, on the 27th of June in the morning, captured the Sensible, a French frigate, of 36 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men, after a chase of twelve hours, and a close action of eight minutes; she was commanded by Monsieur Bourde, capitaine de vaisseau, new coppered, copper-fastened, and had a thorough repair at Toulon two months before.—The Seahorse had a seaman and a drummer killed, and Mr. Wilmott, the first lieutenant, wounded, who had been in nine actions before, and received eight wounds beside; the lieutenant, 13 seamen, one corporal, and a private of the marines were wounded. The French frigate had 18 killed, her captain, his second in command, and 35 men wounded. Three French privateers were captured by rear-admiral Harvey's cruizers, at the Leeward Islands, in June, all belonging to Guadaloupe: their names and force were the Hannibal brig, of 14 guns and 97 men, taken by the Matilda, captain Milford, to windward of Antigua; the Intrepid sloop, of 10 guns, and 58 men, captured by the Lapwing, captain Harvey, off St. Bartholomew's and the La Mort, schooner, of four guns, and 36 men, taken, off Dominica, by lieut. John Williams, in the Charlotte armed sloop. Captain Hall, in his majesty's sloop the Lynx, on the 13th of June, captured the French schooner privateer Le Isabelle, of two guns, and 30 men; and on the 27th, he took the

French brig privateer Le Mentor, of 14 six pounders, and 70 men. Both these privateers were from Porto Rico, bound to the coast of America on a cruize. On the 10th of July, he recaptured the American ship Liberty, from Philadelphia, bound to Liverpool, but had been taken six days before, a few hours after clearing out of the river Delaware.

Sir Charles Hamilton, captain of the Melpomene, being with his ship off Aberac, determined to attack the port of Corigivu, where a national brig and several vessels were at anchor; and on the 3d of August, the boats of the Melpomene and Childers sloop were manned, and dispatched at ten that night, under the command and direction of lieutenant Shortland, who proceeded in a most judicious manner to the attack, which commenced at three in the morning; a heavy rain, vivid lightning, and frequent squalls, very much favoured the execution of his design. The brig was boarded in different places, nearly at the same instant, and her crew overpowered, but with more resistance than such a complete surprize gave reason to expect, insomuch, that the forts which guarded the inlet were alarmed, and the wind blowing directly into the passage out, the merchant vessels became no longer objects of acquisition, and the intricacy of the channel, made it doubtful if the corvette which was seized could be brought out. The attempt, however, was made, and after working against the wind for two hours, under a heavy fire from the forts, the prize was secured, and appeared to be the Aventurier, of 12 four pounder guns, and 79 men, commanded by Raffy, lieutenant de vaisseau. Captain O'Bryan, who covered the boats, gave, all

all the assistance possible, not without some risque from the badness of the night, and danger of the coast. Their loss was one man killed, and one missing. Mr. Frost, midshipman, and three sailors wounded. The French had sixteen wounded, and several mortally.

Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable*, fell in with a French ship privateer, at day light, on the 4th of August, on her return from a cruize, in company with the *Canada*, her prize, John Sewell, master, from Jamaica to London, but last from Charlestown, laden with sugar, rum and coffee. These vessels separated upon different courses, and a privateer led the *Indefatigable* a circular chace of 32 hours, until they came in sight of Bayonne, when she was captured, and was found to be *L'Hereux*, of 16 guns, and 112 men. The *Canada* then appearing, was so near Bayonne, that after exchanging of prisoners, she was driven on shore, where her cargo at least must have been destroyed, as the sea ran very high, and the wind right on shore. The privateer was a handsome ship, coppered, quite new, and in every respect fit for his majesty's service; she had taken beside the *Canada*, the *Zephyr* brig privateer, from Jersey, of 8 guns, and 30 men. The *Dartmouth* lugger privateer, of 6 guns, and 26 men, from Guernsey, and the American ship *Alliance*, from New York, with tobacco for Liverpool.

We have carried on this narrative of captures unto August 1798, on the first of which month, admiral, now deservedly created Lord Nelson, totally defeated the French fleet in Aboukir-bay, at the mouth of the Nile; for although the French general Bonaparte

had disembarked his army, and taken Alexandria, the harbour there was not proper for the reception of the French fleet, as may appear from the following account of that city and its port:

Alexandria, in Egypt, has a strange and strong appearance at the first sight, the buildings looking with the appearance of new stone, in fortified places, much alike in construction. The ponderous ruins of the old city, built by Alexander's order, are at the one end, and a very extensive castle at the other. The top of Pompey's grand pillar is seen elevated on high, between them. The shore being very sandy, and level with the sea, nothing of the beach is seen till vessels are almost in the harbour, where their lying is very precarious, the port being little sheltered, and very rocky in the bottom, inso-much that it is necessary to under-run every cable, and to anchor, or rather moor, opposite to the castle, with two anchors a-head, and two a-stern; the cables veered out, and lashed to others, as far as they are carried, with a buoy to every lashing. Thus, the cables cross each other like net-work, and would employ one ship's company two days at least to anchor; but it is a rule observed by ships moored thus in the harbour, to send as many men as can be spared to assist a vessel coming to the harbour. This is so much exposed, and the swell at times so great, that the ships occasionally strike lower yards and top-masts; and if one anchor draws home, there often ten or more follow; they are so connected with each other, that the only chance in that case for a ship and cargo is to cut the cables and run to sea. No boats are suffered to come off, or land at such a time, as the Turks wish ships may be lost for the sake

sake of plunder, water is scarce, and purchased dear, being sometimes mixed with salt water to increase the profits. The Alexandrians are reckoned to be a thievish set of people, and their harbour as bad as any one in the Mediterranean, although numbers of vessels from different nations trade thither.

Arnaud, the celebrated naturalist, who was taken on board the *Sensible* with general D'Hilliers, being asked if he knew the object of Bonaparte's expedition, answered, That he had been on board of the same ship with that general, and very frequently in his state-cabin, but never gained any certain information on the subject. The general, he added, was accustomed to amuse himself with the credulity of such as presumed to question him upon that subject, by exhibiting some ideal plan of what he had in view, and the next day would rally them on believing the tales he had narrated the day before. None of them could blame this conduct, as it put an end to all farther enquiries. In consequence of this conduct, Bonaparte was enabled to evade so long the pursuit of our fleet, to the great disappointment of admiral Nelson, whose conduct and perseverance to the attainment of his wishes, in the entire destruction of Bonaparte's fleet, deserve a particular narrative; for the glorious victory achieved by rear admiral sir Horatio Nelson, off the mouth of the Nile, on the 1st and 2d of August 1798, has received, and must ever continue to receive, the warmest tribute of admiration and applause. It has not only filled every British bosom with the proudest exultation, but foreign nations have participated in our feelings, and have hailed the British conqueror as the hero and saviour of

Europe. No naval, or perhaps any other battle, ancient or modern, ever had so much depending upon its consequences—consequences which have even surpassed the anticipations of the most experienced statesmen and profoundest politicians in Europe; and no battle that ever was fought, was perhaps conducted, in its progress, with so much judgment, or contested, to its issue, with so much ardent and persevering courage.

The account of the general result of this action, even the best historians that shall hereafter record it, will be proud to borrow from the simple and eloquent letter of the admiral himself: but in every transaction of the kind, after the first tumult of national exultation shall have in some degree subsided, a thousand circumstances remain to be supplied for the satisfaction of the enquiring mind, and which are essential to gain a just and perfect impression of the actual merit of the great services which have been performed. The hero, like every other man, is best known and remembered by minute traits of character. Great and brilliant events dazzle and astonish, while the deliberations and turns of mind in a great man, that produce such events, attract our attention, awaken all our admiration, and permanently fix our esteem.

To supply what the British nation have long anxiously wished for, an authentic detail of all the operations of the British squadron, previous to the battle, and of its particular conduct in the grand crisis which ensued, we are happy that we can now present a narrative, at once minutely circumstantial and studiously accurate.

Sir Horatio Nelson had been detached by earl St. Vincent into the Mediterranean

terranean with the Vanguard, of 74 guns, the rear admiral's flag-ship; the Orion, and Alexander, of 74 guns each; the Emerald and Terpsichore frigates, and La Bonne Citoyenne sloop of war.

Nothing material occurred to the squadron from the day it sailed from Gibraltar, which was on the 9th of May, till the 22d, when, being in the Gulph of Lyons, at two A. M. a most violent squall of wind took the Vanguard, which carried away her top-masts, and at last her fore-mast. The other ships experienced the fury of the gale, but not in the same degree as the Vanguard, a stronger vein of the tempest having taken that ship. The three line of battle ships lost sight of the frigates on the same day, and at the moment of the misfortune which befel the Vanguard, the British squadron was not many leagues distant from the French fleet, under Bonaparte, which had on that very day set sail from Toulon.

The squadron bore up for Sardinia, the Alexander taking the Vanguard in tow, and the Orion looking out a-head to endeavour to get a pilot, for the purpose of gaining Saint Pierre's Road.

On the 24th, with very great difficulty, they reached that anchorage, where they were in hopes of meeting with a friendly reception, which their distresses seemed to demand from a neutral power: the governor of Saint Pierre, however, had orders from the French not to admit any British ship; their utmost hostility could not prevent them from anchoring in the road. —The resources which British seamen always have within themselves, availed them much upon this occasion. Captain Berry, with the very able assistance

he received from sir James Saumarez and captain Ball, was enabled with great expedition to equip the Vanguard with a jury fore-mast, jury main and mizen top-masts, and to fish the bowsprit, which was sprung in many places; and on the fourth day from anchoring in Saint Pierre's road, they again put to sea with top-gallant yards across.

It is proper here to observe, that although the governor of St. Pierre, in consequence of peremptory orders from the French, denied them a public reception, he yet privately acted in a friendly manner, giving them in an underhand way every assistance in his power.

The admiral, eager to execute the orders which he had received, did not think of sailing to Naples, or any other port where he could have received the most open and friendly assistance, in getting the ship properly refitted, which her condition evidently required, but immediately steered for his appointed rendezvous; nor did he ever express the smallest intention of shifting his flag to either of the other ships, which to many officers the peculiar circumstances of his own ship might have seemed to render desirable.—The admiral and officers of the Vanguard indeed had the happiness to find that the ship sailed and worked as well as the other ships, notwithstanding her apparently crippled condition.

The squadron reached the rendezvous on the 4th of June, and on the following day was joined by La Mutine, captain Hardy, who was charged with orders to the admiral, and who brought the highly acceptable intelligence, that captain Troubridge had been detached with ten sail of the line, and a 50 gun ship, to reinforce them. This intelligence

gence was received with universal joy throughout their little squadron; and the admiral observed to captain Berry, that he would then be a match for any hostile fleet in the Mediterranean, and his only desire would be to encounter one.

June 6th—The squadron was spread, anxiously looking out for the expected reinforcement. By a vessel spoken with on that day, they were informed that several sail then in sight were Spanish ships richly laden; but prize money was not the object of the admiral; all selfish considerations were absorbed in his great mind by that of the honour and interests of his country, and his attention and anxiety were solely engrossed by his desire to meet his promised reinforcement, that he might pursue the enemy, of the sailing of whom from Toulon he had certain intelligence. The *Alexander* being on the look out, stopped one of these ships; finding she had on board eighty or ninety priests, driven by the French persecutions and cruelties from Rome, he thought it would be an act of humanity to permit the ship to pursue her voyage: and he accordingly released her, and rejoined the admiral, bringing with him a few volunteers from the Spanish vessels, chiefly Genoese, who were desirous of the honour of serving in the British fleet, expressing at the same time their detestation and resentment at the ill usage which they had experienced from the French.

On the 8th at noon, they had the happiness to discover from the mast-head ten sail, and it was not long before they recognized them to be British ships of war, standing upon a wind in close line of battle, with all sails set. Private signals were exchanged, and before sun-set the so much wished for

junction was formed, an event which was certainly facilitated by the great professional ability, judgment and zeal of captain Trowbridge.

The admiral had received no instructions what course he was now to steer, and no certain information respecting the destination of the enemy's fleet; he was left, therefore, entirely to his own judgment. He had the happiness, however, to find, that to the captains of his squadron he had no necessity to give directions for being in constant readiness for battle. On this point their zeal anticipated his utmost wishes, for the decks of all the ships were kept perfectly clear night and day, and every man was ready to start to his post at a moment's notice. It was a great satisfaction to him, likewise, to perceive that the men of all the ships were daily exercised at the great guns and small arms, and that every thing was in the best state of preparation for actual service.

The admiral knew that the enemy had sailed with a N. W. wind, which naturally led him to conclude that their course was up the Mediterranean. He sent *La Mutine* to Civita Vecchia, and along the Roman coast, to gain intelligence, and steered with the fleet for Corsica, which he reached on the 12th of June. Several vessels had been spoken with on the passage thither, but no intelligence whatever had been obtained from them. He continued his course on the 13th between Corsica and Elba, and between Planosa and Elba, through the latter of which passages large ships or fleets had not been accustomed to pass. They made the Roman coast, and were rejoined by *La Mutine*, without gaining any intelligence, notwithstanding the active exertions of captain Hardy. The admiral

ral now determined to steer towards Naples, in the hope of some satisfactory information. It had been reported that the plundering of Algiers was the object of the French armament; but this account was too vague to warrant the admiral in implicitly adopting it. They saw Mount Vesuvius on the 16th, and detached captain Trowbridge, in *La Mutine*, to obtain what information he could from sir William Hamilton. He returned with a report only, that the enemy was gone towards Malta. The admiral now lamented that even a day had been lost by visiting the Bay of Naples, and determined, by the shortest cut, to make the *Faro di Messina*, which the fleet passed through on the 20th, with a fair wind. The joy with which the Sicilians hailed the squadron, when it was discovered by them to be British, gave the most sincere satisfaction to every one on board of it. A vast number of boats came off, and rowed round it with the loudest congratulations, and the sincerest exultation, as they had been apprehensive that the French fleet was destined to act against them after the capture of Malta. Here they gained intelligence from the British consul, that Malta had actually surrendered. They had now hopes of being able to attack the enemy's fleet at Goza, where it was reported they were anchored, and the admiral immediately formed a plan for that purpose.

They were now steering with a press of sail for Malta, with a fresh breeze at N. W. On the 22d of June, *La Mutine*, at day-light in the morning, spoke a Genoese brig from Malta, which gave intelligence that the French had sailed from thence on the 18th, with a fresh gail at N. W. The admiral was not long in determining

what course he should take, and made the signal to bear up and steer to the S. E. with all possible sail. At this time he had no certain means of ascertaining that the enemy were not bound up the Adriatic.

From the day they bore up, till 29th of June, only three vessels were spoken with, two of which had come from Alexandria, and had not seen any thing of the enemy's fleet; the other had come from the Archipelago, and had likewise seen nothing of them. This day they saw the Pharos Tower of Alexandria, and continued nearing the land with a press of sail, till they had a distinct view of both harbours; and, to their general surprize and disappointment, they saw not a French ship in either. *La Mutine* communicated with the governor of Alexandria, who was as much surprized at seeing a British squadron there, as he was at the intelligence that a French fleet was probably on its passage thither.

It now became a subject of deep and anxious deliberation with the admiral what could possibly have been the course of the enemy, and what their ultimate destination. His anxious and active mind, however, could not permit him to rest a moment in the same place, he therefore shaped his course to the northward, for the coast of Caramanea, to reach as quick as possible some quarter where information could most probably be obtained, as well as to supply his ships with water, of which they began to run short.

On the 4th of July, they made the coast of Caramanea, steering along the south side of Candia, carrying a press of sail both night and day with a contrary wind; on the 18th they saw the island of Sicily, when the admiral determined to enter the port of Syracuse.

With

With this harbour no person in the fleet was acquainted—but by the skill and judgment of the officers, every ship safely got in, and immediately proceeded to get in water, &c. with all possible expedition. This was the first opportunity that the Vanguard had of receiving water on board from the 6th of May, so that not only the stock of that ship, but of several others of the squadron, was very nearly exhausted. Although there was no proper or regular watering place, yet the great exertions of the officers and men enabled them to complete this necessary service in five days; and on the 25th, the squadron again put to sea.

They received vague accounts while at Syracuse, that the enemy's fleet had not been seen in the Archipelago, nor the Adriatic, nor had they gone down the Mediterranean; the conclusion then seemed to be, that the coast of Egypt was still the object of their destination; therefore, neither their former disappointment, nor the hardships they had endured from the heat of the climate, though they were still to follow an uncertain pursuit, could deter the admiral from steering to that point where there was a chance of finding the enemy.

Now that it is ascertained by events, that Alexandria was the object of the enemy, it may seem strange that they should have missed us both in their passage thither, and their return to Syracuse; but it appears that the French steered a direct course for Candia, by which they made an angular passage towards Alexandria, whilst the British steered a direct course for that place, without making Candia at all, by which they of course very considerably shortened the distance. The smallness of the squadron made it necessary to

sail in close order, and therefore the space which it covered was very limited; and as the admiral had no frigates that he could have detached upon the look-out, added to the constant haze of the atmosphere in that climate, their chance of descrying the enemy was very much circumscribed. The distance likewise between Candia and the Barbary coast, about thirty-five leagues, leaves very sufficient space for more than two of the largest fleets to pass without mutual observation, particularly under the circumstances described.

On their return to Syracuse, the circumstance of their steering up to the northward, while the enemy kept a southern coast for Alexandria, makes it obvious, that their chance of falling in with them was still less than before.

On the 25th of July, they left Syracuse, still without any positive information respecting the enemy; but it occurred to the admiral, that some authentic intelligence might be obtained in the Morea. They steered for that coast, and made the gulph of Coron on the 28th. Captain Trowbridge was again employed on that important service of obtaining intelligence, and was dispatched in the Culloden into Coron, off which place, by the great exertions of that able officer, the fleet was not detained above three hours. He returned with intelligence from the Turkish governor, that the enemy had been seen steering to the S. E. from Candia, about four weeks before. Captain Trowbridge had the satisfaction of observing, during his very hurried visit to Coron, that the inhabitants there entertained the most serious apprehensions from the French armament, and the most perfect detestation against that people.

Upon

Upon the information obtained by captain Trowbridge, the admiral determined again to visit Alexandria, and carried all sail steering for that place, which they had the pleasure to descry on the 1st of August, at noon; but not as before, it now appearing full of vessels of various kinds! and they soon had the satisfaction of perceiving the French flag flying on board some of the ships. The utmost joy seemed to animate every breast on board the squadron at sight of the enemy; and the pleasure which the admiral himself felt, was perhaps more heightened than that of any other man, as he had now a certainty by which he could regulate his future operations.

The admiral had, and it appeared most justly, the highest opinion of, and placed the firmest reliance on the valour and conduct of every captain in his squadron. It had been his practice during the whole of his cruize, whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the Vanguard, where he would fully develope to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute upon falling in with the enemy, whatever their position or situation might be, by night or by day. There was no possible position in which they could be found, that he could not take into his calculation, and for the most advantageous attack of which, he had not digested and arranged the best possible disposition of the force which he commanded. With the masterly ideas of their admiral, therefore, on the subject of naval tactics, every one of the captains of his squadron was most thoroughly acquainted; and upon surveying the situation of the enemy, they could ascertain, with precision, what

were the ideas and intentions of their commander, without the aid of any further instructions; by which means signals became almost unnecessary, much time was saved, and the attention of every captain could almost undistractedly be paid to the conduct of his own particular ship; a circumstance from which, upon this occasion, the advantages to the general service were almost incalculable.

It cannot here be thought irrelevant, to give some idea what were the plans which admiral Nelson had formed, and which he explained to his captains with such perspicuity, as to render his ideas completely their own. To the naval service at least they must prove not only interesting, but useful.

Had he fallen in with the French fleet at sea, that he might make the best impression upon any part of it that should appear the most vulnerable, or the most eligible for attack, he divided his force into three sub-squadrons, viz.

Vanguard,	Orion,	Culloden,
Monitaur,	Goliath,	Theseus,
Leander,	Majestic,	Alexander,
Audacious,	Bellerophon,	Swiftsure.
Defence,		
Zealous,		

Two of these sub-squadrons were to attack the ships of war, while the third was to pursue the transports, and to sink and destroy as many as it could.

The destination of the French armament was involved in doubt and uncertainty; but it forcibly struck the admiral, that, as it was commanded by the man whom the French had dignified with the title of the Conqueror of Italy, and as he had with him a very large body of troops, an expedition had been planned which the land force might execute, without the aid of their fleet, should the transports be permitted

permitted to make their escape, and reach in safety their place of rendezvous; it therefore became a material consideration with the admiral, so to arrange his force, as at once to engage the whole attention of their ships of war, and at the same time materially to annoy and injure their convoy. It will be fully admitted, from the subsequent information which has been received upon the subject, that the ideas of the admiral upon this occasion were perfectly just, and that the plan which he had arranged was the most likely to frustrate the designs of the enemy.

It is almost unnecessary to explain his projected mode of attack at anchor, as that was minutely and precisely executed in the action, which we now come to describe. These plans, however, were formed two months before an opportunity presented itself of executing any of them, and the advantage now was, that they were familiar to the understanding of every captain in the fleet.

It has been already mentioned, that they saw the Pharos of Alexandria at noon on the first of August. The Alexander and Swiftsure had been detached a-head on the preceding evening to reconnoitre the ports of Alexandria, while the main body of the squadron kept in the offing. The enemy's fleet was first discovered by the Zealous, captain Hood, who immediately communicated, by signal, the number of ships, sixteen, lying at anchor in line of battle, in a bay upon the larboard bow, which was afterwards found to be Aboukir-bay. The admiral hauled his wind that instant, a movement which was immediately observed, and followed by the whole squadron; and at the same time he recalled the Alexander and Swiftsure.

The wind was at this time N. N. W. and blew what seamen call a top-galant breeze. It was necessary to take in the royals when they hauled upon a wind.

The admiral made the signal to prepare for battle, and that it was his intention to attack the enemy's van and centre as they lay at anchor, and according to the plan before developed. His idea, in this disposition of his force was, first to secure the victory, and then to make the most of it, as circumstances might permit. A bower cable of each ship was immediately got out abaft, and bent forward. They continued carrying sail and standing in for the enemy's fleet close in a line of battle. As all the officers of the squadron were totally unacquainted with Aboukir-bay, each ship kept sounding as she stood in.

The enemy appeared to be moored in a strong and compact line of battle, close in with the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form flanked by numerous gun boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. This situation of the enemy seemed to secure to them the most decided advantages, as they had nothing to attend to but their artillery, in their superior skill in the use of which the French so much pride themselves, and to which indeed their splendid series of land victories was in general chiefly to be imputed.

The position of the enemy presented the most formidable obstacles; but the admiral viewed these with the eye of a seaman determined on attack; and it instantly struck his eager and penetrating mind, *that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing, there was room for one of ours to anchor.* No further signal was necessary than those which

which had already been made. The admiral's designs were as fully known to his whole squadron, as was his determination to conquer, or perish in the attempt.

The Goliath and Zealous had the honour to lead inside, and to receive the first fire from the van ships of the enemy, as well as from the batteries and gun-boats with which their van was strengthened. These two ships, with the Orion, Audacious, and Theseus, took their stations inside the enemy's line, and were immediately in close action. The Vanguard anchored the first on the outer side of the enemy, and was opposed within half pistol shot to Le Spartiate, the third in the enemy's line. In standing in, the leading ships were unavoidably obliged to receive into their bows the whole fire of the broadsides of the French line, until they could take their respective stations; and it is but justice to observe, that the enemy received them with great firmness and deliberation, no colours having been hoisted on either side, nor a gun fired, till our van ships were within half gun shot.

At this time the necessary number of our men were employed aloft in furling sails, and on deck, in hauling the braces, &c. preparatory to their casting anchor. As soon as this took place, a most animated fire was opened from the Vanguard, which ship covered the approach of those in the rear, which were following in a close line. The Monitaur, Defence, Bellerophon, Majestic, Swiftsure, and Alexander, came up in succession, and passing within hail of the Vanguard, took their respective stations opposed to the enemy's ships anchored by the stern, by which means the British line became inverted from van to rear.

Captain Thompson, of the Leander, of 50 guns, with a degree of judgment highly honourable to his professional character, advanced towards the enemy's line on the outside, and most judiciously dropped his anchor athwart hause of Le Franklin, raking her with great success, the shot from the Leander's broadside which passed that ship all striking L'Orient, the flag ship of the French commander in chief.

The action commenced at sun set, which was at 31 minutes past six, with on ardour and vigour which it is impossible to describe.

At about seven o'clock, total darkness had come on; but the whole hemisphere was, at intervals, illuminated by the fire of the hostile fleets. Our ships, when darkness came on, had all hoisted their distinguishing lights, by a signal from the admiral.

The van-ship of the enemy, Le Guerrier, was dismasted in less than twelve minutes; and, in ten minutes after, the second ship, Le Conquerant, and the third, Le Spartiate, very nearly at the same moment were also dismasted. L'Aquilon and Le Souverain Peuple, the fourth and fifth ships of the enemy's line, were taken possession of by the British at half past eight in the evening.

Captain Berry, at that hour, sent lieutenant Galway, of the Vanguard, with a party of marines, to take possession of Le Spartiate, and that officer returned by the boat, the French captain's sword, which captain Berry immediately delivered to the admiral, who was then below in consequence of a severe wound which he had received in the head during the heat of the attack.

At this time it appeared that victory had



DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH FLEET BY ADMIRAL LORD NELSON.

had already declared itself in our favour, for although L'Orient, L'Heureux, and Tonnant were not taken possession of, they were considered as completely in our power, which pleasing intelligence captain Berry had likewise the satisfaction of communicating in person to the admiral.

At ten minutes after nine, a fire was observed on board L'Orient, the French admiral's ship, which seemed to proceed from the after part of the cabin, and increased with great rapidity, presently involving the whole of the after part of the ship in flames.— This circumstance captain Berry immediately communicated to the admiral, who, though suffering severely from his wound, came upon deck, where the first consideration that struck his mind, was concern for the danger of so many lives, to save as many as possible of whom he ordered captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly dispatched from the Vanguard, and other ships that were in a condition to do so, immediately followed the example; by which means, from the best possible information, the lives of about seventy Frenchmen were saved.

The light thrown by the fire of L'Orient upon the surrounding objects, enabled us to perceive with more certainty the situation of the two fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonading was partially kept up to leeward of the centre till about ten o'clock, when L'Orient blew up with a most tremendous explosion. An awful pause and death-like silence for about three minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts, yard, &c. &c. which had been carried to a vast height, fell down into

the water and on board the surrounding ships. A port fire from L'Orient fell into the main royal of the Alexander, the fire occasioned by which was however extinguished in about two minutes, by the active exertions of captain Ball.

After this awful scene, the firing recommenced with the ships to leeward of the centre till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes; after which it was revived till about three in the morning, when it again ceased.

After the victory had been secured in the van, such British ships as were in a condition to move, had gone down upon the fresh ships of the enemy.

At five minutes past five in the morning the two rear ships of the enemy, Le Guillaume Tell and Le Gene-reux, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying.

At fifty-four minutes past five a French frigate, L'Artemise, fired a broadside and struck her colours; but such was the unwarrantable and infamous conduct of the French captain, that after having thus surrendered, he set fire to his ship, and with part of his crew, made his escape on shore.

Another of the French frigates, La Serieuse, had been sunk by the fire from some of our ships; but as her poop remained above water, her men were saved upon it, and were taken off by our boats in the morning.

The Bellerophon, whose masts and cables had been entirely shot away, could not retain her situation abreast of L'Orient, but had drifted out of the line to the lee side of the bay, a little before that ship blew up. The Audacious was in the morning detached to her assistance.

At eleven o'clock *Le Genereux* and *Guillaume Tell*, with the two frigates *Le Justice* and *Le Diane*, cut their cables and stood out to sea, pursued by the *Zealous*, Captain Hood, who, as the admiral himself has stated, handsomely endeavoured to prevent their escape; but as there was no other ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, she was recalled.

The whole day of the second was employed in securing the French ships that had struck, and which were now all completely in our possession, *Le Tonnant* and *Timoleon* excepted; as these were both dismasted, and consequently could not escape, they were naturally the last of which they thought of taking possession.

On the morning of the third, the *Timoleon* was set fire to, and *Le Tonnant* had cut her cable and drifted on shore, but that active officer, capt. Miller, of the *Theseus*, soon got her off again, and secured her in the British line.

The British force engaged, consisted of twelve ships of 74 guns, and the *Leander*, of 50.

From the over anxiety and zeal of captain Trowbridge to get into action, his ship, the *Culloden*, in standing in for the van of the enemy's line, unfortunately grounded upon the tail of a shoal running off from the island, on which were the mortar and gun-batteries of the enemy; and notwithstanding all the exertions of that able officer and his ship's company, she could not be got off. This unfortunate circumstance was severely felt at the moment by the Admiral and all the officers of the squadron; but their feelings were nothing compared to the anxiety and even anguish of mind which the captain of the *Culloden*

himself experienced, for so many eventful hours. There was but one consolation that could offer itself to him in the midst of the distresses of his situation, a feeble one it is true—that his ship served as a beacon for three other ships, viz. the *Alexander*, *Theseus*, and *Leander*, which were advancing with all possible sail set close in his rear, and which otherwise might have experienced a similar misfortune, and thus in a greater proportion still have weakened our force.

It was not till the morning of the 2d, that the *Culloden* could be got off, and it was found she had suffered very considerable damage in her bottom; that her rudder was beaten off, and the crew could scarcely keep her afloat with all pumps going.

The resources of captain Trowbridge's mind availed him much, and were admirably exerted upon this trying occasion. In four days he had a new rudder made upon his own deck, which was immediately shipped; and the *Culloden* was again in a state for actual service, though still very leaky.

The Admiral, knowing that the wounded of his own ships had been well taken care of, bent his first attention to those of the enemy. He established a truce with the commandant of Aboukir, and through him made a communication to the commandant of Alexandria, that it was his intention to allow all the wounded Frenchmen to be taken ashore to proper hospitals, which was assented to by the French, and which was carried into effect on the following day.

The activity and generous consideration of captain Trowbridge were again exerted at this time for the general good. He communicated with the shore, and had the address to procure a supply

a supply of fresh provisions, onions, &c. which were served out to the sick and wounded, and which proved of essential utility.

On the 2d, the Arabs and Mamelukes, who, during the battle had lined the shores of the bay, saw with transport that the victory was decisively ours, an event in which they participated with an exultation almost equal to the British; and on that and the two following nights, the whole coast and country were illuminated as far as they could see, in celebration of their victory.— This had a great effect upon the minds of their prisoners, as they conceived that this illumination was the consequence not entirely of our success at sea, but of some signal advantage obtained by the Arabs and Mamelukes over Bonaparte.

Although it is natural to suppose that the time and attention of the admiral, and all the officers of his squadron, were very fully employed in repairing the damages sustained by their own ships, and in securing those of the enemy, which their valour had subdued, yet the mind of that great and good man felt the strongest emotions of the most pious gratitude to the Supreme Being, for the signal success which, by his divine favour, had crowned his endeavours in the cause of his country, and in consequence, on the morning of the 2d, he issued the following memorandum to the different captains of his squadron:

MEM.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, 2d day of August, 1798.

“Almighty God having blessed his majesty's arms with victory, the admiral intends returning public thanksgiving for the same at two o'clock this day,

and he recommends every ship doing the same as soon as convenient.

“To the respective captains of the squadron.”

At two o'clock accordingly on that day, public service was performed on the quarter-deck of the Vanguard by the Rev. Mr. Comyn, the other ships following the example of the admiral, though perhaps not all at the same time.

This solemn act of gratitude to heaven, seemed to make a very deep impression upon several of the prisoners, both officers and men, some of the former of whom remarked, “that it was no wonder they could preserve such order and discipline, when they could impress the minds of their men with such sentiments after a victory so great, and at a moment of such seeming confusion.”

On the same day the following memorandum was issued to all the ships, expressive of the admiral's sentiments of the noble exertions of the different officers and men of his squadron:

“Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, 2d day of August, 1798.

“The admiral most heartily congratulates the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron he has the honour to command, on the event of the late action; and he desires they will accept his most sincere and cordial thanks for their very gallant behaviour in this glorious battle. It must strike forcibly every British seaman, how superior their conduct is, when in discipline and good order, to the riotous behaviour of lawless Frenchmen.

“The squadron may be assured the admiral will not fail with his dispatches to represent their truly meritorious conduct

duct in the strongest terms to the commander in chief.

"To the captains of the ships of the squadron."

The praise expressed in this memorandum could not fail to be highly acceptable and gratifying to every individual in the squadron; and the observation which it endeavoured to impress upon the minds of all, of the striking advantages derived from discipline and good order, was so much the effect of recent experience, that every heart immediately assented to its justice.

The benefit of this important truth will not, we trust, be confined to any particular branch of the British navy: the sentiment of the Hero of the Nile, must infuse itself into the heart of every British seaman, in whatever quarter of the globe he may be extending the glory and interest of his country, and will there produce the conviction, that courage alone will not lead him to conquest, without the aid and direction of exact discipline and order. Let those, who desire to emulate (as every British seaman must) the glory acquired upon this signal occasion, pursue the same means which principally led to its acquisition. Let them repose the most perfect reliance in the courage, judgment, and skill of their superior officers, and let them aid the designs of these by uniformly submissive obedience and willing subordination—so shall the British navy continue to be the admiration of the world, till time shall be no more!

Immediately after the action, some Maltese, Genoese, and Spaniards, who had been serving on board the French fleet, offered their services in ours, which were accepted; and they expressed the greatest happiness at thus

being freed, as they themselves said, from the tyranny and cruelty of the French.

On the fourth day after the action, captain Berry, of the Vanguard, sailed in the Leander, of 50 guns, with the admiral's dispatches to the commander in chief, earl St. Vincent, off Cadiz, containing intelligence of the glorious victory which he had obtained.

It would to us, however, appear a want of just feeling and sentiment, were we to send a narrative into the world, so authentic and circumstantial, without attempting to express, however inadequately, our homage for the splendid talents and heroic energy by which the glorious event of which it is descriptive, was achieved. The daring enterprize of the attack could only be rivalled by the persevering courage with which it was supported, and the unparalleled success with which it was crowned.

Where the services of all upon this great occasion were so eminently marked by the most animated gallantry, it would not only be invidious, but perhaps impossible, to make a selection of individual pre-eminence. If every man had not done his duty to the utmost stretch of his ability, it seems impossible that an inferior force should have obtained so signal a victory over one so very considerably superior. The different situations, however, of the different ships, certainly placed some in circumstances of more arduous and unequal combat than others. The undaunted magnanimity with which the Bellerophon was placed alongside L'Orient, excited at the moment the highest admiration, and the perseverance with which she retained her situation, must ever be the theme of eulogium with every officer and man in the British squadron.

squadron. Other instances which gave room for a more peculiar display of heroism might be adduced, but where the merit of all was so conspicuous, the praise of heroism is justly due to all.

In the chief commander upon this occasion, it is evident that the high gallantry of his spirit is the least striking qualification for the command with which he had so judiciously been invested. To fight and to conquer had been familiar to him; but he was now called upon for the exercise of qualities which raise the true hero above the level of the general mass of mankind, and constitute the character of *a great commander*. These, it has been seen, he not only fully possessed, but most admirably exerted. He pursued to every point in which there seemed the least chance of finding his enemy—he suffered incertitude and disappointment with unshaken firmness: and the delay which occurred in the gratification of his wishes, only added to the heroic feeling from which they arose.

An idea has gone abroad, that the attack in Aboukir-bay was directed by accident. No idea can be more unfounded, or more derogatory to the professional character of the gallant admiral. It is proved from this Narrative, that his mode of attack was the result of deep and deliberate cogitation: and so clearly had he explained himself to those who were to bear their respective shares in the execution of his plans, that when they discovered their enemy, little remained to be done but to commence the premeditated attack. How well the plan for the attack at anchor was concerted, the event has fully proved; and there is certainly every just ground for the conclusion, that wherever, or

in whatever situation the British squadron, under rear admiral Nelson, had fallen in with the enemy, the result would have been successful and glorious in a superlative degree.

As it was, no battle was ever more desperately fought—no victory was ever more complete in itself, or more important in its consequences; and when the superiority in force of the enemy, and his advantages of situation are considered, it must be pronounced to be the most daring enterprise, under the conduct of reason and skill, that ever was attempted; and the battle of the Nile, which now filled all Europe with sensations of astonishment and admiration, must continue to be our favourite theme of panegyric, our pride, and our boast, while generous and heroic feelings shall continue to be cherished by the British nation.

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 2, 1798.

The honourable captain Capel, of his majesty's sloop *Mutine*, arrived this morning with dispatches from rear admiral sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies:

Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile,
Sir, *August 7, 1798.*

Herewith I have the honour to transmit you a copy of my letter to the earl of St. Vincent, together with a line of battle of the English and French squadrons, also a list of killed and wounded. I have the pleasure to inform you, that eight of our ships have already top-gallant yards across, and ready for any service; the others, with the prizes, will soon be ready for sea. In an event of this importance,

tance, I have thought it right to send captain Capel, with a copy of my letter, (to the commander in chief) over land, which I hope their lordships will approve; and beg leave to refer them to captain Capel, who is a most excellent officer, and fully able to give every information; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' notice.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

P. S. The island I have taken possession of, and brought off the two thirteen inch mortars, all the brass guns, and destroyed the iron ones.

Even Nepean, esq.

Copy of a letter to earl St. Vincent, giving an account of the victory gained by the British fleet, under rear admiral sir Horatio Nelson.

Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile, Aug, 3, 1798.

My Lord,

Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sun-set, on the 1st August, off the Mouth of the Nile. The enemy was moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay (of Shoals) flanked by numerous gun boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you, and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible.

Could any thing from my pen add to the characters of the captains, I would write it with pleasure, but that is impossible.

I have to regret the loss of captain Westcott, of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship was continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her till your lordship's pleasure is known.

The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and those two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it, but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

The support and assistance I have received from captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head, and obliged to be carried off the deck, but the service suffered no loss by that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg leave to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of the second in command, that of the commander in chief being burnt in the *L'Orient*.

Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HORATIO NELSON.

*To Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent,
Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.
off Cadiz.*

English

Ships' English line of battle.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Culloden	74	590
Theseus	74	590
Alexander	74	590
Vanguard	74	595
Minotaur	74	640
Leander	50	343
Swiftsure	74	590
Audacious	74	590
Defence	74	590
Zealous	74	590
Orion	74	590
Goliath	74	590
Majestic	74	590
Bellerophon	74	590
La Mutine Brig		

French line of battle.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Le Guerrier	74	700—Taken
Le Conquerant	74	700—Taken
Le Spartiate	74	700—Taken
L'Aquilon	74	700—Taken
Le Souverain		
Peuple	74	700—Taken
Le Franklin	80	800—Taken
L'Orient	120	1010—Burnt
Le Tonnant	80	800—Taken
L'Heureux	74	700—Taken
Le Timoleon	74	700—Burnt
Le Mercure	74	700—Taken
Le Guillaume		
Tell	80	800 Escaped
Le Genereux	74	700 Escaped

Frigates.

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Le Diane	48	300—Escaped
Le Justice	44	300—Escaped
L'Artemise	36	250—Burnt
Le Serieuse	36	250—Dismasted and sunk

HORATIO NELSON.

*Vanguard, off the Mouth of the Nile,
August 3, 1798.*

The manifestation of the public joy in consequence of Admiral Nelson's glorious victory, however great and unbounded it has been, is inadequate to express the heartfelt emotions universally occasioned by that brilliant event.—Whether we consider the very important results of this gallant action, the cool intrepidity of the commander in chief, the bravery and discipline of our officers and seamen, the place where the engagement happened, the previous formidable preparations of the enemy to oppose an effectual resistance to the enterprising and persevering spirit of our navy, or the comparative strength of the hostile fleet, it claims a pre-eminence over every past achievement on that element which is now the undisputed scene of British superiority. In asserting its claim to this high distinction, we must not be understood to mean any invidious allusion to the splendid successes of a Hawke, a Rodney, a Howe, a St. Vincent, or a Duncan. The laurels which those meritorious officers have so honourably won, have been transplanted into the hearts of their grateful countrymen, and will flourish there as long as the exalted deeds of heroic patriotism shall continue dear to Britons. But admiral Nelson's victory cannot be compared with any other; it stands alone in the naval annals of our country; it is unexampled in its kind. It was not obtained by a display of professional skill superior to that of the enemy—it was not the triumph of masterly manœuvring over the ignorance of naval tactics. The French were aware of these essential advantages. They have been attacked in the way they expected, and our ascendancy is in every point of view completely established.

Their advantageous position would have

have deterred a fleet of any other nation from hazarding an attack. The French Admiral had intimation of our approach, and had moored his ships in the most advantageous position. Admiral Nelson's fleet had to pass the enemy's gun-boats and a battery of guns and mortars erected on an island in the van, as well as to furl their sails, before they fired a shot; and, to add to the Admiral's difficulties, the force of the English fleet was diminished by the accident which, though not mentioned by sir Horatio Nelson, is known to have befallen the *Culloden*. Under these circumstances this great achievement becomes more astonishing.

From this statement it will be seen that the enemy's force exceeded ours both in guns and men. The French line of battle, with the frigates by which it was flanked, without counting the gun-boats or the artillery on the island in their van, amounted to 1,190; our squadron amounted, including the *Mutine* sloop, to 1,026, giving an excess in favour of the enemy of 164 guns, besides the guns of the *Culloden*, which were not fired.—There appears to have been a greater disproportion on our part in the number of men, as our ships only carried 8,168, and those of the enemy 10,810, making a difference against us of 2,642 men.

The resistance of the enemy was obstinate, especially on board *l'Orient*, which was blown up by the fire of the *Bellerophon*, captain Darby, who fought her singly. The principal loss on board the *Bellerophon* was occasioned by the explosion of the French Admiral's ship.

The reason of admiral Nelson's missing the French fleet originally,

was the false intelligence given to him by a neutral vessel, or, perhaps, one sent on purpose to deceive him. He was told that the French fleet had left Malta three days earlier than the truth; and therefore, supposing them to be far advanced, he made a direct cut to Alexandria, whilst Buonaparte went round by Candia.

Leaving Sicily the second time, he touched at the Morea (ancient Greece) and learning that the enemy had passed Candia about thirty-three days before and had stood from thence to the south-east, he again steered a direct course for Alexandria, though in little hopes of finding them. He looked into that port, and saw it crowded with French ships, but no admiral or capital ship. His despair was now at its height, when the enemy's fleet was descried from the mast-head, a few leagues distant to the eastward, in the bay or road of Aboukir. He instantly directed his course towards them, and found them at anchor, in a line extending from N. W. to S. E. They were at single anchor, with springs on their cables, and riding head to wind, which was from the north-west. To approach them, it was necessary to sail round an island and a reef which projected from it, to the distance of several miles from the point on which the small fort of Aboukir stands. The wind was perfectly fair, both for this, and for approaching the fleet; but unfortunately, in rounding the reef, the *Culloden*, the leading ship, commanded by the gallant Trowbridge, ran aground, and could not be got at all into action. After this accident, Nelson found himself with ten ships only (three having fallen several leagues astern) to fight thirteen of the enemy,

enemy, and several of those of superior force to any of his. The island also was fortified with two mortars, and some heavy guns were to be passed within shot. Yet he determined on an immediate attack, and made the signal to attack the van and centre of the enemy. It was near six in the evening when he closed with them. About half of his ships got between the enemy and the shore, either by cutting through the line, or by sailing round the head of it; and the rest attacked on the outside. All dropped their anchors, so as to place themselves opposite, and close to their opponents; and it is said, that one of the ships, in passing, beat the carved work off the enemy's stern. By this disposition, some of the enemy were doubled on; and all that were engaged on the land side, were taken unprepared, for the Zealous fired three broadsides before a gun was returned from that side.

The enemy began firing as soon as our ships came within shot; but the fire was not returned till we closed with them. The Zealous dismasted the Guerrier (headmost ship of the enemy's line) in three broadsides, and she was completely beaten in five minutes. Their six headmost ships were taken possession of the first night (remaining still at anchor) and L'Orient blew up.

Next morning at day-light, the action re-commenced, and other ships were taken or destroyed; nor did the battle end till the forenoon of the third day (August 3d) when the enemy's rear was compelled either to surrender or run. Two ships of the line and two frigates, by their being less disabled in their masts and rigging than our ships, escaped, although pur-

sued. All the captured ships were dismasted. The Timoleon shared the fate of L'Orient; and those of her crew, who swam to the shore, were said to be massacred by the Arabs. The advantages held out to Nelson by the French admiral were great indeed; for, if the French admiral could not have made such a disposition of his fleet at anchor as to command the bay of Aboukir, he should have got his fleet under sail; so that every ship might have had a chance of coming into action. As it was, his line was so disposed as to lie in the direction of the wind, while Nelson had the option of attacking the line to windward, and of course of throwing out of the action all the leeward ships, which, being tied down at anchor by their faulty disposition, could not come up to the assistance of those which were attacked; so that the different parts of their line were beaten in succession; and on this matter the decisive nature of the victory turned. Had they been cast loose, in all probability many would have escaped; nor could Nelson have ventured to attack them with his ten ships that evening.

Copy of an intercepted letter from E. Ponssieulque, Comptroller-general of the Expences of the Eastern Army and Administrator-general of Finance, to a friend at Paris; dated Rosetta, in Egypt, 17th Thermidor, 6th year of the French Republic, (August 3, 1798.)

We have just been witness, my dear friend, to a naval combat, the most bloody and unfortunate that for many ages has taken place.

The French squadron, consisting of thirteen sail of the line, one of which was a three-decker of 120 guns, and
3 Q three

three others of eighty, were anchored in line of battle in the bay of Aboukir, or Canope, the only one on all the coast of Egypt. For eight days past, several ships and frigates belonging to the English have at different times been in sight, reconnoitring the position of our fleet, so that we have been in continual expectation of being attacked. In a direct line from Aboukir to Rosetta, the distance is about four leagues and a half; from the height to the latter place our fleet is perfectly seen and distinguished. The 14th of this month, at half past five o'clock in the evening, we heard the firing of cannon: this was the commencement of the battle. We immediately got on the terraces, on the tops of houses, and on other eminences, whence we plainly perceived ten English ships of the line; the others we could not see. The cannonade was very heavy until about a quarter after nine o'clock, when favoured by the night, we perceived an immense light, which announced to us that some ship was on fire. At this time the thunder of cannon was heard with redoubled fury, and at ten the ship on fire blew up with the most dreadful explosion, which was heard at Rosetta in the same manner as the explosion of the Grenelle at Paris. When this accident happened, the most profound silence took place for the space of about ten minutes; from the moment of the explosion until our hearing it, might take up about two minutes. The firing commenced again, and continued without intermission until three in the morning: it ceased almost entirely until five, when it commenced again with as great violence as ever.

I placed myself on a tower about

cannon shot from Rosetta, and which is called Aboul Mandour, whence I could distinctly see the whole battle. At eight o'clock I perceived a ship on fire, and in about half an hour she blew up, similar to the other last night. The other ships moved to a greater distance from the shore, and the fire on board her apparently diminished, by which we presume it was entirely extinguished. During this time the cannonading redoubled. A large ship entirely dismasted was on shore on the coast; we perceived others among the fleet, in a similar manner dismasted; but the two squadrons so mingled among each other, that it was impossible to distinguish French from English, nor on whose side the advantage was. The firing continued with unabating ardour until two o'clock after mid-day on the 15th, and at this hour we perceived two sail of the line and two frigates under a press of sail on a wind, standing to the eastward. We perceived that the whole four were under French colours. No other vessel made any movement, the firing ceased entirely. Towards six o'clock in the evening, I returned to the tower of Aboul Mandour, to reconnoitre the position of the two fleets. It was the same as at two o'clock. The four ships under weigh were abreast of the mouth of the Nile. We knew not what to think or conjecture. Twenty-four hours to pass without having any person to give us any details, and in our situation it was impossible to procure any by land, on account of the Arabs who were assembled between Rosetta and Aboukir. There was nothing to be learnt by sea, on account of the difficulty of getting out of the opening or branch of the Nile. You may judge of our impatience and perplexity.

perplexity. Nothing good could be augured from this silence; however, we were obliged to pass the whole of the night of the 15th in this incertitude, and at last, on the morning of the 16th, a boat which left Alexandria in the night gave us some details, though little tending to our comfort. They told us, that the officers of the French fleet who saved themselves in a boat, and arrived at Alexandria, had reported, that at the commencement of the battle admiral Brueys had received three severe wounds; the first on the head, the second in the body; that notwithstanding he persisted in keeping his station on the arm-chest, and that a fourth shot took him in the body and cut him in two; at the same moment a shot took off the captain of the ship, Casabianca; that at this time they perceived the ship to be on fire in such a manner as not to be able to extinguish it, and at last that the ship had blown up about ten o'clock at night; they added, that our fleet was totally destroyed and lost, with the exception of the four ships escaped. I returned to the town, where I found things absolutely in the same situation as yesterday. They continued so last night and this morning.

I have now to say how they appear to our view from the castle of Aboukir:—The first ship is without masts, and under English colours; the second and third are in a good state, but I cannot distinguish colours; the fourth has lost one mast; the fifth in good state, and with English colours; the sixth lost her top-mast, (this morning she hoisted her fore-top-mast, stay-sail, and set some after sail) the seventh is without top-gallant-masts; eighth, dismasted; ninth, ditto, with the exception of her bowsprit; tenth, eleventh,

twelfth, and thirteenth, form a kind of groupe, having only seven masts among them; fourteenth, only her fore-mast; fifteenth, has lost her fore and mizen top-gallant-masts; sixteenth is entirely dismasted; seventeenth lost her mizen top-gallant-mast; eighteenth has only her fore-mast; nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, form a groupe, with only four masts among them, and these without top-gallant-masts: twenty-second entirely dismasted and on shore, she has English colours up; the people on board her are trying to get her afloat, and to raise other masts;—the twenty-third is in a good state, under English colours; the twenty-fourth is also in a good state. This is all that I can distinguish; from which it results, that, though the English have had the advantage, they have been very roughly handled. They could not follow the vessels that went away on the 15th.

For these two days these ships have been perfectly inactive, and seemingly destroyed; this morning news has arrived to us from Alexandria, which confirms our losses: Rear-admiral de Brest is killed, also vice-admiral Blanquet Duchaila; five ships have struck their colours. The Tonnant was the last ship in action, Dupetitar, who commanded her, had his two legs carried off by a cannon-shot. The ships escaped are the Guillaume Tell, and the frigates Diane and Justice. They say it was the Artemize that blew up the morning before yesterday; many things relative to this battle are yet to learn. They say that the English admiral has sent a flag of truce to Alexandria, demanding that they should receive and take care of the wounded, which amount to 1509. As yet I am ignorant of what has been decided on.

You will receive in France the official accounts of us and of the English; I know not what they will say, but you may rely on what I have written, because it is what I have seen.

In consequence of the victory at Aboukir-bay, the following article appeared in the London Gazette.

Constantinople, Sept. 8

Immediately upon receiving the news of the victory off the mouth of the Nile, the Grand Signior directed a superb diamond *aigrette*, (called a *chelengh*, or Plume of Triumph) taken from one of the imperial turbans, to be sent to admiral sir Horatio Nelson, together with a piece of sable fur of the first quality. He directed also a purse of 2000 zequins to be distributed among the British seamen wounded at the battle of the Nile.

The following is a translation of the note delivered to Mr. Smith, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, upon the occasion:—"It is but lately, that by a written communication it has been made known how much the Sublime Porte rejoiced at the first advice received of the English squadron in the White Sea, having defeated the French squadron, off Alexandria, in Egypt. By recent accounts comprehending a specific detail of the action, it appears now more positive, that his Britannic majesty's fleet has actually destroyed by that action, the best ships the French had in their possession. This joyful event, therefore, laying this empire under an obligation, and the service rendered by our much-esteemed friend admiral Nelson, on this occasion, being of a nature to call for public acknowledgment, his Imperial majesty, the Powerful, Formidable, and Most Magnificent, Grand Signior, has destined as a present, in his impe-

rial name, to the said admiral, a diamond *aigrette*, (*chelengh*) and a sable fur with broad sleeves; besides 2000 zequins to be distributed among the wounded of his crew. And as the English minister is constantly zealous to contribute, by his endeavours, to the increase of friendship between the two courts, it is hoped he will not fail to make known this circumstance to his court, and to solicit the permission of England for the said admiral to put on and wear the said *aigrette* and pelice."

The following account also of the admiral's reception at Naples appeared in the London Gazette of November 13th.

"The King of Naples not only went off to meet the admiral, but instantly went on board the Vanguard, and staid on board until that vessel was at anchor in the port. The royal salute was given by all the king's ships, both on his Sicilian majesty's arrival on board the Vanguard, and on his leaving the ship. The day being remarkably fine, numerous boats with colours and music attended the Vanguard, and all the shores and wharfs of Naples were crouded with a multitude of rejoicing people; and, when the admiral came on shore, the reception the Neapolitans gave him was expressive of the utmost kindness and gratitude."

On the occasion of these brilliant services, it could not be supposed his own proper sovereign would suffer his merits to pass unhonoured or unrewarded. His majesty immediately bestowed the title of baron on the admiral.

Admiral Nelson, now Baron Nelson of the Nile, is the son of the Rev. Mr. Nelson, of Burnham Thorpe, near Holkham,

Holkham, in Norfolk; and is said to be related to the Walpole family.—Admiral Nelson entered early into the service, was a lieutenant in 1777, and a post-captain in 1779.

Lady Nelson was the widow of a West Indian gentleman, and niece to Mr. Herbert, late governor of Nevis, at which island she was married to sir Horatio, and had the honour to be given away by his royal highness the duke of Clarence.

Lord Nelson was lieutenant with sir Peter Parker, in the American war, on board the Bristol, of 50 guns, and was on board when sir Peter was battering Charles-town.

The gallant exertions of lord Nelson have been uniformly distinguished by his own modest relation of them, witness his last dispatches, where a capture of such magnitude is related in so few words. The following passage, taken from the late Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes's address, on presenting to him, in November, 1797, the sword voted him by the corporation of the city of London, may also be justly added to his account of the defeat of the French fleet:

“Many of our naval commanders have merited highly of their country by their exertions; but in your case there is a rare heroic modesty which cannot be sufficiently admired. You have given the warmest applause to your brother-officers, and the seamen under your command; but your own merit you have not mentioned in the slightest manner.”

Admiral Nelson, to return the city of London a compliment in their own way, has sent them the sword of the second in command in the late action, that of the commander in chief hav-

ing been lost in the burning of the l'Orient.

It is with great pleasure we relate a circumstance that reflects much credit on the zeal and attention of admiral Parker, the commander in chief at Portsmouth. The admiral not satisfied with the general rejoicing, which he had conspicuously contributed to, had 1000 copies of those papers printed, which had been stuck up in London—“*Britannia Triumphant*,”—and posted them all over Portsmouth, Portsea, &c. He gave out in public orders, that all the ships at Spithead, St. Helen's, and in the harbour, should have one of them placed against the main-mast, for the seamen to read; and on the Sunday, after divine service, by his order the Extraordinary Gazette was read on board each ship by the chaplain, or the captains of such as had no clergyman. Sir Peter Parker had given particular instructions for that part of Sir Horatio Nelson's dispatches, in which, next to Divine providence, he attributed the great victory to the high state of discipline of the ships' companies, to be strongly marked and impressed upon the minds of the seamen. This measure has given very general satisfaction both on shore and on board; the seamen expressed their sense of the commander in chief's goodness, in making known to them the particulars of this glorious achievement, and the observations made upon the glory of England, from discipline and subordination, appeared to be seriously felt.

The late captain Westcote, who so bravely lost his life in the victory off the Nile, was a native of Honiton, in Devonshire. His first entrance into the naval service was in the inferior capacity of a cabin-boy; and he was wholly

wholly indebted for the high rank which he afterwards attained, to his uniform good conduct and exemplary merit. As a mark of the high respect in which he was held while living, and of the deep regret entertained for his loss, his townsmen of Honiton have universally gone into mourning, and have raised a large sum, by subscription, in order to erect a monument to his memory. A similar testimonial of national feeling it is rationally expected will be voted by parliament, and the name of Westcote, be handed down to posterity with the same public honours as those of Burgess, Bertie, and the other heroes, whose deaths have immortalized their fame. We are happy to learn, that captain Westcote has left behind him about 7000*l.* obtained by prize-money, the gloriously earned reward of professional service, which will serve, in some degree, to console his surviving relatives, a mother and sister, whose circumstances in life cannot be supposed to be very affluent.

About this time, the French had made such open boasts of invading Britain, that it was determined on by government, to recommend a general arming of the people, by associations formed in every district. The times of exercise to be so appointed, that they might interfere as little as possible with the occupations of persons engaged in business, who might yet be desirous to shew their zeal in the defence of their country.

This measure of a general arming had been some time under consideration, and was hastened by accounts which the government had received from France, that not only at Brest and Havre, preparations were making for an embarkment and invasion, but

that they were employed with the same activity in most ports in France and Holland, from Rochfort to the Texel. At Havre, where the greatest number of gun-boats were building, the soldiers were often called out of their beds in the most tempestuous weather, to the exercise of manœuvring with cannon in and out of their boats, as preparatory to landing here, with a view, no doubt, to render them accustomed and expert in this kind of exercise, and to conceal the precise time when they might be embarked in earnest for a descent; this they wished to effect by surprize, with a force which they openly called the Army of England. Bonaparte was to command it, with unlimited power, to direct the expedition both by land and sea.

The plan of Bonaparte, was to push over without convoy, from different ports, at nearly one time, for one stated point, and abandon their transports when landed. The plan of embarking on immense rafts and floating batteries, seems to have been more talked of here, than ever intended in France, though they have been exhibited in the windows of print-shops, with such formidable appearances.

It however appeared, that the activity of our cruizers in attacking and destroying the coasting convoys of the enemy, had very much impeded the equipment of their fleet, for it was found by the report of three British seamen, who escaped about this time from Brest, on board of a neutral vessel, that there was only six ships of the line, and 11 frigates ready for sea in that harbour, beside those, 20 ships of the line were lying in the inner road, but there appeared to be little or no preparations for their equipment; 30 sail
of

of transports were however lying in the outer road, ready for sea, and it was expected that troops would shortly be embarked on board of them.

Among other arrangements to defeat the enemy's measures, the *Repulse* and *Braakel* were stationed at the Gateway, which commands the entrance of the *Wallet* and *Swin*. Fishing smacks were also engaged at *Harwich*, to lie at the several buoys and beacons to destroy them, if an enemy should appear; a reinforcement was also sent to *sir Richard Strachan*, then on the coast of France, consisting of the *Phœbe* and *Boston* frigates. Our cruizers were ordered to destroy even the French fishing vessels, as very small ones might be employed in transporting troops, or acting as scouts; in consequence of this order, twenty-six of them were taken, and seven burnt by commodore *M'Dowel*.

The conferences for peace at *Radstadt* had never been in a train to end amicably, for the French all the while kept blocking up *Ehrenbretstein*, and the Russians were hastening to join the Emperor; on this the French Directory threatened, that the entrance of these auxiliaries into Germany, would again kindle the flames of war. Had the Emperor been intimidated by this threat, and the march of the Russians been checked, he was likely to lose the advantage of employing their force, and yet have the war with France renewed. The Russians therefore kept advancing, and the Directory was plainly preparing for war by the seizure of *Rome*, *Naples*, and the expulsion of the King of *Sardinia*, from his territories in *Piedmont*, of which last arbitrary and cruel transaction, we shall now give an account.

From the moment the King of

Sardinia admitted a French garrison into *Turin*, it was generally expected that his reign would be no longer than suited the views of the directory. He retained indeed the stile and title of king; but a French general was placed viceroy over him, and the sword of a French garrison suspended over his head. A prisoner in his capital, surrounded by spies and agents, and hemmed in by the army of the directory, he was compelled to preach to his people the mortifying and degrading lesson of that patience and humility, of which he was himself a melancholy example, in order to repress the resentment of his subjects against his barbarous allies. Such has been for the last four months the situation of the King of *Sardinia*, until at length it pleased the capricious cruelty of his tyrants to end his disgrace by exile.

The following are the articles of the treaty by which this unfortunate prince signed his entire abdication of royalty. He had been before despoiled of some of his fairest provinces, namely, the dukedom of *Savoy*, and the country of *Nice*, as the price of peace.

ART. 1. His majesty declares, that he renounces the exercise of all power; and he especially orders all his subjects whatever to obey the provisional government which is about to be established by the French general.

2. His majesty orders the *Piedmontese* army to consider itself as an integral part of the French army in Italy, and to obey the French commander in chief as their own.

3. His majesty disavows the publication of the proclamation circulated by his ministers, and he gives orders to *M. le Chevalier Danican*, to surrender the citadel of *Turin*, as a pledge

pledge that no resistance whatever shall be attempted against the present act, which has emanated purely from his own free will.

4. His Majesty issues orders to the governor of the city of Turin, to receive and execute precisely all orders which the French general commanding the citadel shall think proper to issue for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

5. No change shall be made that can effect the catholic religion, or the safety or property of individuals.

The Piedmontese, who are anxious to change their abode, shall have liberty to take with them their moveable effects, to sell and liquidate their property, in order to export the value. The Piedmontese who are absent are at liberty to return to Piedmont, and to enjoy the same right there as other citizens, nor shall they on any account be questioned as to any actions or writings previous to this present act.

6. The King shall be at liberty to repair to ——— (Sardinia was afterwards determined upon as the place.) In the mean time no arrangement shall be made that can affect the security of his person. Until the moment of his departure his palaces and country houses shall not be taken possession of by the French troops, nor shall any property be carried off, and the guard shall be kept by those who have hitherto been employed in that service.

7. The passports and necessary orders shall be given, that his majesty and all his family may arrive in safety at the place of their retreat. They shall be accompanied by an equal force of French and Piedmontese.

8. In case the Prince de Carignan shall remain in Piedmont, he shall enjoy

his property there, and shall be at liberty to leave it, as provided for the other subjects of Piedmont.

9. The state of the public archives, chests, &c. shall be immediately given in, and the seal shall be placed on the chests.

10. The ships of powers at war with the French republic, shall not be received in the ports of the island of Sardinia.

Turin, 9th of Dec. 1798.

CLAUVEL, Adj-Gen.

I undertake that I will throw no impediment in the way of the execution of this treaty.

VICTOR EMMANUEL.

The above treaty between the King of Sardinia and general Joubert (if that can be called a treaty which has been dictated by absolute power on one side, without the means of resistance on the other) holds out another instructive lesson to the powers of Europe, that no considerations, however sacred, can prescribe bounds to the perfidy of France; and that the state which tamely submits to revolutionary encroachments, has more to dread from the protection of the directory, than from an avowed hostility against it.

The tyranny of the republic has every where manifested itself by acts of the most unqualified ingratitude and cruelty. But in almost every instance of that kind, there has been some particular interest to gratify, some peculiar end to attain, that tended to promote the favourite object of universal empire. For the treaty entered into by his Sardinian majesty and general Joubert, no such motive can be assigned; and the only reason that could have induced the directory to compel the king to sign

sign his disgrace with his own hand, was to swell the catalogue of revolutionary horrors with an empty but arrogant triumph over a prince, already a prisoner in his own capital. It would certainly have been more generous, and it was equally practicable, for the French troops to have actually executed what the King of Sardinia only nominally agreed to. But to deprive that unfortunate monarch of his power, and afterwards to compel him to set his own seal to his misfortunes and dishonour, seems to be a refinement in cruelty, that is alone congenial to the spirit and character of modern republicanism.

In concluding this pretended treaty, the articles of which might have been carried into effect without making the King of Sardinia party to his own shame, the directory appears to have had two principal objects in view. It wished to augment the army of Italy by a powerful reinforcement, and to provide funds for carrying on the war in which it was likely to be again involved. With respect to the first consideration, it is well known that the French troops in Italy were considerably diminished from various causes. Large detachments had been sent into the interior of France, and great numbers had fallen victims to the influence of the climate, and the fatigues which they had undergone in the preceding campaigns. The army in France had been weakened by the loss of 40,000 picked men and officers, embarked with Bonaparte on the expedition to Egypt; and the revolt in Belgium was sufficient to occupy large bodies of disciplined troops before the new military conscription could be raised and brought into the field, complete and fit for action. Much apprehension must have

been entertained by the government of France with respect to the real intentions of the emperor, and it would not, in such a crisis, have been prudent to weaken its army on the side of Germany. The hostile designs of his Neapolitan majesty had been long evinced by the contemptuous treatment of the republican ambassador at Naples; by the uncommon attentions paid to Lord Nelson and his fleet, both before and after the victory of the 1st of August; and by the warlike preparations carried on, apparently in concert with the emperor, in consequence of the appointment of general Mack to the command of the Neapolitan troops. In this situation of affairs, the directory turned its attention towards Piedmont, and, by incorporating the army of that country with the French troops, it found itself enabled to detach a formidable force to the army of Italy. The military magazines in Piedmont also offered considerable sources of supply to the future operations of that army.

In the second point of view, that of providing funds for the prosecution of hostilities, Piedmont affords an ample harvest to the insatiable rapacity of the common enemy. The spoils of Italy have been long expended; the Batavian republic had been so completely exhausted, that she could no longer make adequate provision for the common exigencies of the state: and Switzerland, industrious but not rich, had been plundered in vain. In Piedmont the directory would find some of those pecuniary resources which it stood in need of. The property of the crown and the church will be confiscated, and serve to liquidate the arrears of the different armies; while the estates of all the

rich individuals, who may have distinguished themselves by their exertions against the diffusion of French principles, will be converted to the mercenary views of the government of France. The articles in the treaty respecting the preservation of religion and the property of individuals, will be as easily violated as they were made.

By the terms of the pretended treaty, by which the king of Sardinia has renounced his sovereignty in Piedmont, it appears that the French government has reserved to itself a justification of the depredations and cruelties which will no doubt be exercised by the republican troops. By the first article, his Sardinian majesty renounces all exercise of power, and consequently places his subjects under the dreadful right of conquest; and by the 2d, which orders the Piedmontese army to obey the French commander in chief as their own, he exposes his soldiers to be treated as rebels. The effect of these concessions must be cruel and sanguinary, so long as there shall remain in that unhappy state a subject faithful to his prince, or rather to his country, since the king has dishonoured himself and betrayed the interests of his people, by a shameful and cowardly surrender of their rights.

The permission given to his majesty to retire to Sardinia by the way of Parma, seems to be calculated only to retain him longer in his dependance on France, and perhaps to arrest his person under some new pretext. It is not difficult to perceive why the directory did not also insist upon the renunciation of Sardinia. It would have been a mockery to have obtained the cession of an island which, from the want of a naval force, could not be taken possession of.

General Joubert's statement concerning the occupation of Piedmont, has a studied ambiguity throughout it, with a view of concealing as much as possible the manner in which this *chef d'œuvre* of perfidy was executed. The following letter from captain Blondeau, one of Joubert's officers, will tend to elucidate the obscurity of the official report.

Turin, Dec. 18, 1798. On the 30th of November it was reported at Milan, that a great insurrection had taken place at Turin, and that the revolutionists had, with the protection of the French, dethroned and imprisoned the king. General of division Victor, was entrusted by the commander in chief, Joubert, with the superintendence of the expedition. On the 3d of December, his division, which was at Modena, set out on its march. On the 6th, Novare, the first place of strength, was taken by stratagem. Fifteen grenadiers, with an officer of the staff at their head, being placed in carriages, which had the appearance of a convoy, demanded entrance, and the gate was opened to them. When they arrived at the guard-house, they threw themselves out of the carriages, seized the arms and made the guard prisoners. The porter who had the care of the keys, attempted to lock the gate upon them; but having received a slight blow of a sword from one of the grenadiers, he ran off; and, according to a pre-concerted signal, the 15th regiment of light horse entered full gallop into the town, and took possession of the head-quarters and the adjacent streets. It was soon after followed by a considerable column of infantry, which surrounded the barracks and received the arms of the garrison, consisting of about 1200 men, both horse and foot. The column

column, after leaving two battalions in the place, continued its march, and halted at a small distance.

"On the 7th, some Piedmontese troops at Vercelli, a small town on the way to Turin, retreated towards the metropolis. The French troops entered it the same night. The republicans were received there with the acclamations of the people, a general illumination took place, and the effigy of the king of Sardinia was carried throughout the town, and burnt, with his arms, in the principal square. On the 8th, the town of Chivasso, with a garrison of about 800 men, opened its gates without any resistance.

"The Piedmontese troops being thus disarmed in every place, the republican columns proceeded from all directions against Turin.

"The commander in chief entered the citadel the same day, and sent a notification to the king of the intentions of his government. This prince certainly was not ignorant that his troops had been disarmed, with the exception of those in garrison at Turin, and accordingly did not hesitate to consent to every proposition which was made to him, even to that of evacuating the city in person, which he did about ten o'clock at night, with all his family, a part of his retinue, and some of his friends. There were about thirty carriages, each with two servants behind, carrying flambeaus in their hands, escorted by a numerous guard of dragoons, who observed the most profound silence in an obscure night, and during the most inclement weather.

"The French troops entered Turin on the 10th, and were received with universal acclamations. A proclamation had been previously issued by the commander in chief, which announced

to the Piedmontese troops that they were to constitute part of the armies of the French republic, and they were in every respect to be considered as such. —The proclamation produced every desired effect, and on the same night all the posts were given up to the French.

"The tree of liberty was planted on the 12th; and, although the weather was foggy and cold, the concourse of people was prodigious. All the troops of both nations, the civic guard, and even the body-guards of the *ci-devant* king, were under arms. The air resounded with the sounds of "Long live the republic! Long live the French, the assertors of the liberty of oppressed countries!" The city was illuminated during the whole of the night; and the next day the fifteen members of the provisional government were installed with every solemnity. They were appointed by citizen Etmar, commissioner of the French government."

The invasion of Piedmont announced the formation of a new republic, as it could not be expected that the politics of the directory would consent to unite in one state the inhabitants of the country which extends from one sea to the other, on the left from the Po, as far as the Alps, and on the right as far as Tuscany and ancient Latium. (For the new republic of Rome has been nearly confined within the original limits of the ancient one.)—This extent of country, taken in an aggregate view, may be considered as the richest, the most fruitful, and the most populous of Europe. Its population, with the duchy of Parma, exceeds seven millions. A country of that extent would not, very likely, remain long quiet in a state of guardianship. But what is to be the form of this new republic? The junior
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adjutant of general Joubert could answer so trivial a question. It will consist of two sovereign councils, but removable at the pleasure of the directory; of a directory, spiritless and subordinate to the will of the Great Nation; and of seven or eight departments, and some hundreds of cantons. The talents of a Solon or a Lycurgus will not be thought necessary to make such an arrangement.

After the celebration of the anniversary of the 21st of January at Turin, the titles of the nobility of Piedmont were publicly burnt at the foot of the Tree of Liberty, in the presence of the French commission, the provisional government, and the municipal administration.

The king of Sardinia arrived in Tuscany, escorted by fifty French dragoons, who remained, it is pretended, on the frontiers, at the request of the Tuscan government. He was accompanied by citizen Chipault, a French officer; and did not go to Florence, but to Poggio-Imperial, a country residence of the grand duke, which was prepared for his reception. His known piety and his situation, which make the resemblance between him and Pius VI. very striking, might have been supposed sufficient motives for him to see that prince, and they accordingly had a meeting in the presence of Chipault. The chamberlain of the grand duke, who superintends the honours done to the king of Sardinia, took particular care nothing should pass that might give offence to France. Citizen Chipault was directed by general Joubert, to ascertain the state of the pope's health; and he has found that his debility will not allow him to travel, particularly by sea."

It appeared that the French compel-

led the king of Sardinia to take a very circuitous and humiliating journey to Leghorn, in order to embark at that place for the island of Sardinia. They were desirous to expose that unfortunate prince to the insults and derision of republicans, by sending him from Turin in mock-procession throughout the entire territory of the Cisalpine republic.

To these cruelties in Piedmont, we shall add an account of some extraordinary French requisitions which have not only comprehended every kind of subsistence necessary for the armies, and the objects requisite for their equipment, quarters, and marches, but also an infinite variety of articles for the enjoyment, luxury, and fanciful profusion of the civil and military agents, who put them up to auction, and converted them into money after they had received them in kind.

For instance, at Milan, the private warehouses of blue cloth were put into a state of requisition, sold by the commissioners of the directory, taken from the purchasers in consequence of a second requisition, and a second time put up to sale. The same measure took place with respect to leather and linen, and even the bales of raw and twisted silk were seized throughout all Lombardy, and sold to the Genoese by the generous propagators of liberty. A library might be composed of similar instances, all of public notoriety. Whenever the female citizen Bonaparte, under the name of Madame Letitia, was disposed to indulge in a journey over the conquests of her husband, she sent an order to the municipality of Milan or Modena, to supply her with money necessary for that purpose.—These personal requisitions had become so common, that general Angereau, on

on his way to Paris to take the command of the mercenary satellites, who, on the 4th of September, 1797, expelled and imprisoned the legislative body, rewarded a prostitute, with whom he passed the night at Pavia, with a *bon* (an order) for fifty sequins on the municipality of that town, who honoured it with immediate payment, and have preserved it ever since. This same Angereau, his immediate predecessors on the right bank of the Rhine, and his comrades in the Westerwald, in the Palatinate, in the electorates of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, had laid a rate of contribution for the service of their tables.

The unfortunate inhabitants were compelled to deliver every day so many articles in kind, or florins of the empire, for the purpose of providing dinner for the commander in chief, the generals of division, or the generals of brigade.

In the provinces of Terra Firma, which were occupied by the French before their rupture with the republic of Venice, the private property of the inhabitants was not more respected than that of the conquered countries; and, notwithstanding the rights of neutrality, they were oppressed with requisitions of every species. The government complained and made remonstrances, the peasants revolted, but that fine country was not less the scene of devastation. The army cut down the vines and olives for want of wood. It is true, that to these dreadful ravages, Bonaparte and his agents added the mockery of paying for what they exacted and took away by force, in *bons* or notes, not a farthing of which was ever reimbursed. Maillet du Pan states, that the total of these engagements amounted, at the end of the year 1796,

to eighteen millions *Tournois*, the half of which was paid by Venice to the peasants, for the purpose of alleviating their despair, and preventing their taking vengeance on their plunderers.

In the spring of 1799, an union with Ireland was intended. Setting forth the benefits likely to result to Great-Britain from incorporating it with Ireland, and making both islands one kingdom in all respects as to legislation, trade, and taxes, are generally admitted to be of great importance; but, however considerable they may prove to this country, they must be still more so to the sister kingdom. The spirit of opposition therefore manifested against the proposed measure by certain descriptions of persons in Ireland, cannot but appear very extraordinary, and can indeed only be accounted for by the consideration of their own particular interests and selfish views. It would be idle to attempt to prove what is acknowledged by those who are inimical to an union, that the cultivation of land in Ireland would be most materially improved, that commerce would be increased, that the condition of the peasantry and the lower classes of the community would be ameliorated, and that all national distinctions and political animosities would be suppressed. Among the arguments advanced against it, the loss of national independence, the increase of absentees, and the decline of the metropolis, seem to be the principal.—The independence of Ireland has been long considered as nominal, even by those who now speak so highly in support of it; but, if it were not so, leaving every positive opinion on that subject out of the question, would not the loss of it be fully compensated by the vast influence which Ireland would naturally acquire

acquire in the common interest of the empire?

The increase of absentees is an objection more specious than solid. For, if it is supposed that Ireland may be represented in the British parliament by 100 members, can the sums expended here by that number of individuals, in support of themselves and their families, be so immense as to affect, in any material degree, the prosperity of their constituents? Supposing the expences of each representative to be averaged at 2000*l.* per annum, the sum total would only be 200,000*l.* And it must be observed, that several Irishmen, who are members of the British parliament, and who at present reside in this country, would be returned for Ireland. The expenditure in that case would not be so great, and can any sum under 200,000*l.* spent out of the country be considered as a solid objection to its universal and permanent prosperity? It does not appear that Dublin would suffer from the union; for, though it might for a short time lose something of the splendor and parade of a capital city, it would ultimately obtain, what it now peculiarly stands in need of, a considerable extension of commerce.

An incorporated union of this country with Ireland is in every point of view less objectionable than that effected between England and Scotland. The people of Ireland are more calculated at present to adopt the same manners, habits, and improvements, which have made Great-Britain the envy of Europe, than the people of Scotland were at the beginning of the present century. The outcry in Scotland against the plan of an union was nearly general, and thought by many to proceed from just causes: yet what have been

the consequences? The wealth of that country produced by the improved state of agriculture, by manufactures and by commerce, all growing out of its connection with England, is now, to what it then was, as 20 to 1. The facility of carrying the measure into effect with Ireland, appears more evident, as there can arise no obstacles with respect to religion, the established church being the same in both kingdoms.

That the gentlemen of the Irish bar should oppose the plan, is by no means a matter of surprise. They have always considered their profession as a ladder to their political importance, and they must, no doubt, be chagrined to find, that they would be compelled to divert their attention from ostentatious declamation in the senate to the laborious duties of their profession.—The country may lose their talents in parliament, but it will unquestionably derive more real advantages from a more strict application of them to the study of the law. The opposition of the bar, however strong, cannot excite surprise, since it is known that barristers, civilians, and attornies, constitute nearly one third of the Irish house of commons.

The following is an accurate copy of the resolutions moved by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons, as the intended basis for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Ireland:

1st. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great-Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such a manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be

established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms.

2d, That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

3d, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and imperial crown of the said united kingdoms, shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

4th, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be stiled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same

oaths, and make the same declarations, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made, by the members of the parliaments of Great-Britain and Ireland.

5th, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

6th, That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great-Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty's subjects in Great-Britain; that no duty should be imposed on the import or export between Great-Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty-free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great-Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either kingdom, are
subject

subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and that such others as may before the union be especially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

7th, That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great-Britain and Ireland respectively. That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expences of the united kingdom in peace or war shall be defrayed by Great-Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportion shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

8th, That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time as circumstances

may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

That the foregoing resolutions be laid before his majesty with an humble address, assuring his majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his majesty's gracious message.

That we entertain a firm persuasion that a complete and entire union between Great-Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his majesty's wisdom, at such a time and in such a manner as his majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit to communicate these propositions to his parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust, that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established, by the deliberative consent of the

the parliaments of both kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his majesty's faithful subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British empire."

Independent of considerations arising out of domestic circumstances, an union between Great Britain and Ireland is a measure imperiously called for by the present state of Europe — What is it that has (next to her principles) given such a restless impetus to the gigantic power of the French republic?—Her unity and indivisibility. What has enfeebled the operations, and rendered abortive all the enterprizes of the German empire?—Her want of unity: members united under one head, but having different bodies. Surely then, at a time when one destructive power has openly avowed her determination to render the whole habitable globe subject to her will; when her efforts have been long directed, in concert with domestic traitors, to palsy the face of the British empire, by producing the separation of Ireland from England; when she has already imposed her yoke of iron, and her laws of blood, on one half of the subjugated continent of Europe; when the other half (Great Britain forming a noble exception) trembles at her frown, and panic-stricken, seems prepared to couch beneath her fangs; it surely becomes the people of the sister kingdom to lay aside all local prejudices, all false pride, and coolly and dispassionately

to examine, in all its bearings and tendencies, a plan that has been recommended by the best and most impartial writers, no sharers in the political contests of the present day, and which was devised for the express purpose of consolidating the interests and the strength of every branch of the British empire, in order to enable us, with more powerful resources, and with greater prospects of success, to oppose the diabolical schemes of the common enemy.

But let us not, even in endeavouring the good of Ireland, pursue too obstinately a measure, which, from the present temper of the Irish, might perhaps be fatal to both kingdoms, by inducing them (under the fallacious idea of independence) to throw themselves into the arms of France. Let us wait a more favourable opportunity, when the minds of men may be less agitated by prejudice; and in the mean time consider the advantages England would lose in losing Ireland. It appears by the custom-house books, that the imports of Ireland from Great Britain alone amount to near five parts in eight of their whole importation; and that they take off a much greater quantity of the several manufactures of England, except our woollen, than any other country in Europe. On the other hand, the woollen-yarn and worsted, which we receive from them, so far from being a loss to the nation, as most importations are, that when fully manufactured by us in England, will sell for 200,000*l.* a year more than the prime cost, in foreign markets. In the same manner their linen-yarn, which we work up into ticking, tapes, girth, and other manufactures, yields an annual profit of 100,000*l.* to say nothing of the raw hides

hides and tallow, which we export from them into foreign countries and our plantations to great advantage. It appears also from the tonnage of shipping, employed yearly in the trade of Ireland, that the British tonnage is more than two-thirds of the whole, yielding 80,000*l.* annual profit.—Add to these advantages, the greatest perhaps of all, that which arises from the nobility and people of estate and employment, who spend their incomes in England; and then it will evidently appear, that if England does not gain by Ireland alone half as much as it does by all the world besides, as many people suppose, yet there is no country in Europe that brings so much profit to another, as Ireland does to England.

While the court of Vienna had been continuing the idle farce of negotiations at Radstadt, at the same time that it made appearances of preparations for war, the executive directory had obtained by an artful management and hypocrisy every thing it wanted. Having gained the necessary time required to assemble its new levies, to overthrow the monarchies of Piedmont and Naples, and to get possession of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which had been starved into a surrender, the directory now assumed a very menacing and peremptory tone towards the emperor. On the 1st inst. the French plenipotentiaries at Radstadt, signified to count Lehrbach, his minister, in the quality of king of Hungary and Bohemia, that if within fifteen days his majesty did not give a positive assurance that the Russian troops should evacuate Austria, the directory would order its troops to re-commence hostilities. This was no very long delay; and thus we saw the emperor, according to custom, always behind hand in

taking advantage of circumstances, and now forced in an humiliating manner to have the very day dictated to him by his enemies, on which he shall be compelled to take up arms, or else be forced to conclude a disgraceful peace.

The fortress of Ehrenbreitstein had at length surrendered. Modern history scarcely furnishes an example of a blockade of such long duration, having lasted from April 1797, to Jan. 1799. This noble constancy of the garrison and its brave commander, colonel Faber, must render their services for ever memorable. By the reduction of this place, the French became masters of the two banks of the Rhine, from Schaffhausen to Dusseldorff, the possession of Mayence, Ehrenbreitstein, and Dusseldorff, Hesse, and Westphalia; and the king of Prussia is the sovereign most exposed to the danger of their being in the hands of the enemy.

Every thing which was apprehended on the side of Naples is unfortunately verified. On the 7th of Feb. the directory communicated to the councils the important news of the capture of Naples on the 24th of January. It cannot fail to be noticed how little detail was given of a subject of such great magnitude. The directory contents itself with saying, that after a most obstinate conflict between the remains of the Neapolitan army, the Lazaroni of Naples and peasants on one side, and the French army on the other, the latter established itself in Naples.

In letters from Florence, dated the 17th of January, was given an account of what passed at Naples as far as the 11th of that month; by which it appears, that, on the news of the rapid progress

progress of the French being received in the capital, the populace requested that the king should promise not to quit the kingdom, which he complied with; but, notwithstanding, he went in the night to the ship of admiral Nelson, which was unable to sail on account of the calm. The multitude, apprised of this, assembled with some of the nobility and other respectable families at their head, and sent a deputation to the king to persuade him to come back; but they could have no audience, the minister Acton telling them that the king could speak to nobody, which occasioned such a warm altercation between them, that the minister was obliged to request the English to fire at them, and, these appearing to comply with the request, the deputation was obliged to retire. After the result of the commission was known in the town, the public rage became greater than before. The English spiked all the cannon, and burned one 60 gun ship and all the gun-boats, with a view to hinder the enraged populace from firing on the English men of war which were yet within cannon shot. The before-mentioned assemblage of people met to consider of what was to be done: some of them voted for a constitutional monarchy; others wished for a republic; and all were of opinion, that the king, by his flight, had forfeited all his rights. Their majesties, with sir William Hamilton, the English ambassador, &c. &c. arrived safe at Palermo.

Another letter from Florence said, that the aunts of Louis XVI. who, when the French first entered Rome, took up their residence in Naples, also left that city when the king went on board the English fleet. They pro-

ceeded to Manfredonia, on the Adriatic, from whence they intended to go by sea to Trieste; but not being able to find a vessel, they returned to Naples; the people there refused to receive them. In the situation in which that city then was, their presence could not be agreeable to any party. With much trouble, however, they obtained a passage in a Portuguese vessel, on board of which they embarked, with four persons in their suite, for Lisbon.

While the Russian troops kept advancing, those of France again crossed the Rhine; the directory avowed no hostile intentions in consequence of this, until a formal declaration of war was announced on the 10th of March, 1799, in the council of 500. That declaration was directly made only against the emperor, in his capacity of king of Bohemia and Hungary, but the weight of it was likely to be felt throughout all the southern states of Germany. The following appeared to be the first positions which the French armies took after passing the Rhine.

The first column under general Bernadotte, which crossed it at Mannheim, took possession of it, and continued its rout with the greatest rapidity to Hünleberg and Heilbron. It was supposed that hasty advance was purposely to be beforehand with the Austrians, and to form a line from Pfullingen to Heilbron, along the Neckar, on both sides of which river there are high mountains, and advanced positions.—General Bernadotte after he crossed the river, summoned the fort of Philippsburg to surrender, which the governor refused.

General Jourdan, with his army, marched directly into the interior of Suabia,

Suabia, leaving a garrison at Offenburg; his principal head quarters were at Villingen, in the Black Forest. Gen. Saint Cyr, who commanded the left wing of the French army, entered the duchy of Wirtemberg, by the Kniebis mountains, and took possession of Stuttgart. General Massena was endeavouring to penetrate into the Grison territory, by the way of Switzerland, and if he could reduce Coire, or seize it by surprize, it would give him great advantages, as the possession of the town conjointly with the valley of the Rhine, would secure to the French subsistence in Helvetia, and afford them an easy communication with Constance and Suabia, giving them also an entrance into the Tyrol, by the way of Engadine.

The plan of the French was evidently to advance upon the Danube, and there to attack the archduke, before he could receive the numerous reinforcements sending to him from all quarters; some accounts then stated his troops to the number of 120,000 men, others reduced them to only 40,000, not including the reinforcements which he was likely to receive, as the count of Vienna, not choosing to countermand the march of the Russians, foresaw that war was inevitable. Of these new auxiliaries, 24,000 were at Saint Polon Cremo, and other places, which would have sufficient time to join the archduke, whose head quarters were at Ulm, on the Upper Danube. His plan was to take defensive measures, in order to check the farther progress of the French, and seek an opportunity of striking some decisive blow, as he had done against general Jourdan, in the same country, in the year 1795. It was certain that if he only succeeded in stopping

the progress of the enemy in that season of the year, then severe, and in a country where they must be at a loss for provisions, some event might take place fatal to those ravagers, and determine at once the destiny of that country.

The operations of their army on the Danube, were combined with their force in the Cisalpine territory, and their plan was the same as that in the year 1795, to form a junction under the walls of Vienna, but while the archduke defended the Danube, general Melas would have a fairer opportunity of defending the passage of the Adige, as the precarious situation of the French in Italy, and their conquest of Rome and Naples, obliged them to scatter their forces. Naples seemed rather over-run than conquered, and was likely to present a volcano, ready for explosion. Divers insurrections were every day breaking out in Piedmont, and the Ecclesiastical states, and the communication between Naples and Rome was totally intercepted. Civita Vecchia, still in the hands of the Neapolitans, afforded a landing place in the Roman republic, but lately formed. This circumstance, and the preparations making in Sicily to second the efforts against the French in Calabria, and those which were using for an attack on the coast of the Adriatic Sea by the Russians, might involve them in serious consequences. —The insurrections in Flanders and Holland, were likewise breaking out, and likely to find them employment there, so as to require more force to keep those parts under, rather than enable them to make detachments from thence, while the rumour of a secret expedition from England to wrest those countries out of their hands

hands, increased their apprehensions; in short, they had realised the old proverb, of having too many irons in the fire at once; and we shall quickly perceive the effects of it in the course of this history, during the operations of their present campaign.

The opening of the campaign was indeed favourable to their views, as general Mack, who had threatened to disturb their possession of the Roman states, was himself defeated with the Neapolitan army, so that the king of Naples, and his officers, withdrew in haste from Rome, and had scarcely arrived at Naples before it was resolved on by the queen, Mr. Acton, and the British minister, to leave the city. The king, however, wished to defer his departure, as the French were yet at a considerable distance, but he was induced to give his consent to the measure by the following circumstance:—A courier dispatched from the court to admiral Nelson's ship, was seized by a mob of the Lazaroni, and instantly massacred. His body was then dragged in barbarous triumph before the palace, upon which the king, struck with horror at the sight, hastened his departure for Palermo, having an opportunity of passing to Sicily on board of admiral Nelson's ship.

The first step taken was to afford to English merchants every assistance to embark their property, while the Museum of Portici, that of Capo di Monte, and the palace, were stripped of every article that was valuable. The banks and treasury were emptied of all the specie contained in them, most of which had been obtained by sales of plate, as rich services had been given up by individuals, to supply the public exigencies. Other means had

been resorted to by the government to procure specie, such as giving out state-papers and bills at a very low rate, that people might be induced to give money for them, on the faith of public credit. Even agents of the court purchased merchandize, and other saleable commodities, with the same kind of paper, and sold them again at a very low price for ready money. When every article of value was packed up and stripped, the next proceeding was to destroy all the means of defence towards the sea.—The cannon of the Mole and Castle de l'Ouef were spiked, and the fortifications of Crater rendered useless. Upwards of 100 gun boats, and five or six large ships, which were not properly equipped for putting to sea, were sunk or burnt, with their ammunition on board. The powder in the castles were thrown into the sea; and a resolution was taken to set fire to the granaries of corn near the Magdalen, because they contained a quantity of ship timber, which could not be carried away; but this design was prevented by the interference of some citizens who placed a guard over them.

In the mean time, the Lazaroni, whose spirits had been raised to a degree of madness against the French, began to act, and they were further inflamed by the representations of the priests, who dispersed themselves among an idle multitude in every part of the city, describing the republicans as the enemies of St. Januarius, their patron, and that they marched to Naples for the purpose of plundering it, and violate the wives and daughters of the inhabitants. An armistice had been concluded with the French, by prince Pignatelli, but had not been carried
into

into any effect, because the merchants, traders, and opulent people, had met, and declared to the prince, that it was not possible to raise the sum of 10,000,000 of livres, which the French demanded.

After the Neapolitan army had been dispersed, the prince caused arms to be distributed to the Lazaroni, who took possession of the forts, and were joined by the galley slaves, previously set at liberty, with the populace of all descriptions. Hence, Naples was exposed within to the horrid excesses of the most brutal and ignorant people in the world, of which there needs no farther proof than their long acquiescence in a belief of that palpable imposture of the real blood of Saint Januarius, and its occasional liquefaction, which the lowest mendicant of the Lazaroni firmly believed; added to this apprehension, was the attack of the French from without, then advancing to their gates, and the danger of being bombarded by the British and Portuguese squadrons. At this crisis, prince Molitorno arrived from the army, and harangued the multitude; being chosen their general, he immediately appointed colonel Roccaramana his second in command, and issued a proclamation, ordering all those desirous to serve, to give in their names, and be enrolled on condition of receiving pay, and the rest to give up their arms, or be punished with death. This rigorous measure did produce a restitution of many arms, which had been distributed; but the idea of establishing any regularity or discipline, was very disagreeable to the multitude, whose chief object in arming was the indulgence of their natural disposition for plunder. Molitorno's proclamation, indeed, produced some

tranquillity; but on the following day the turbulence of the Lazaroni broke out again, and they resumed their arms, crying out, that they were betrayed. Molitorno thought it proper, notwithstanding this uproar, to retain his command, and went to Capua, to make terms with the French general, but that attempt was rendered of no effect by the departure of Pignatelli, so that on his return, he found the popular fury carried to an extravagant height. They plundered the houses of the rich inhabitants, and their first act of barbarity was the assassination of the duke de la Forre, and his brother, whose palace they burnt. Molitorno now saw there was no means left to save Naples from ruin, but that of introducing the French, and made use of his interest with the Lazaroni, to obtain possession of the castles, particularly of Saint Elmo, which the French general wished to be assured of before he entered the city. The attempt was not easy; but Molitorno accomplished his purpose, by introducing at different times, persons whom he could depend upon into the castle, and dispatching a guard of forty Lazaroni, who were in it, on some pretended service, and refusing them admittance on their return, when the tri-coloured flag was hoisted, and three guns fired as a signal of his success to the French. Some of the populace looked upon this as a stratagem to deceive the French; but their army prepared on the same day, in concert with Molitorno, to force a passage into the city. They were opposed by great multitudes of Lazaroni, and repulsed; both sides having suffered considerable loss.

The French then attempted to draw those desperadoes from the city, into
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the open country, but without effect. The French finding they would not relinquish their ground, took post on the heights of Capo di Monte, from whence they advanced to the attack at different points; but the resistance was extremely obstinate, every inch of ground was vigorously disputed, and the city became a field of battle, while the fire of artillery and small arms scarcely ceased for three days and nights. The French set fire to the palaces and houses from whence they were fired upon, and the Lazaroni did the same to the houses from whence they were fired upon out of the windows, which galled them most severely. It is impossible for narrative to convey an adequate idea of the horrors such a scene must exhibit; the terrors impressed by the increasing conflagrations were augmented by the continual thundering of artillery, the shouts and shrieks of the inhabitants and their families, as they favoured or feared the combatants, together with the darkness of the night, during which they obstinately kept up the contest. It may be literally said, that Naples was conquered foot by foot, and street by street, for the resistance was kept up to the very heart of the city, and was not overcome till the third day of the attack at noon. Even then the Lazaroni were unsubdued in another quarter, having fallen back on the castle of Carmes, where their colours were flying, and there they defended themselves to the last extremity. The streets were in many places covered with dead bodies, and various kinds of arms.—While these horrid scenes were carrying on, a large party of the populace was employed in plundering the king's palace, which was stripped of every article left behind; even the iron rail-

ing would have been torn up, but this was prevented by the arrival of some French troops, which put an end to the disorder.

The French officers scrupled not to affirm, that the capture of Naples destroyed them more men than they could have imagined. The day after its reduction, general Championette, accompanied by the officers of his staff, and cavalry, paraded through the streets, preceded by one of the Lazaroni, mounted on a miserable hackney, who harangued his comrades everywhere that the cavalcade stopped, in the following Italian words, "Viva Dio, viva Santa Generaro, Maria Virgine il Generale nostra, du qua a quattri giorni ci fare la processione di Santa Generaro fara ribpare la farina, e viva la Liberta." In English, being "Glory to God, to Saint Januarius, to the Virgin Mary. Long live our General, by whose order, four days from hence, will be made the procession of Saint Januarius, to lower the price of corn, and to make liberty flourish."

What a ridiculous scene was here exhibited; a victorious general marching through the streets of a conquered city at the head of his troops, and suffering himself to be led by one of the Lazaroni, who appeared to command the cavalcade; and, in reality, did direct it as he pleased; for he conducted the general and officers of his staff to the shrine of Saint Januarius, where they dismounted, and paid the Saint the usual reverence, with the most pious attention, in appearance, but their real intention was to keep the people quiet, by working upon their fanaticism, until they had completely plundered them of every thing valuable; for one of their first acts after this ridiculous farce, was to levy a contribution

contribution on the city of 2,500,000 ducats on the rich inhabitants; and such was the great scarcity of money, that it was found very difficult to raise such an enormous sum, for the new worshippers of their Saint Januarius, we mean the general and his staff; for though their troops had suffered much, and Naples was actually taken by storm, they were to have no share in the plunder. But the French generals were soon to experience the bad consequence of their rapacity and hypocrisy; for the ardour of plundering here, at Rome, and other districts of Italy, together with what they anticipated and expected from a second irruption into the south of Germany, had so much dispersed their forces, that they were unable to communicate with each other, while the Austro-Russian armies were bearing down upon them like a torrent whose progress is not to be resisted.

For the horrors of war had been suspended by the deceitful calm which the negotiations at Radstadt had produced, till the French had reduced the fortress of Ehrenbretstein and passed the Rhine, which was followed by a formal declaration of war, on the 13th of March, in the council of five hundred. In consequence of this, the French attacked the Austrian advanced posts early in the morning on the 26th of March.—These posts were stationed at Santa Lucia and Bupolongo, and the French attacked them before the truce was expired, but they were repulsed at both places with considerable loss, 1000 of them being made prisoners, 60 officers and two cannon were taken, but the Austrians had many officers and men killed and wounded. General Kray then repulsed them at Lagnano, where he killed 3000, and took 2000 prisoners, with 14 pieces of cannon, pursuing

the remainder towards Mantua. The action commenced at the break of day, on the 26th of March, when the Imperialists heard a severe cannonading at or about Verona and Pastrango.—

About eight in the morning, the advanced posts near Legnano were attacked; upon which general Kray removed the camp at Bevillacqua to Legnano. The garrison of the town occupied the ramparts and road, not then quite repaired; two regiments were posted in front of the town to defend the bridges. The enemy attempted to advance on the town in every direction, but were repulsed on all sides. They had stationed their principal force upon the Adige, near to Anguiari, where they were sheltered. After two very furious attacks, they were compelled to retreat to that position. Another formidable attack was made on Saint Pierre de Legnano, from whence the high road leads to Manterre, without any impression. After the brave garrison had thus checked the progress of the enemy for three hours and an half, the advanced guard from the Austrian corps at Bevillacqua arrived; the first division of which, under general Frolich, attacked the enemy in their turn. This attack was directed in every road leading from Legnano, so far as the intersections of land in that country permitted. The force of this attack was made upon Saint Pierre. Major Rainwald commanded the advanced guard. Colonel Absaltern followed with the column. Major count Parr conducted the advanced guard on the road toward Saint Pierre to attack the French rear. Colonel Rudt followed him with the remainder of the column. Colonel Somariva commanded an attack on Anguiari. Beside these principal attacks, some partial ones were

were made on different points, in which all the Austrian troops behaved with the greatest bravery. The artillery, as well within the town, as that in the plain near it, resisted all the different attacks with all that ardour and firmness for which it had been long conspicuous.

At seven in the evening the enemy's troops were every where put to flight, and they retired in confusion towards Tartaro, and the country was so intersected with canals that they could not be pursued with cavalry, or their loss would have been much greater than has been stated above.

Another battle took place at Verona. For general Keim had received advice that the republicans were concentrating their force at or near Villa Franca and Castelnuova. He was therefore upon his guard, and communicated his information to general count Hoenzollern, who immediately quitting Venice, arrived on the 25th of March at Verona, with the force under his command. General Liptay likewise arrived there in the night between the 24th and 25th, with three battalions, so that general Keim was enabled to strengthen his position at Pastiorege with three battalions of Schroder and one battery of artillery. In the intrenched lines of this position, there were seven battalions of infantry, and three squadrons of new-raised Hessians. The advanced chain of posts commenced from the lake of Garda, and extended along the frontier as far as the environs of Bierpague; but as this position could not keep up a communication with Verona upon the right bank of the Adige, by reason of its distance, the generals sent a division of hussars to keep it up as well as they could, between Verona and Casa Carra.

The advanced chain of posts from Verona, which extended from one bank of the Adige to the other, were defended by three battalions of infantry, and supported on the glacis of Verona, at the new gate. Three battalions of infantry and six squadrons of cavalry were posted there near Porta Nuova. Four battalions of infantry and five squadrons of cavalry were kept as a reserve behind the Porto Zeno.

The French attacked these advanced posts of the Austrians very early on the morning of the 26th. General Keim immediately marched thither, and finding their attack directed principally against Saint Lucia, he took measures to reinforce the points there. By prisoners taken, he learned that the enemy consisted of two complete divisions, under the generals Victor and Grenier; that one part of Serrurier's division had been added to them, together with 6000 Piedmontese, Swiss, and some Polish emigrants. That the French were therefore forming the attack upon Verona, with between 25 and 30,000 men, in a firm expectation of taking that city by surprize. They had therefore inserted, in general orders to their army, that as the troops had been 15 days without pay, they should be indemnified with two hours pillage of the city.

General Keim ordered the reserve to advance, and sent general Hoenzollern to the left wing, for the purpose of supporting general Minkwitz. He himself went to Massimo. At six of the clock, the enemy collected their force, and directed their principal attacks upon Saint Lucia and Saint Massimo. Saint Lucia was soon carried by them, and twice retaken by the Austrians, but could not be retained, so that the enemy remained in possession

of that post the whole day. They did not succeed equally at Saint Massimo. After seven successive attacks, wherein they brought up fresh troops, they carried that post seven times, and were as often repulsed from it by the bravery of the Imperialists; and the French suffered an immense loss of men in their reiterated attacks of that post, which the Austrians remained the masters of the rest of that day, and their chain of other posts were also maintained, excepting that of Saint Lucia. General Keim gave the highest commendations of each corps, for firmness at their posts, where they exhibited prodigies of valour, there being scarcely an instance in military annals of troops sustaining so deadly a fire of musketry during 18 hours, without the smallest interval; for the enemy's superiority in numbers enabled them to renew their attacks with fresh troops. The efforts of Austrian courage and perseverance were wonderful, as during the whole time of these attacks, the troops were not able to procure any refreshment, nor the least interval of rest. Towards twelve at noon, general Keim was wounded, but did not quit his post till he had recommended to the other generals not to abandon the post of Saint Massimo, and to continue those diversions on the flank and rear of the French, which would cause them to repent of their rash enterprize. Their loss was great indeed, being estimated from 8 to 10,000 men.

Immediately after the victory at Legnano, general Kray hastened with the greater part of his army to Verona, and on the 29th of March, the French general Victor, sent an officer to the commander in chief at Verona, requesting a truce for twenty-four hours, to carry off the slain from the field of

battle, as their lying there occasioned a dangerous infection. To this proposal general Kray consented, only fixing its duration to the following day at noon; when, behold an instance of republican faith! the truce which was made at their own request, was perfidiously broken at ten o'clock the next forenoon, by their attack of the Austrian posts on the Adige, occupying the left bank of that river, and opposite to their front at Poli. The advanced posts were drawn back at the same time the enemy filed off across the mountains, near Saint Ambrosio, in order to turn the Austrians at Verona. The retreat of their advanced posts was soon effected as far as Parona, when several regiments put themselves in motion, attacked and repulsed the enemy in an instant.—These attacks were made with such promptness, that the French could maintain their ground on no side, but were pushed to their bridge, where they had planted on the opposite bank a battery of twelve cannon, which caused the pursuit of the Austrians to be suspended for a moment; but after a short pause, an assault of the bridge was ordered, when the grenadiers of Koher, Fequalment, and Weber, immediately carried and destroyed it; hence, the French who had marched over the mountains to turn the Austrians at Verona, found themselves cut off, and were obliged to give way. The Austrians lost only 46 killed, and 166 wounded; the French had 1000 killed, and 1112 prisoners. They still occupied the ground between the Adige and the Tastaro, towards Legnano, but had so entirely evacuated the whole space near the lake Garda, that the communication with the Tyrol, by the valley of the Adige, was left

left open, and the count Saint Julian had already advanced from the Tyrol, as far as Rivoli, and sent patrols as far as Peschiera; at this time the French were inclined to cross the Adige, having forty pontons with them for that purpose, but the general in chief command was prepared against every design which they endeavoured to effect, in consequence of the Austrians advancing forward, being prepared to attack them in front, or with still greater advantage in their rear.

General Klenau patrolled along the river Po, as far as Ostiglia, and alarmed the whole country. The French who occupied that quarter with but few troops, fled in every direction, and the general with his patrols were received with joyful acclamations on both sides of the Po. He sunk in the lake of Oscuso, a small armed vessel, another was dragged on shore, upon which the French sunk all the gun-boats, and sent their crews to Terrato. — Their general proposed to general Kray, an exchange of the officers made prisoners; but was required first of all, to send the Austrian officers, when an equal number of French officers would be returned, the Austrians having no opinion of French honour from their recent breach of the truce, which was agreed to on their earnest solicitation.

During these transactions the archduke had two engagements with the French, near Stockach, on the 25th and 26th of March, in which they had lost 5000 killed or taken prisoners. Stockach is a little town at the western extremity of lake Constance, on the right-hand side of the Danube. Here it was that the archduke forced the centre of the republican army, in the two engagements above mentioned. — In the beginning of April, the ad-

vanced guard of count Hoenzollern had taken above 500 prisoners, and general Klenau being desirous of attacking two gun-boats in the Po, at Ariano, passed the Po with one company for that purpose, on which the inhabitants of the island of Ariano, testifying great joy, took up arms and seized on the boats, and made sixty Frenchmen prisoners. On the 5th of April, field-marshal Bellegarde, after an obstinate resistance near Tauffers and Muster, drove them past Cyrenez, with the loss of three cannon, and 300 prisoners, beside a considerable number killed and wounded.

The enemy, after the check which they received on the 30th of March, near Verona, had descended the Adige, and taken post between that river and the Tartars, from whence they threatened to repass the Adige. But general Kray understanding that they had been unable to rally all their forces, resolved to attack them immediately. Their head-quarters were then at Isola della Scula. They had one encampment near Magnano, opposite to the Austrians at Verona, and another near Lucca, opposite to Legnano, on the rivulet Magnano. Field-marshal lieut. Kray's plan was first to attack their camp at or near Magnano, and to penetrate, if possible, to Isola della Scula. He for that purpose drew near the enemy on the 5th of April, and attacked them at ten in the forenoon, with three columns, supported by a fourth. The action very soon became general, and the enemy made a most obstinate resistance, insomuch that the ground was long disputed; but the firmness and bravery of the Imperialists obtained them the victory. The French were routed on all sides, and fled from their camp at Magnano. Night coming on, put an end to the combat.

During the night, the Imperialists formed a line by Leccedre's castle, de Azana, Hutta, Fretta and Vulese, to watch the motions of the republicans; in consequence of their defeat, 11 cannon, 30 ammunition waggons, seven colours, and above 2000 prisoners were taken from them. The Austrians had 2000 men killed and wounded, but the enemy must have suffered more considerably in both respects, as the Imperial troops performed prodigies of valour. The republicans then manifested a disposition of retreating over the Rhine, the passage of which river has been proverbially fatal to the French armies; for it appeared that after the battle of the 5th, near Magnano, the next day they abandoned Isola della Scula and Villa Franca, when they posted their guard at Ro erbella, and retired on the 7th beyond the river Mincio, near Gotto, where having left a strong garrison, the rest of the rear guard had directed their march towards La Votta, probably with an intention of reinforcing their garrison at Peschiera, and throwing provisions into that fortress.

These circumstances induced field-marshal lieut. Kray, to push on his advanced guard as far as Villa Franca. He caused three battalions and some squadrons of chasseurs to advance as far as Vallegio upon the Mincio, to defend the bridge at that place, and four divisions to support them if the French should attempt a passage there. The Imperialists found at Isola della Scula 200 wounded, most of them French, among whom was general Pigeon, who died of his wounds on the 7th; a few of the Austrian soldiers were among the wounded. The prisoners now taken amounted to 2500, of whom 130 were officers; there were

also taken 16 cannon and 40 ammunition waggons. The loss of the republicans was then estimated at 8000 men, and the disorder was so great among them, that the generals were plundered by their own soldiers.

Exclusive of these circumstantial details, in consequence of the enemy's defeat at Magnano, general Klenau penetrated with his light troops as far as Governolo, and took from the French 18,000 muskets, 60 oxen, a great quantity of brandy, and made two officers, with 150 men, prisoners. At the same time, colonel Drakovitz, aided by the inhabitants of the Po di Gore, near Ariano, seized three gun-boats, with 17 cannon, 17,932 sacks of salt, 24 merchant vessels, with their cargoes, and 20 others unladed.

General count Nauendorf took possession of Schaffhausen on the 13th, in the evening, after several attacks upon the town with his advanced guard.—The general was desirous to spare the place as much as possible, in conformity to orders given him by the archduke, and wished to enter into an agreement with the republicans, not to destroy the beautiful bridge, which was thought to be a master-piece of workmanship, but they rejected his proposal, not to molest them in their retreat over it, and there ranged themselves in a posture of defence, and were overpowered, when they set fire to that beautiful bridge, which soon became a prey to the flames with two houses situated close to it. In all other respects the town was uninjured. Gen. count Klenau took possession of Governolo, the only post which the enemy still retained on the Lower Mincio; in that place, and in the fortress of Ponte Molino 100 men and several officers were made prisoners. The Austrians were then entire masters

masters of the Tartaro and Tions. The archduke had before this defeated gen. Jourdan in the battle of Osterach, where the republicans lost 5,000 men, with three of their cannon; the Austrians had 2160 killed and wounded. There was a battle at Tanffers and St. Maria, where the French were defeated on the fourth of April, and the Austrians seized at St. Maria a very considerable magazine of ammunition, one single article consisted of more than 90 casks filled with cartridges and powder. General Bellegarde on the 8th of April, ordered count Alraini, to harass the republicans, for the purpose of facilitating the operations of the Austrian army in Italy. He attacked, defeated, and drove back the enemy wherever they opposed him, when halting with his corps at Recca di Anso, he pushed forward his advanced guard and took possession of Bagulino. His loss was inconsiderable compared with that of the enemy, from whom he took one cannon, a standard, and many prisoners. On the count's advancing to Recca di Anso, the enemy fell back upon Vestone and Brescia.

Upon the arrival of general Melas at the army of Italy, the French retreated by Azola behind Chiesa, and the Austrian advanced guards extended beyond the river Mincio, being posted before Goito, and upon the heights before La Volta and Monzanbano, so that Peschiera was surrounded at a certain distance on the side of Suave and Mazinirola, the Austrian patrols advancing within sight of the citadel, without meeting any of the enemy's piquets. In the mean time general Klenau invested Mantua on the side of Molinella, having carried the republican post at Lago Sacro, and taken four of their cannon. The Ge-

neral found the inhabitants every where well disposed to favour his views, and particularly in the environs of Mantua, where the Austrians were received with shouting and the highest demonstrations of joy on their arrival. Even the lowest of the populace, most easily tainted with licentious principles, gave evident marks of attachment to their old constitution, their hatred of the French, and detestation of a democratical government.

In fact, the great nation, as the French had arrogantly called themselves, while they subjugated all Italy, plundered Rome and Venice, fraternized Flanders and Holland, over-ran Switzerland, took forcible possession of Piedmont, sent their ablest General with the veterans of their armies, to ravage Egypt, compelled the Emperor by threatening Vienna to sign the treaty of Campo Formio, the articles whereof we have given, and in which we may observe a treaty of partition and exchange of territory, contrary to all existing stipulations of former treaties, more bare-faced and arbitrary than the pretended one of Pilnitz, which was suspected to be of their own fabricating, that the flames of war might be soon kindled, or if ever it was thought of, died away like a non-entity, for there is not the least proof that it was ever proceeded upon, or digested into a formal treaty, like that of Campo Formio. Yet this arrogant democracy could charge Britain with being a party to it; while their demagogues threatened to take satisfaction for the pretended insult by an invasion of England, and had actually by their agents raised a rebellion, attended with horrid massacres, in Ireland; but the never-beaten field marshal Suwarrow now came down upon them, and this terrible

terrible fourth beast, so exactly described by Daniel, was constrained to give up the prey which he had been seizing with his iron teeth, devouring, bruizing, and breaking in pieces every thing in his way, and trampling the residue under his feet.

Upon the arrival of marshal Suwarrow, the republicans repassed the Adda, after throwing 15,000 men into Mantua, and 5,000 into Peschiera.—The Marshal followed them, leaving General Kray with about 20,000 to invest these two places, while he pushed his patrols onward as far as Cremona; and general Klenau's patrols advanced to the neighbourhood of Bolona, without meeting any considerable body of the enemy; but on the evening of April the 24th, accounts were received that the French were throwing up entrenchments at Lodi and Cassano, upon which advice marshal Suwarrow with a body of between 45 and 50,000 men, marched to Monte Chioro, on the Chiesa, in order to occupy Breschia, and then advance on the Oglio and Adda.

In the mean time, archduke Charles knowing that the French yet possessed Schaffhausen, and the suburb of Constance, called Petershausen, on the right bank of the Rhine, with an apparent view to assemble there, and particularly at Schaffhausen, a number of troops, in order to attack with advantage from both points, the corps of general Nauendorf, which was posted in that neighbourhood: his royal highness determined that they should be driven from those points, in order to post some Imperial troops at those places, and in consequence of this resolution, General Nauendorf was charged to order Count Baillet to advance against Schaffhausen with a con-

siderably body of light infantre, with cavalry, supported by four battalions of the line, and some reserve artillery; he executed these orders, and advancing to the town, summoned the enemy to quit it in the course of half an hour, and retire to the left bank of the Rhine. The officers who commanded in Schaffhausen sought to gain time by negotiation, expecting a reinforcement, but general count Baillet, guessing at their intention, was peremptory in his demand, and ordered his artillery, then posted to great advantage, to fire upon the bridge and gate of the town, attacking without delay the enemy in the town. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, he drove them out of the town and over the Rhine, the bridge of which they burnt in their retreat, after losing several hundred men in killed and wounded, 100 prisoners, 17 cannon, and arms of various kinds. The Austrian loss did not exceed 20 men.

In this affair, general count Baillet particularly marked the spirited conduct which was exhibited by a private soldier in the regiment of Lacy, who voluntarily swam across the Rhine, and under the protection of the Austrian fire, loosened two vessels which were on the left bank, and brought them as far as the middle of the river, where the current drove him, together with the vessels, to the burning bridge, which set the two vessels on fire. This circumstance obliged the brave soldier to plunge into the stream and swim back to the right bank; his example so encouraged another of his comrades, that both of them plunged into the Rhine together, and brought off more vessels. In consequence of their example, seventeen or eighteen men belonging to the same regiment of Lacy, swam

swam after the other, and took possession of many more vessels. The archduke, as a reward of their meritorious zeal, and an encouragement to others, gave the golden medal for distinction of merit to the first man, and the silver one to the second.

On the 14th of April, at day-break, major general Pforzheim made an attack upon the other republican post at Petershagen, with great spirit and decision, so that he drove the enemy from it and sunk the vessels which were on the opposite bank of the Rhine; in the mean time a detachment which was sent through Pforzheim and Brucksal, to Phillipsburg, established a communication with that fortress, and pushed on patrols towards Mannheim, and a considerable body of dragoons which formed a part of the garrison of Phillipsburg, had passed forward through Waghausel, and taken some French chasseurs, with their horses. The Rhinagrave of Salm, commanding that garrison, highly commended the conduct of that detachment, and the whole garrison, while it was blockaded. It was manifested to the court of Vienna, that in the battle of Feldkirk, three battalions, distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, on which account, every man was honoured with a medal, and an advance of pay promised them; but these brave warriors refused such advance, alledging that they had only done their duty.

Marshal Suwarrow, having forced the passage of the Adda, on the 27th of April, completely defeated the republicans, and established his headquarters at Milan on the 30th. By this all the Milanese, except the castle of Milan, were wrested from the French, and the castle was likely soon to fall,

as its defenders were but 1200 men, of which only 400 were French; the disorder of the enemy in their flight was very great, part of them fled towards the Po; another body were throwing up works at Reggio and Parma, to cover Mantua. There were found in the city of Milan, considerable magazines of clothing, arms, and provisions, a general also and 500 men were taken prisoners there. The loss of the republicans in the battle with marshal Suwarrow, was four generals, and 5000 men taken prisoners, 6000 men were killed, 80 cannon were seized, 46 of which were heavy battering artillery, several standards were also taken. The Austrian loss amounted on the whole to 1321 men, and 283 horses.

General Melas was received with the most cordial welcome by the inhabitants of Milan, on the arrival of Imperial troops there. The archbishop and his attendants, with all the nobility, met the army at Crossenzago, and delivered the keys of their city, but could not find language sufficiently expressive of their zeal, respect, and affection for the emperor, and their joy upon the recovery of their religion, and former constitution. From the place of meeting to the city, which is three miles distant, the army was accompanied by throngs of people, who kept up continual cries of "Long live our religion, and Francis the second." This shouting of the people was so powerful, that even the Turkish music which is heard in the heat of battle, could scarcely be distinguished. In the evening, general illuminations took place, so that it was almost impossible to pass through the streets of Milan; yet notwithstanding the general conflux of people on such occasions, the

the military force was not employed, nor was there a single excess committed. The fortress of Peschiera, was surrendered by capitulation on the 6th, to general Kray, which would greatly facilitate the farther operations in Italy; the garrison consisted of 1500 men; 100 cannon and mortars were found in the place, 19 gun-boats equipped, with a great quantity of ammunition and provisions. The grand duke Constantine arrived at the instant when the garrison capitulated, and afterwards continued his journey to the head-quarters of marshal Suwarow, who sent his first lieutenant Eck, to Vienna, with intelligence that fourteen standards had been taken from the republicans in the late engagements, and that he had moved with his army from Milan to Pavia, leaving 4000 men under general Luttermann, to blockade the citadel of Milan, and support other operations. On the departure of the courier, general Suwarow had advanced beyond Pavia. The enemy had left in Pavia, eighteen chests full of muskets for infantry, a great many barrels of powder and ammunition for both cavalry and infantry. General Bukassowich also found at Novara, 16 cannon, five mortars, 250 casks of cartridges, 15 barrels of case shot, and several other military stores; the enemy had been repulsed in those parts as far as to the little town of Livorno. On the 15th of May, the French troops stationed at Brindise, in consequence of orders brought to them overland, evacuated that place with such haste, as to leave behind them both their magazines and booty, which they had seized there and in the environs. Field marshal lieut. Kain, being employed to take possession of Pizzighitone, ordered his

dispositions in such a manner, as to ensure an attack upon it at seven in the morning; in consequence of which, three sixteen pounder guns taken from the enemy, 12 twelve-pounders, 10 howitzers, and a part of the Russian artillery, were sent to him, and gen. Kray, with the artillery, advanced toward Mantua, in order to besiege it, and possess himself of the river Po, so that provisions for the advancing Austrian armies which moved on but slowly, might not in any wise be intercepted.

In the mean time, general Klenau made considerable incursions beyond the Po, and in the environs of Beggis, Modena and Cento; besides this, capt. Buday, who was in front of Modena, sent a detachment forward to disarm those Cisalpine democrats, whom the French had collected to defend that city; for on entering it, he sent thirty hussars from fort Orbano, as far as the river Pemark, within three miles of Modena; but at eight in the morning, 150 of them had fled from thence in such haste, that they left behind them a considerable quantity of provisions; but 50 barrels of powder were in the citadel. The above-mentioned captain having learned that there were at Svillambesto, about nine miles from Modena, 90 quintals of powder, a quantity of salt-petre, and other articles of ammunition, caused them all to be conveyed to a place of safety during the night, by a patrolle which he sent thither. A Cisalpine captain in the French interest, was made prisoner, who could not escape with the rest the day before.

The Imperialists were received with the most lively tokens of joy by the inhabitants, whose eagerness to see them was so great, that they could only advance

vance through the streets with difficulty. The enthusiasm of some was so great, as even to kiss their horses. By the reports of several peasants that came there, they were informed, that the Tuscan territories had been most shamefully pillaged, and the contributions exacted from the people were insupportable; and deputies from Florence had before that time arrived at Modena, to implore compassion and assistance, in consideration of those unmerciful exactions. Nothing of consequence happened for a while, for the republicans endeavoured to divide the attention of the Austrians by various manœuvres, and frequent changes, in the line of their advanced posts. In return for these motions, patrols sent forward by the generals Gorger, Merveld, and Guilay, made several excursions, which harassed them continually, taking many prisoners. There were two actions at Odenwald, in which the peasants took part with the Imperialists. These actions were above and below Steinau, near the village of Birkenau, where the peasants joined a division commanded by the first lieutenant Goringer, and the hussars of Szecker, where the French were repulsed with considerable loss. Upon Bergstasse another party of the same hussars took on the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Radstadt, a transport with 180 barrels of flour, which they conveyed to Corsbach.

A body of Russian troops had taken possession of Tortona. Pizzighetone surrendered on the 10th of May; it was reduced by baron Skendorff and count Hoenzollern, who had first surrounded the fortress with a small body of troops, and, with the assistance of the neighbouring inhabitants, had begun to raise batteries, which were soon constructed, as the people's hatred of the

republicans made them work on the trenches very freely; and on the 5th of May, field-marshal Keim had orders to attack it with his division, and push forward the siege vigorously. In the night of the 5th, and all the next day, they worked with such dispatch in the construction of batteries, that some cannon were mounted on the night of the 6th; and on the 7th, at day break, or before, they began to attack the fortress, and threw in some howitzers, the fourth of which set fire to a considerable magazine of hay, straw, and wood, which continued burning all the day.

Two hours after the fire commenced, marshal Keim summoned the fortress to surrender. The governor answered, that he had orders to defend it, and could enter into no negotiation. The fire was therefore continued by the brave cannoneers with such success, that in the evening a small magazine blew up, several batteries were dismounted, and even their embrasures demolished. The works were continued in the night of the 7th, and persisted in till nine in the morning, till their batteries were advanced to within musket shot of the fortress, when the fire increasing within the town, with an apprehension that the quantity of powder in some casemates might catch fire, with the nearness to which the Austrian batteries were advanced, induced the commandant to send proposals of capitulation to marshal Keim, by one of his artillery officers.

The marshal, in return, sent the quarter-master-general's first lieutenant with his proposed articles; adding, that no change whatever would be admitted in them. The commandant, after holding a council of war with his officers, required liberty to return with his gar-

risson to France, and persisted in this demand until ten at night, when the marshal informed him that he would wait no longer. The capitulation was then agreed upon; and on the 10th, in the morning, ratified and exchanged, by which they surrendered as prisoners of war to the number of 600 men, and 30 officers; two of whom were staff officers; and yet the garrison was commanded by a captain only. Ninety-five cannon, ammunition sufficient for a six months siege, provisions to supply a garrison of 5000 men for 14 months, with a great quantity of powder, were found in the place. Only one man was killed and two wounded of the Austrians in its reduction; after which marshal Keim had orders to follow the army, and joined it at Toghera; from whence general Gottesheim, who commanded the advanced guard, sent out patrols to the environs of Turin.

The Russians, with Karaczay's dragoons, entered Tortona. The French who were in that town threw themselves into the castle, which is at some distance from it, after they were driven out of the town by the Russians, who then blockaded the castle. On the 9th of May, the garrison of Mantua, reported to be 12,000 men strong, supposing that the greater part of the force which blockaded it had marched towards Peschiera, made a general sally on the remaining troops, which distinguished their valour much, particularly at the commencement of the attack, when the enemy, in superior numbers, had considerably advanced with a brisk fire of artillery. A secretary to general Monett and a trumpeter of the garrison, were taken prisoners. General Kray sent them both back to Mantua with a copy of the capitulation of Peschiera; and informed the garrison, that the

cannonade which they had conceived to be a signal from the French army, and had induced them to sally out, was in reality the bombardment of Pizzighe-tone.—This they might be certified of by sending one of their officers, who would be permitted to view the place.

The garrison of Peschiera did not wait for an assault, but surrendered upon being allowed the honours of war. The Austrian general very prudently sent, together with his summons, the French officers who had been taken prisoners in the late engagements. It was only required of them to give an account of what they had seen, and inform the garrison, upon their honour, what number of republicans had been slain or made prisoners, and the real weakness of their remaining armies, to convince them all hopes of succour were in vain; and that if they continued to resist after this information to acquaint them with the real state of affairs, not one man of them should be spared on the commencement of an assault; upon which notice they capitulated.

General Moreau had collected all the republican troops that were in Piedmont dispersed about, and encamped near Alessandria with about 17,000 men. The Imperial troops occupied Vercelli, on the Sessia Arona, on the southern extremity of Lago Maggiore, and Iurea, on the Dora Baltea. Their advanced posts were at Chivasso, near Turin; and the people of that country had taken arms in favour of the Austrians. All the country of Uri had risen upon the democrats, and driven them out. The people of Valais had also risen, and general Keim was sent with a considerable detachment to support them, and furnish them with arms, ammunition, and cannon.

The



Admiral Lord Nelson



Vice Admiral Lord Hood

The greatest part of the Valteline was also now possessed by the Austrians.

On the 14th of May, general Hotze commenced a general and very successful attack on the republicans in the Grisons country, dislodging them from Saint Lucius Steig, on the northern boundary, to Coire. The Austrians, on this occasion, took 16 cannon, and 4000 prisoners. Captain Hood, in his majesty's ship the *Zealous*, took Salerno, and placed a garrison there, composed of some marines and loyal inhabitants. The king's flag was also flying at Castel del Mare; and general Macdonald left Naples for Capua, with all his troops, but 500 to garrison Saint Elmo.

On a retrospection of the above facts, it appears, that the progress and prowess of marshal Suwarrow have exceeded the highest expectations that could have been formed of his character, so that he may be truly denominated the scourge of democracy; for its numerous depredators, with their adherents, fled before him on every side, while he and his brave allies had been reaping the fruits of his glorious victory on the 27th of April; for wherever they appeared, either in Switzerland or Piedmont, they have found the most grateful reception from the inhabitants, who have considered them as their deliverers from the most galling and oppressive yoke that ever was imposed upon human beings. But in vain have they forced the Piedmontese army in their service; for all the officers of those troops, taken prisoners, have joined the deliverers of Italy, and invited their companions to join them for the restoration of their ill-treated and unhappy king. The loss of Alessandria, Tortona, and Turin, must wrest the keys of Italy out of the usurpers' hands. Zu-

rich is already wrested from them — Mantua they cannot relieve; and the chief engineer who directs the siege, has calculated the time, naming the day, when it may be reduced, if it is carried on without interruption; or its fate may be hastened by the loyalty of its inhabitants. The delivery of Naples is either accomplished or near at hand; for the Russian and Turkish fleets, after the reduction of Corfu, sailed to Naples for that purpose. British and Sicilian troops were to land in Calabria, and waited only for this co-operation, and the loyalists are impatient while those succours are deferred. Thirty thousand men had been ordered into Tuscany to cut off the retreat of the French, whose head quarters at Genoa were far from being secure. In the mean time, general Hotze effected a junction with marshal Bellegarde, in the Grisons; and the combined army of Italy extended itself to that of the archduke Charles at Schaffhausen. — These favourable prospects were clouded by no reverses or considerable checks in the course of operations, or change of spirit in the inhabitants where they were carried on, who are the determined enemies of democracy, and truly merit, by their courage and devotedness, the redemption they have so unexpectedly received. Cisalpines and Piedmontese go over to the allies in whole detachments. The whole countries of Walloons, Uri, Sweitz, and Underwalden, are in a state of insurrection, and the communication entirely cut off between Moreau and Massena. In the country of the Grisons, 10,000 of the people, in arms, had opposed the republicans; and general Hotze was in a situation to support them. And upon the withdrawing some republican troops from Holland,

the democrats there were alarmed, perceiving that their tyranny was on the eve of a dissolution. Belgic insurgents were up again in Brabant, and by some conveyance, it was known in the Netherlands, that the Austrians had beaten Massena at Zurich, and taken possession of the place before any official accounts of the obstinate defence of Zurickberg, and expulsion of the French from that city, were known here.

It will soon appear, while in other countries the people are rising to expel their severe task masters, how far the insulted and deluded populace of France are disposed to extricate themselves from the horrors of being dragged to recruit their beaten armies, by forced conscriptions, and the burthens of heavy imposts, arbitrary imprisonments, increased paper circulation, and the terror of explosions expected by the frequent change of their ruling demagogues, if they will not supinely wait till the victorious armies of Austria and Russia come thundering down upon the frontiers of Provence, before any effort is made by themselves, to throw away their galling fetters, and pull down that monster of usurpation, deep-dyed in crimes, which call for retribution and revenge, on the arrival of the never beaten Suwarrow, to reinstate, by force, that monarchy which they have rejected; the consequence must be terrible indeed; and the innocent people who have been cajoled or bullied by vile unprincipled demagogues, may be the greatest sufferers. While the directory and their ministerial agents, may, on foreseeing the storm, escape with their plunder, as Vandernoot and Van Eupen did with their's, and the prince of Salm with his plunder from Holland, on the re-

instatement of the hereditary stadtholder.

Whatever may be the result of these commotions, both the people of France and those of the other European states, will have learned from experience, that the established forms of government which they have lived under, and the monarchical in particular, are much more favourable to liberty, property, and population, than any of the ephemeral constitutions, which have been organized by French philosophy and atheism, or any scheme of reform which could be proposed by their partizans, either in Britain or Ireland; and the reason is manifest, for kings and princes, whose governments are hereditary, have some regard to the preservation of their people, as their children in a political sense, and however the present kings or princes of Europe may have been branded with the titles of despots, and their governments with that of despotism, by democratical free-thinkers, it appears from experience, that these last, when in power, are much less disposed to spare the lives and properties, cultivate the morals, and allow rational liberty to the individuals who have the misfortune to be subjected to a despotism of democracy, far more arbitrary and sanguinary than any of the governments which they have branded with the odious name of despotism, and substituted for them in several places their own system of anarchy, cruelty, and rapacity. The shouts of rejoicing echoed by the people of those districts, which they had ravaged, on the appearance of their deliverers, were a sufficient demonstration of the real state of slavery to which they had been reduced, under a pretence of giving them liberty, equality, fraternity,

nity, and those rights of man, of which they and their adherents in Britain and Ireland, have boasted with so much pomposity.

Having accompanied the Imperial and Russian armies in their victorious career, we shall now give an account of what success we had at sea in the mean time.

Captain Fahie, on the 17th of December, 1798, was cruising in his majesty's ship the *Perdix*, to leeward of Saint Thomas, and spoke to an American vessel, who informed him that he had been boarded the evening before by a French man of war, seven leagues to the eastward of Virgin Gorda, upon which intelligence, the captain used every exertion to get to windward of the island; but strong gales prevailing, accompanied with heavy squalls of wind, he could not effect his purpose until the 20th; and on the 21st at day-light, his men from the mast-head, discovered a sail, which he soon distinguished by the glass to be a ship, and evidently on the cruise. Not a moment was lost in pursuing her, and after a chase of 16 hours, he brought her to a close action, of 42 minutes continuance, when she ceased firing, and lay an unmanageable wreck on the water: she was called, in allusion to Buonaparte's exploits, *L'Armée d'Italie*, being a French privateer ship of 18 guns, with 117 men, commanded by citizen Coluchy, eleven days from Guadaloupe, having captured the *Bittern* brig, and *Concord* schooner, of Martinique, part of the crews of both vessels being on board. The captain highly extolled the conduct and courage of Messrs. Ottley and Smith, lieutenants, and Crawford, the master; even Mr. Pignenet, his purser, volunteered his service on the deck,

and the whole crew acted so as to merit the character of brave British seamen; one man only was wounded; but the French had six killed, and five wounded. Captain Fahie's ship was much cut in her sails and rigging, but in other respects had sustained no material injury.

Captain Dickson, of the *Victorieuse*, in company with captain Champion of the *Zephyr*, received intelligence of three privateers, cruising to the leeward, of Testrigo, and proposed to Colonel Picton, to keep the trade open, by attacking Rio Caribie, and Gurupano, destroy their forts, and bring off the guns, so that the privateers would have no shelter if they were chased. The colonel perfectly approved of the proposal, and ordered major Laureil, with forty of the Royal Rangers, to embark with him for that purpose. On the 2d of last December, he pushed down in company with the *Zephyr*, to Cape Three-Points, and destroyed a small Dutch privateer, from Caracou, on a cruise; on the 3d, having fetched within eight miles of Rio Caribie, he landed the troops at two in the morning, with a party of seamen, to attack the forts in the rear, while he cannonaded them in front from the sea. At day-light, the commandant sent a message, to beg that they would not fire, and he would give them possession without resistance, which being done, they brought off the guns, re-embarked the men, and sailed for Gurupano, at which place they arrived at four in the evening.— Captain Dickson seeing there was a privateer in the harbour, sent a flag of truce to the commandant, to acquaint him, that he was determined to take her out, and warned him at his peril not to fire; if this threatening of the captain

captain seemed a little vapourish, the commandant's answer was more so, for he not only declared that he would protect the privateer, but also ordered the British captain to give him up the guns which were taken from Rio Caribie. On this insolent answer, captain Dickson found no time was to be lost, and ordered major Laureil with his troops, and lieutenants Case and Mac Bensy, with 30 seamen from the *Victorieuse* and *Zephyr*, to land and carry the forts by storm, while the brigs attacked by sea; and for that purpose, anchored at five, and opened a smart fire on both forts. In ten minutes the troops and seamen carried the lower fort. The Spanish flag was also lowered down at the high fort, but instantly replaced by French colours, but in five minutes these were hauled down, and the upper fort was also carried by storm. The guns and ammunition were taken on board, and the forts demolished. The privateer had six guns and 80 men; she was sent to Trinidad. Captain Dickson highly commended the real personal courage of major Laureil, lieutenants Case and Mac Bensy, with the soldiers and seamen under their command, who being only 70 in number, had the spirit to storm, and carry two forts, defended by at least 300 men; the like encomiums were given of the officers and crews of the *Victorieuse* and *Zephyr*, particularly to captain Champion, of the last mentioned vessel.

Captain Temple, of the *Jalouse*, on the 23d of February, 1799, captured a French privateer, out of the *Texel* that morning; she belonged to Dunkirk, had 14 guns and 52 men. Capt. Hamilton, of the *Melpomene*, took a ship privateer on the 28th of February; she was called *La Zele*, of 16 guns,

and 69 men; as soon as the prisoners were shifted, he chased in hopes of retaking her prize, a valuable English brig, from Santa Cruz, bound to Liverpool, and was within a mile of her, when she ran ashore among the rocks of the Penmarks. Capt. Thomas Hamilton, of the *Sea Fencibles*, at Margate, on the 18th of March, observed a small cutter, boarding two brigs, eight or nine miles from the North Foreland. The wind being at west, with a flood tide, prevented the *Camperdown* cutter, then in Westgate-bay, from chasing. The captain on this sent an orderly man to the admiral at Deal, with notice of that event, but on perceiving the captures, forty or fifty of the *Sea Fencibles* pulled off in three boats, and by three in the afternoon, recaptured the brigs. The privateer made off while they were boarding them.

Two of the five mutineers found guilty of murdering their officers on board of the *Hermoine* frigate, and carrying her into a Spanish port, were executed at Portsmouth; the other three were respited. About this time, the French papers exhibited a list of various captures, made by their cruizers, of English, American, and other vessels, not respecting Swedish, and even Prussian flags. The common people of France might be much amused with it, and rendered more susceptible of patience, under their heavy burdens; but a more complete statement of the ruin of their commerce has never been published than that which was delivered by the directory, in their message of January the 14th, to the council of five hundred, in which they declare, "It is unhappily too true, that there is not a single vessel as a merchantman, trading under French colours."

colours. That privateering alone had, in the space of three years, placed 20,000 individuals on the balance of exchange, in favour of all England, and the fate of all ships, armed as privateers, were to fall sooner or later into their hands." But notwithstanding this message of the directory, accompanied with a seeming contrition for the treatment of neutral vessels by their privateers, and a wish to narrow the system of privateering, for the purpose of augmenting their naval armaments, their application to the legislature in that message, clearly tended to give them, as the executive government, ultimate and undefined powers with respect to the right of pronouncing definitively on prizes, and to invalidate the decisions of every tribunal, to which they had been referred before.

Captain Frazer, on the 15th of Jan. in the morning, saw a French privateer, and after a chase of seven hours, came up with, and captured *Le Grand Indian* armed ship, from Granville, of 20 guns, and 125 men, out only five days, and had taken nothing; she was quite new, with provisions and stores for a three months cruise; her main-mast was carried away by the board in endeavouring to escape, and captain Frazer's ship, the *Shannon*, sprung a main top-mast; two of her boats also were dashed to pieces in shifting the prisoners, during a rough sea, which obliged the captain to quit the station where he was ordered to cruise, and accompany his prize to port, at the Cove of Cork.

Captain Gore, in the *Triton*, on the 29th of January, captured, after a chase of more than eight hours, the French privateer *La Amiable Victoire*, carrying 16 brass eight pounders, two iron

six-pounders, and 86 men: sailed from Cherbourg the day before, and had taken nothing. Captain Gore was highly pleased with his prize, being a prime sailer, of large dimensions, which might have injured the trade much. She was quite new, and in his opinion very fit for his majesty's service.

The squadron under command of commodore Duckworth, cruising at and near Minorca, captured the following vessels. The Spanish ship *Esperansa*, laden with drugs and bale goods, bound to Cadiz, taken possession of in the harbour by the *Cormorant*, Nov. 10, 1798. The French privateer *Le Tartar*, captured by the *Cormorant*, on a cruise, October 27, the same time. The Spanish ship *Miserecordia*, of Minorca, laden with pepper, and bound for a market, captured by the *Cormorant*, November 15. The Spanish ship *Virgin Dolorasa*, of Minorca, and bound to that place, captured by the *Ulysses*, November 18. The Spanish ship *Virgin del Rosario*, of Minorca, laden with merchandise, bound to Minorca, taken by the *Ulysses*, the same day. The Spanish ship *San Antonio*, laden with beans, for Barcelona, captured by the *Centaur*, November 19. The French ship *Marie Rose*, laden with wine and merchandise, bound to La Cala, taken possession of in the harbour by the *Leviathan*, November 22. The Spanish ship *Virgin Solidad*, laden with rags, for Barcelona, captured at sea, by the *Argo*, the same day. A Spanish ship the *San Antonio de Padua*, with rags, for Barcelona, seized in the harbour by the *Dolphin's* boats, on the 8th of December; and the Spanish ship *St. Vincent Fina*, with merchandise, taken by the *Leviathan* at sea, on December 8. Part of a cargo in store was likewise seized, belonging to the Genoese

noese and Spaniards, valued at 2000l. sterling.

Captain Horton, of his majesty's sloop *Fairy*, on the 11th of January saw a privateer at half past six in the morning, to which he gave chase, and at half past eleven came up with, and captured the *Nostra Senora del Pont Saint Buono*, mounting six carriage guns and two carronades; had 55 men, but 15 of them were put on board two prizes, which he had taken, from Newfoundland, which captain Horton had some hopes of retaking, but could not. However, he retook on the same day, the *John, Mackdonald*, from Newfoundland, with fish, for Lisbon, but had been captured on the 6th of January, by *Il Volario* privateer, out of Vigo. The captain dispatched the recaptured ship on her way to Lisbon, but detained the privateer, as the wind was too strong for him to make the necessary arrangements. Captain Downman, with the *Strombola*, *Perseus*, and *Bulldog*, under his orders, on the 18th of November, in the evening, took a Spanish man of war brig, of 16th guns, and 88 men; and his majesty's ship *Flora*, with the *Caroline*, took the Spanish ship *El Bolante*, of four guns, and 19 men, laden with dry goods, from Corunna to Montevedio, on the 21st of November; and on the 23d, they captured the French ship *La Garrone*, of 10 guns, and 47 men, laden with wine and dry goods, from Bourdeaux to Guadaloupe.

Captain Bowen, of the *Caroline*, on the 4th of December saw a strange sail to windward, but the weather being hazy, and she at a considerable distance, he could not well distinguish whether she was a cruizer or not; having at the same time two prizes under his care, which he was conducting to Lisbon,

he thought it imprudent to chace from them in that state of the atmosphere, and had recourse to a feint, which perfectly succeeded, by making a signal for the two prizes to keep in a line, to the head of the *Caroline*, and taking care to have her stern toward the stranger. This stratagem succeeded to captain Bowen's wish, for the cruizer, as she turned out to be one, perceiving he took no notice of her, ventured to chace him, and the weather being still hazy, stood to within the *Caroline's* superior sailing, before her people discovered their mistake. She however led him a chace of four hours, before he had the satisfaction to secure her, when he found her to be the French privateer, *La Serailleur*, of 12 guns, and had 82 for her complement of men, only 58 of which were on board, the rest had been dispersed in two American vessels which she had taken, having been out from Bourdeaux fifty-six days cruizing.

Captain Durham, of the *Anson*, captured, on the 2d of February, 1799, in company with the *Ethalion*, *La Boulonois* French privateer cutter, of 14 guns, and 70 men, off Dunkirk, a very fine vessel, copper bottomed.—Captain Durham was highly pleased that he had taken her, she having greatly annoyed the trade in the North Seas. Captain Mudge, of his majesty's sloop the *Fly*, on the 6th of February, took the French cutter privateer *La Glemeur*, off Portland, she had six guns, and 82 men, had sailed from Cherburg the night before, into which port she had been chased two days before that upon which he captured her.

Captain Halstead, of the *Phoenix*, on the 23d of January, took the *Foudriant* French privateer, mounting 20 guns, 12 and 6 pounders, the former of

of brass, with 160 men. Eight of the guns were thrown overboard during the chase, which continued from twelve the foregoing night till noon the next day, when she was captured, during which time they ran upwards of 120 miles. She was launched at Bourdeaux about three months before, had been out from thence on a cruise nine weeks, had taken two English and one American vessel, being coppered, and appeared to be a most complete ship.—The vessels which she had captured were, the English brig Malbridge, from Martinico; the English brig Duncan, from Halifax to London; and the American ship Argo, from Sweden to Charlestown.

The squadron commanded by rear admiral Harvey had taken, between the 7th of November and 10th of December, on their station at the Leeward islands, the under-mentioned French privateers, belonging to Guadaloupe: La Guadaloupienne schooner, of 10 guns, and 80 men; La Prince de Mars schooner, of eight guns, with 65 men; and La Bourdelais sloop, of six guns, and 68 men; all taken by the Amphitrite, captain Ekins. La Prosperité schooner, of eight guns, and 61 men, taken by the Solebay, captain Poyntz; L'Independence brig, of 12 guns, and 60 men, captured by the Peach, captain Ballard; Le Quar-torze Juliet coppered brig, of 14 guns, and 65 men, taken by the Santa Margarita, captain Parker; and a cutter of eight guns, and 72 men, taken by the Cayenne, captain Matson.

That active officer, captain White, in his majesty's sloop the Sylph, on the 7th and 8th of February, captured two fast sailing Spanish brigs, having letters of marque, and coppered. One was the San Antonio, from Porto Rico for

Bilboa, laden with cocoa. The other was the Primavera, from the Havannah, bound to San Andero, laden with sugar, cocoa, indigo, and logwood.—Both ships being valuable prizes, captain White determined to accompany them into port, bringing the San Antonio safe into Cawsand bay. The San Andero parted company in a gale of wind, twelve leagues south-east of the Lizard, but being a good ship, and under the management of able and spirited hands, he expected her in port every hour. The captain also had, on the 20th of January, retaken the Three Sisters, a sloop laden with butter, from Cork to Lisbon, which vessel had also arrived at Cawsand bay.

Admiral Parker, commander in chief of the fleet at Jamaica, transmitted an account to the admiralty, dated on the 10th of February, of captures made by his cruizers, by whose activity and success few of the enemy's privateers were left. Thirteen privateers and armed vessels had been taken, carrying 72 guns, and 518 men: besides a list of merchant vessels, of which four had been taken by the Queen and Lark, one by the Brunswick, one by the Thunderer, three by the Acasta, two by the York, four by the Trent, four by the Hannibal, four by the Trent and Acasta in company, ten by the Regulus, two by the Regulus and Swallow in company, seven by the Renomine and Squirrel in company, seven by the Magicienne, one by the La Prompte, six by the Jamaica, twelve by the Jamaica and Lark in company, two by the Serpent, two by the La Legere, seven by the Lark, thirteen by the Diligence, one by the Cutler, one by the Pelican and Brunswick in company, two by the Drake and Serpent in company, two by the Amaranth,

ranth, and one by the Stork, making near 90 merchant vessels taken, besides 21 destroyed. The French directory might well be paralyzed, a term (by the by) of their own inventing, at a recital of such destruction, not only of their trading vessels, but of their privateers, of the swarms of which they had reckoned so much at the beginning of the war, nor can there be a doubt but that their adherents here would transmit such accounts to them, and anticipate their fears by the most foreboding apprehensions of the total failure of their darling schemes, founded on establishments of modern philosophy, which have held forth to the deluded populace Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and the Rights of Man; but have only been productive of atheism, immorality, extortion, rapacity, and such a licentious anarchy as the world had never before experienced.

His majesty's ship the *Melampus*, on the 1st of March, captured and brought safe into port *Le Mercure* French ship privateer, of 16 guns, and 103 men, from Saint Maloes; had been out on a successful cruize in the channel, and was returning into port. Captain Worth, of the *Telegraph* armed brig, arrived at Torbay on the 19th of March in the evening, with *L'Hirondelle* brig corvette, of 16 guns; her complement had been 89 men, but captures of an American schooner and an English sloop, had reduced her crew to 72.— Captain Worth first saw her on the 18th, at day-break, when she immediately tacked, and stood confidently toward him. At half past seven, being both close alongside, an action commenced, which was kept up for three hours and a half. After several attempts to board him on both sides, without effect, being totally unrigged,

she struck, and proved to be the vessel above described; five of her crew were killed, and 14 wounded. The *Telegraph* had five men wounded. Captain Worth paid great acknowledgments to the bravery of his crew, who fought with the determined ardour of British seamen throughout this obstinate contest, towards the end of which the enemy had recourse to the desperate measure of boarding him. The captain also acknowledged, in the warmest terms, the prompt and able assistance which he received from the master, George Gibbs, during the whole action.

Captain Pierpoint, of the *Naiad*, in company with the *Saint Fiorenzo*, on March the 5th, took the *Heraux Hazard* French privateer, of 16 guns, and 64 men. The ship sailed well, and left Nantz but the day before, and was completely fitted out for a cruize of three months. The sloop *Favourite* captured a valuable Genoese ship, and a Spanish brig, in the West Indies; and the *Naiad* took another privateer, of 18 guns, and men in proportion. Captain Bowen, of the *Argo*, in company with the *Leviathan*, was off Port Mahon on the 6th of February, and at four in the afternoon, drawing round the east end of Majorca, being under storm stay-sails, in a violent gale, westerly, captain Bowen discovered two large Spanish frigates at anchor, near a fortified tower, on the south side point of Bahia de Alende, who instantly upon seeing them cut their cables and made sail to the north, a little easterly. His majesty's ships chaced with all the canvas which the gale would permit them to bear, and notwithstanding the utmost attention in this respect, the *Leviathan's* main-top-sail gave way, which misfortune caused her to drop astern. The frigates perceived this circumstance,

circumstance, took advantage of it, and toward the close of day spoke to each other, when they separated; one of them hauling her wind, stood to the northward; the other set top-gallant sails, and stood before it, which latter frigate captain Bowen kept chasing. The darkness of the night precluded the Leviathan either from seeing their manœuvre, or captain Bowen's signal for altering her course to port; however, she kept sight of the Argo till midnight, when she got up with the chase, which still endeavoured to make off, though the small sail which she could carry was either shot through, or carried away in the pursuit; yet she did not surrender till she had received the Argo's whole broadside, which wounded two men, and did much damage to her rigging. She proved to be the Santa Theresa, commanded by Don Pablo Perez, of 42 guns mounted, besides swivels and cohorns, manned with 280 sailors and marines, with 250 soldiers, making in all 530 persons on board. She was just out of dock, rebuilt, coppered, and in every respect almost as good as a new ship, completely stored and victualled for four months. She was esteemed to be the swiftest sailing frigate out of the Spanish ports, of large dimensions, near 1000 tons burthen, and fit for immediate service. Her consort, which escaped, was the Proserpine, of the same force, but not of such large dimensions.

Captain Saunders, of the *Espoir*, being off Marbello on the 23d of February, saw a brig and two zebecs, and suspecting them to be enemies, hoisted his colours, when the brig and one of the zebecs hoisted Spanish, casting off a Moorish brig in tow. The *Espoir* was hauled to the wind in chase, and it was soon perceived that they were

armed vessels. Not being able to weather them, the *Espoir* exchanged broadsides with them in passing, and being tacked, soon brought a zebec to close action, which continued for an hour and a half, when a favourable opportunity of boarding presented itself. Captain Saunders boarded her, and after a sharp contest of twenty minutes, she surrendered, and was found to be the *Africa*, commanded by Don Josepho Subjado, belonging to the king of Spain, mounting 14 guns long four-pounders, four brass four-pounder swivels, having on board 75 seamen, and 38 soldiers, from Algosamus, bound to Malaga. The *Espoir* had two seamen killed, and two wounded. The *Africa* had one officer and eight sailors killed; her captain, two officers, and 25 of her crew, wounded.

Captain Markham, of the *Centaur*, and lord M'Ker, looked into Fingal bay and Tarragona, about the middle of February, where lord M'Ker, in the *Cormorant*, took a tartan, and drove another on shore. At the break of day after, the *Cormorant* took a settee laden with oil. The *Centaur* then chased two large zebecs and a settee, all Spanish privateers, one of which captain Markham took, called *Va Lierga de Rosario*, mounting 14 brass twelve-pounder guns, and 90 men. The other two escaped. The same night the *Aurora* joined him, and they proceeded for Tarragona, in consequence of intelligence that two Spanish frigates were there with Swiss troops from Palma. On the 15th of February, at night, he fell in with the *Argo* and *Leviathan*, and the next morning he stood in with them for Salo bay. As the frigates were not thereabout, they attacked the town of Cambrellos, and the Spaniards having quitted their guns

on a tower, boats were sent in under command of lieutenant Grossett, of the *Centaur*, who burnt the five settees, and seized upon a tartan laden with wine, a settee laden with troops, another settee laden with wine, a settee lading unknown, and a tartan of five guns, laden with wheat. The *Velon Maria* had been taken in the offing, from *Aguillas* to *Barcelona*. Capt. Markham was informed by captain Bowen, of the *Argo*, that the Spanish frigate *Proserpine*, which escaped from him, first took shelter at *Palermo*, and then hauled close in the bar of *Barcelona*.

Captain Keats, of the *Boadicea*, on the 7th of March, retook an American vessel, from *Charlestown* to *Hambourg*, and on the 8th fell in with, and liberated, a neutral ship, from *Charlestown* to *Embsen*; taking the *Requin*, a brig of 14 guns, and 70 men, in the act of seizing the neutral vessel; but was much concerned to see the *Requin* overset the day after, although she had no canvas spread, by which misfortune Mr. Clay, master's mate of the *Boadicea*, a young man of much merit, nine valuable seamen, and one prisoner, lost their lives. Captain White, of the *Sylph*, on the 21st of March, captured the *Debut* French letter of marque, having eight guns, but pierced for 16, from *Bordeaux* to *Cayenne*, laden with different kinds of merchandize; and captain Newman, being in company with the *Sylph*, on the 24th, after a smart chase of fifteen hours, took the Spanish packet *Golondrina*, Don Juan El Busto captain, from the *Havannah*, bound to *Corunna*, out 39 days. She was pierced for 20 guns, had only four mounted, was coppered, 200 tons burden, an extraordinary good sailer, laden with sugar, cocoa, and indigo. The *Spitfire*, captain Sey-

mour, captured on the 31st of March, the French brig *Resolu*, of 14 guns, and 65 men, perfectly new, on her first cruize, out only two days from *Saint Malo*, and had made no capture. On the 4th of April, captain de Auvergne, of the *Bravo*, took the French national lugger *Sans Quarties*, off the *Isles de Chosey*. She had 14 guns, thrown over board in the chase, and a crew of 56 men. The *Boadicea* took a third privateer on the same cruize, she being *Le Utile*, a very fine brig, of 16 guns, 10 of them brass, quite new, was out three weeks from *Bordeaux*.

Captain Barton, of the *Concorde*, on the 14th of February, being to windward of *Antigua*, captured the *Prudent*, a French privateer ship, copper-bottomed, mounting 18 guns, with 100 men; had been cruising to windward of *Barbadoes* for six weeks, and only took two schooners; one from *Halifax*, the other an American, was then returning to her port at *Saint Domingo*, from whence she had sailed early in December of 1798. Captain Davies, of the *Astrea*, on April 13, fell in with *La Marsour* French privateer, and after a chase of three hours, captured her. She had 14 guns, and 58 men, having left *Dunkirk* the day before, and taken nothing. On the 15th of April, captain Moore, of the *Melampus*, took the French privateer *Le Papillon*, of *Nantz*, mounting 10 nine-pounder guns, four brass 36-pounder carronades. She had 123 men on board, and held the *Melampus* a chase of 25 hours, being a very prime sailer, and a fine new vessel. On the 19th, captain Moore chased another ship, which, upon his firing at her, hoisted French colours. The wind being hard at north-west, with a very high sea, she put before it, when the *Melampus* was

was within half cannon shot, but setting all possible sails, she obstinately endeavoured to escape. The *Melampus* had her studding-fails carried away, and kept firing chace-guns, when captain Moore saw her suddenly give a broad yaw to windward, and overset, going down so suddenly, that in two minutes not a fragment of the wreck could be seen, although the greatest exertions were made for bringing the *Melampus* to the wind as near to where she went down as was possible, with a view of saving those unfortunate people, but nothing appeared on the surface of the foaming waves. The captain and officers of the *Papillon* had sailed from Nantz about the same time with this ship, devoted by the mere obstinacy of her people. They knew her, both from her appearance, and the signals she made, that she was the *Nantois*, of 14 twelve and six-pounder guns, and 150 men. From other circumstances, captain Moore had reason to think, with some concern, that the master, with part of the crew, of the *Echo*, belonging to Poole, were among the sufferers on that melancholy catastrophe.

From a list of vessels taken and destroyed, as transmitted by admiral Christian, commander of his majesty's fleet at the Cape of Good Hope, it appears, that the *Jupiter*, *Raisable*, *Impetieuse*, *Braave*, *Rattlesnake*, and *Star*, had on the 13th of March, 1798, captured the Danish ship *Matilda Marie*, of Copenhagen, bound to the Mauritius with naval stores and sundry goods. The naval stores condemned. On the 20th, the Danish sloop *Fanny*, from the *Roderiga*, the cargo from the Mauritius, being Paddy and Indian corn, condemned, and vessel destroyed. The same day, *Le Dragon* French vessel, from

Madagascar with slaves, bound to the Mauritius. On the 22d, the Danish sloop *Forsøget*, from Serampore for the Mauritius, with piece goods, under trial. On the 27th, the French sloop *Frances Augustus*, in ballast. On the 31st, the French brig, *Le Abundance*, from Madagascar, in ballast, bound to the Mauritius.

By other ships added to the former, on the 29th of May, the Danish ship *Christiana Septimus*, from Batavia for Copenhagen, laden with coffee and sugar, under trial. By the *L'Oiseau*, July the 8th, the Danish ship *Angelique*, from Madras and Tranguabar, bound to Manilla, with piece goods, under trial, as the goods were claimed by American residents at Madras. On August the 13th, the Danish ship *Goode Hensigt*, bound to the Mauritius, with naval stores and sundry goods, under trial. On the 31st of August, a French brig, cut out by the boats from the river Noir, at the Isle of France; and another French brig cut out from the same river, sent in with prisoners; and a French sloop sunk. On September 1st, the French brig *Henrietta*, from Bourbon for the Mauritius, laden with rice. The French brig *Reunion*, from the Mauritius, of six guns, and twenty-seven men.

By the *Stately*, *Braave*, *Garland*, and *Star*; on the 26th of July, the French ship *Necessaire*, from the Mauritius, in ballast, run ashore by the *Garland* on the rocks at St. Luce, Madagascar; together with a sloop run ashore by the *Braave*. On the 16th of August, the *Bonne Intention*, French sloop, from the Mauritius, taken at Foulpoint, arrived at the Cape. On the 16th of August, the French sloop *Ca Ira*, from the Mauritius, in ballast, destroyed.— On the 17th, the French brig *La Elizabeth*,

zabeth, from the Mauritius, in ballast, sent to the Cape. On the 18th, the French sloop *L'Esperance*, in ballast, from the Mauritius, sent to the Cape, with the French brig *Le Urside*, from Madagascar to the isle of France. By the *L'Oiseau* and the *Rattlesnake*, on the 21st of November, the Spanish schooner *Santo Rosa*, from Buenos Ayres to the Mauritius, with beef, pork, and flour, having 12,300 dollars on board. All these captures were made by the ships stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1798.

On the 28th of April, 1799, captain Saint Clair, in his majesty's sloop the *Martin*, having convoyed the trading ships safe to Elsinour, found the road full of ice, and no ships come down to take convoy back, was informed that several privateers were off the coast of Norway; on which he sailed in quest of them, and on the day above-mentioned, descried a lugger and two cutter privateers. These he chased, and at seven in the evening took the *Vengeur* cutter, of fourteen guns, and 105 men, a very complete vessel, had left Christiansand last, but captured nothing. All the expedition possible was used in removing prisoners, when the captain made sail after the others, but it falling dark, they both escaped. Lieut. Searle, of the *Courier*, hired cutter, chased a French privateer, of 16 guns, and brought her to close action for an hour and 40 minutes, when she escaped in a shattered condition, and although he chased her till midnight, a thick fog came on, and he lost sight of her. The day after, he captured the *Raboteur* French privateer of six guns and 26 men. The ships under command of Sir Hyde Parker, stationed at Jamaica, had cut out a ship and schooner from a small bay to

the northward of Cape Roxo, under a five-gun battery. This was done by captain Otway, of the *Trent*, on the 30th of March. The ships of this squadron had taken or destroyed eight armed vessels, and 67 merchantmen, of several descriptions, between the 10th of February, and the 15th of March, in the year 1799.

Captain Woolaston, of his majesty's sloop the *Cruiser*, on the 21st of May, 1799, saw two luggers, French privateers, to which he gave chase. The weather being unsettled and hazy, he could only discern them at times: they were well to windward, but the captain when an interval of clear weather occurred, saw that he headed them considerably. He then took the advantage of tacking, and had the satisfaction, as it cleared, of seeing them right a head. About half past four in the afternoon, stood within gun shot of them, when a sudden gust of wind off shore carried away his top-mast and top-gallant, which obliged him to lie to, and clear the wreck. Having done this, he made sail again, and had them in sight at nine in the evening, and finding they steered a course directly along shore, he continued a course southward all night, during which time he got up another top-mast and refitted. At daylight the next morning, three leagues from Scarborough castle, he discovered one of them to leeward about eight miles off, and after a chase of 6 hours, captured *Le Deux Freres*. She had 14 guns, but threw 12 overboard during the chase. Her crew was 50 men, from Calais, which she left the 16th of April, and had been on a cruize from that time. The other privateer was the *Tippoo Saib*, of 12 guns, which she had thrown overboard in the chase, together with her boats and other lumber,

lumber, and escaped either to France or Norway. Captain Woolaston having 26 men away in prizes, and 50 prisoners on board, judged it proper to take a port, and arrived at Yarmouth on the 23d of May, 1799.

On March 3d the French garrison at Corfu surrendered by capitulation to the united forces of the Russians and Turks. The *Leander*, and the *Brune* frigate, were taken in the port.

On the 1st of March an attack was made by the united Turkish and Russian forces on the island situated in that port, called Scoglio di Vido, and by the French *Isle de Paix*. After a very brisk fire of about two hours and a half from the ships of war, the troops were landed, and the said island was captured. An attack was made at the same time on the outworks of the town, and Fort Saint Salvador was taken by the Russian and Turkish troops, and the French themselves evacuated another outward called Monte di Abram.

On the morning of the 2d, a flag of truce was sent off by the French commander of the garrison of the town of Corfu to the Russian vice admiral, for the purpose of informing him of the wish of the garrison to capitulate; a Russian officer was therefore sent to the town with the propositions of the Russian and Turkish commanders, and they were accepted of with little variation.

The capitulation of the garrison was as under:

Art. I. The French shall give up to the Turkish and Russian commissaries the town and the forts of Corfu, together with the artillery, ammunition, provisions, stores, and all other public effects, as they actually exist in the arsenals and magazines. The Turkish

and Russian commissaries shall give receipts for every thing that may be delivered to them upon inventories.

2. The garrison shall march, with all military honours, out of all the forts and posts which they may occupy, one day after the signature of the present capitulation. They shall be drawn up in a line of battle upon the esplanade, where they shall lay down their arms and standards, with the exception of the officers, as well civil as military, who shall retain their arms; after which the allied troops shall take possession of the posts. The French shall enter immediately after into the citidel, where they shall continue to be lodged until the time of their embarkation, which shall take place at the port of Mandacio. The commissary-general and the staff shall have a Russian guard of honour until their embarkation.

3. The garrison shall be conveyed to Toulon in vessels furnished by the combined squadron, and at the charge of the said squadron, and shall be convoyed by ships of war, after having given their word of honour not to bear arms for 18 months against his majesty the grand signior, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, or against their allies the king of England, the king of the Two Sicilies, and the present allies of the two empires.

4. All the other Frenchmen employed in the island of Corfu, as well civil as military, are comprehended in the preceding article; as also the civil and military officers and crews of the ship the *Leander*, the corvette la *Brune*, and of every vessel belonging to the republic: they are permitted to carry away with them (as are also all the individuals composing the garrison of Corfu) all the effects and moveables which are their own private property.

5. All

5. All Frenchmen, who have been made prisoners during the blockade and siege, are in like manner admitted and entitled to the advantages specified in articles 3 and 4. They shall only be bound by the parole of honour not to carry arms against the contracting powers during the present war, unless an exchange be made with the Turkish and Russian empires.

6. A ship of war, of not less than 20 guns, shall be granted, in order to transport the commissary-general, the general, and staff.

7. The general of division of Chabot, and his staff, a secretary selected by the commissary-general, the two chiefs of administration of land and sea, with their families, and two secretaries for each, shall be permitted to go either to Toulon or to Ancona at their pleasure, and at the expence of the contracting powers; but, if they prefer to go to Ancona, their passage shall take place within one month from the present day.

8. All public property, whether belonging to the town or to the garrison, (the ship the *Leander*, the corvette *la Brune*, and all other vessels belonging to the French republic, included) shall be given up entirely to the commissaries of the Turkish and Russian powers.

9. The commanders of the allied squadron declare, that every individual, of what religion or nation soever, as well as all the inhabitants of the town and island of Corfu, shall be respected in their persons and property. They shall not be prosecuted, molested, or pursued, on account of the political opinions which they may have held, or for their actions, or for the employments which they may have filled under the French government up to the date of the capitulation. The space of

two months is granted to all those of the said inhabitants who may be desirous of removing themselves and property elsewhere.

10. The sick, who cannot accompany the garrison, shall be treated in the same manner as the Turks and Russians, and at the expence of the said powers, and shall also, when cured, be sent to Toulon. The French general shall be permitted to leave at Corfu an officer with a sum of 6000 livres, and also the necessary number of officers of health to dress and take care of the sick.

11. The garrison, the officers, and those employed in a civil or military capacity, shall receive, as well on shore as on board the vessels, the same number of rations which are allowed to them, according to their rank, in conformity to the French laws, until their debarkation at Toulon, or at Ancona.

12. The ships of war and transports which shall be employed in conveying the French either to Toulon or Ancona, shall not make any prizes either in going or returning, and the commissary-general engages in the name of the French government to cause the said vessels to be respected by the French ships and vessels, and to guarantee their return to Corfu, in like manner as the Turkish and Russian admirals respectively promise in the name of their courts to cause all the French comprised in the present capitulation to be conveyed to the destination agreed upon.

Done on board the Russian admiral's ship *St. Paul*, the 20th of February, 1799, Russian Old Style; 13th Ventose, 7th year of the republic.

Corfu is a place of considerable importance, and commands, in a great degree,

degree, the entrance into the Adriatic. The capital is very strong, and its circumference above four miles. It was the former residence of the Venetian governor general over all the other islands.

Field marshal Hotze having beaten the republicans at Luciens Stieg on the 14th of May, 1799, where he took eight pieces of cannon, and a whole demi-brigade prisoners, pursued his operations in the Grisons, and found the enemy's divisions, which had been driven to the mountains by colonel Plunket, and the column of general Hella, were retreated to Furna, with a design of escaping either by Zizero or Coire. But finding that marshal Hotze occupied those two posts, and had stationed two battalions in the latter place, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the amount of 1000 privates, 80 officers, and their colours. Beside this, in the pursuit after the affair of Luciens Stieg, the Austrians took four cannon more, and made two companies of grenadiers prisoners.

Field marshal Hotze reconnoitred the enemy's position near Reichenau, and at the same time appeared in force, threatening Ragatz, where the republicans had 2000 men. This manœuvre produced an engagement on the 15th, and the enemy being obliged to retreat, burnt the bridge over the rivulet of Psefferer. But they were pursued beyond Fettes, and part of them were driven into the valley of Sargans, where an officer and some men were made prisoners. The Austrians lost but few men, and took three more cannon, making, with those before seized, 15 guns. The enemy withdrew in the night between the 15th and 16th, with such precipitation, and lost so much ground, that the marshal advanced to

Sargans, and at the same time received intelligence that Count Saint Julien was at Lentz, and Count Haddick at Felsur. The republicans were retiring on the side of Fuis, probably with an intention of joining their camp at Reichenau, and thence to retreat towards Saint Gothard by the only road left open to them, which was Illanz and the Delves bridge. But as the upper league of the Grisons was ready to rise upon them, colonel Strauch closed the pass of Splugen, and marshal Hotze that of the Gunkels. There was also a probability that count de Bellegarde would advance towards Coire and Fuis, so that this corps of the republicans, consisting of about 7,000 men, was in a most critical situation, from which it would be extremely difficult to extricate itself. In order to assist marshal Hotze as much as possible in the attack of Luciens Stieg, the archduke made a manœuvre toward the Rhine with such success, that a body of 17,000 men, assembled near Schaffhausen, was prevented from sending any detachment against marshal Hotze. General Mersfeldt surprized the enemy's post at Dundenheim on the 14th, killing three of the officers, with 60 grenadiers, who resisted his attack, and took an officer, with some privates, prisoners.

The castle of Milan surrendered by capitulation on the 14th of May; and the Imperialists also took possession of Tonarci, Carsala, and Cova; which last place was seized by the peasants of those parts, and at their request was garrisoned by Austrian soldiers. In the mean time, the archduke and general Bellegarde accomplished their purpose of rescuing the Grisons from the tyranny of French armies, and advanced to support the army in Italy; where, on the 21st of May, general Bray was detached

by general Hotze to attack the republicans near Asmos, which post the Austrians forced, seized a fleche, and took one cannon, with a tumbril. General Bray proceeded to storm their entrenchments, and pursued them on their retreat to Werdenberg; in the course of which pursuit he took another cannon; and notwithstanding a very obstinate attempt of the enemy to make a stand at Werdenberg, the brave Imperialists forced them there, and one of their corps, with the exception of 30 men, was cut to pieces.

While general Bray was executing these operations, colonel Gravisine, of the regiment of Kerpen, was ordered by general Hotze to secure Wallenstadt, and advancing to that place on the 19th, posted his troops about half a league off this side the lake. He was soon after attacked by a very superior number of republicans, who continued sending fresh troops through Flums against his flank, but could not gain a foot of ground. On the contrary, colonel Gravisine succeeded toward the end of the attack in bringing a small column to act upon their right flank, and repulsed them at sun-set with great slaughter, as far as Mark. The Austrian loss, however, was considerable, amounting to 300 killed and wounded, including three officers killed, and five wounded. A legion, formed of Swiss emigrants, then engaged for the first time, and distinguished itself very much, while the country people everywhere rose in a mass, being stimulated from a reflection on their former sufferings, to act with a degree of enthusiasm, rather to be imagined than described. The rapid progress made by general Hotze obliged the French to abandon the environs of Saint Gall, and the banks of the Rhine, near Constance and

Schiffhausen, so that they retreated beyond Winterthur. Lieut. general Nauendorf observing their motions, immediately crossed the Rhine with part of his advanced guard, and pushed on the light cavalry to observe their farther movements, and was informed that they had abandoned the Thur and Thor, having fallen back toward Zurich. General Nauendorf, on this advice, sent patrols of light troops to establish a communication toward St. Gall with those corps which were advancing from that quarter, under general Hotze; and the archduke, on the 21st, removed his camp from Stockach to Singen, and on the same day established his head-quarters at the latter place.

As soon as lieutenant colonel Williams learned that the enemy had evacuated Rhienech, he directed his flotilla toward Arbon, with a view to impede their retreat. In the meanwhile, some armed peasants at Cosignano, in Piedmont, disarmed 100 French soldiers. They had done the same in Carmaglona, and wounded two of their generals, one of whom died of his wounds. General Bellegard having wholly secured the Grisons, proposed without delay, to co-operate with the army of Italy; but left count St. Julien with his brigade to cover the Engadin, and keep up a communication with general Hotze, and, if practicable, to co-operate farther with him.

We mentioned the success of general Hotze at Luciens Stieg before, and shall now give a detailed account of that gallant action, in consequence of which the Grisons were delivered from French tyranny. General Hotze was of opinion that the post of Luciens Stieg could not be attacked in front, as the troops which occupied it had been reinforced;

inforced; and Massena, their chief commander, had been there to render that pass into the Grisons more defensible. General Hotze, therefore, determined to leave a considerable corps in the line of defence, between Feldkirch and Bregentz, then to divide his infantry and cavalry destined for the real attack into four columns.

The first column was commanded by general Hotze in person; the second, third, and fourth columns had to scramble up the highest and steepest mountains, with incessant difficulty, so as to make their way through snow six feet deep, in a march of twelve hours, before they could reach the rendezvous from which an attack was to be made. The extreme cold on the Alpine summits of Mayenfeld, Sevis, and Slapin, rendered it impossible to fix on any other point for the rendezvous. But the undaunted firmness and bravery of the troops, encouraged by the examples of their officers, surmounted those difficulties to admiration. The operations, upon the whole, were conducted with such order and spirit, that the redoubts were carried almost immediately. Ensign Kafft, of Bender, who commanded the volunteers, was wounded, and contributed much to the success. Capt. Bach pursued the enemy to the Schloss bridge, and as they there made some resistance, lieutenant Foulon, with the volunteers of Bender, carried the bridge by storm, and made several prisoners; but captain Bach was unfortunately slain. General Hiller, in order to cut off the republicans from the roads yet open to them, sent several detachments into the mountains advancing with his column to Zitzers, and ordering lieutenant Matnmacher to push on with the volunteers of Bender, who entered Chur the same

evening. The enemy thus surrounded on all sides, was obliged to surrender, to the amount of 26 officers and 1110 privates. Considerable magazines of arms, ammunition, and cloathing, were seized at Zitzers and Chur. The loss of the Austrians did not amount to above 100 killed and wounded; that of the French was about 1000 killed, wounded, and drowned. The prisoners brought in were nearly 3000, among whom were 100 officers; 13 cannon, two howitzers, and 22 ammunition waggons, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The French blew up several waggons.

General count Hohenzollern had received orders to blockade the citadel of Milan, and support prince Rohan, against whom the French were advancing with very superior numbers. He therefore on the 15th of May, left general Latterman at Milan with five battalions and one squadron, hastening to join the prince, whose advanced posts were opposite to the enemy at Ponte Ceresa in Anio; and notwithstanding the great distance, count Hohenzollern on the 17th, had advanced beyond Ponte Ceresa, and formed a junction with the prince.

The enemy's position was then reconnoitred, and an attack on it was fixed to take place on 18th, in three columns, which was accordingly made with such vivacity, that the republicans were driven back the space of five leagues, and forced over the rivulet of Anore. But the extent of position to be occupied by prince Rohan was such, as induced count Hohenzollern to reinforce him with a battalion, when the count left him with his corps posted near Luciens, Ponte Ceresa, and Legnano; and his march back to Milan, with four remaining battalions, was

so expeditious, that he arrived there early in the morning of the 20th.

In the night between the 20th and 21st, the trenches were opened before the citadel of Milan: and on the 23d, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the besieged, batteries were in sufficient forwardness to begin playing on the works, when upon a second summons sent, the enemy agreed to capitulate; and the garrison, consisting in the whole of 2220 men, agreed not to serve against their Imperial majesties for the space of a year. Of the above number nine were chiefs of battalion, and 158 officers; 110 cannon, with quantities of ammunition and military stores of every description, were found in the citadel. The total of Austrians killed did not amount to above 46 men.—Count Hohenzollern praised, in the strongest terms the conduct of all officers and men employed in this siege. The inhabitants of Milan expressed great rejoicing upon this occasion, and were very liberal in presents of money and provisions to the Austrian soldiers, their deliverers.

The French abandoned their post near Valenza, which was occupied by the united troops of Austria and Russia.—General Verkassovich, on the 17th, made a movement, which obliged the French to abandon Cazalo and its citadel. The general's corps marched out of the camp at Tosa di Guarasolo, and early on the 19th encamped behind the rivulet of Copa, intending to proceed from thence to Mortana. But in the night between the 18th and 19th, two deputies from Montoni arrived in the camp, with an account that armed peasants, to the number of 10,000, had, after a blockade of nine days, taken the Piedmontese fortress of Ceva, and made the French garrison, consist-

ing of 325 men, prisoners of war, whom they had conveyed to Mondovi, there to be confined in the citadel. At the request of these deputies, an adequate detachment marched immediately to secure the above important fortress.—One of the deputies proceeded with it as a guide, and the other offered to remain with the troops in the camp, as an hostage, till the truth of their information should be ascertained. Indeed the inhabitants of every district in Italy, being exasperated to a degree of hatred, approaching to phrenzy, against the French, on account of their insolence and rapacity, every where gave proofs of the most favourable dispositions to the Imperialists and Russians, whom they considered as their deliverers from the worst species of tyranny that ever existed.

In the mean while, general Klenau took Ferrara by capitulation, and was proceeding to attack its citadel, when, on the 21st, the advanced guard of the archduke's army, under general Nauendorff, passed the Rhine without opposition, between Dissenhosen and Schaffhausen, moving on to Adelfingen, on the Thur. The army passed on the following days, and encamped at or near Peradies. On the 22d, general Hotze's main body also crossed the Rhine at different points, between Balzers and the lake of Constance.—On the 23d, the general took his headquarters at Saint Gallon. Lieutenant general Petrach who had been posted with the right wing of general Hotze's corps, for the defence of the Rhine from Faldkirch to the lake, during the operations in the Grisons, now marched in the night between the 24th and 25th with six battalions of infantry and the regiment of Kinsky light horse, from St. Gallon toward Frauenfeld, in order to

to form a junction with the army of the archduke, whose out-posts were then pushed forward as far as Nefelbach.—The remainder of general Hotze's corps arrived in the forenoon of the 25th at Swartzenback, where it encamped behind the Thur, and its advanced guard took post two leagues from that river, on the road toward Elgy; but in the course of that day, the French had attacked all the Austrian corps that passed the Thur, and forcing back general Nauendorff's advanced posts, obliged them to repass the river at Andelsingen.

General Petrarch with his corps was attacked just as he had gained the heights behind Franenfield. The affair was contested a whole day, and in the evening the French succeeded in obliging general Petrarch to retreat, and take a position behind Franenfield and Wyll. During this affair, the French pushed forward a column to the bridge of Pesim, with a view of covering the left flank of that corps, which was engaged with general Petrarch. The advanced guard of general Hotze's left was also attacked; but this repulsed the French, and drove them as far as Egg. However, in consequence of general Petrarch's retreat, this corps was also ordered to fall back.

Early in the morning of the 26th, a column of the archduke's army, under prince Rouss, arrived at Plin, and in the course of that day encamped near Franenfield, where it was joined by general Petrarch's corps in the evening. On that night, general Hotze's and prince Rouss's corps advanced, in connexion with each other, to attack the enemy's position near Winterthur. Their manœuvres were made with the greatest precision, and the attack was

made soon after day-light of the 27th, with much regularity, and in a very military manner, so that the French were driven from their position; but the ground being favourable for them, and much intersected with wood, they effected a retreat in tolerable order, and took post behind the Tress, where they remained until evening. The bridge over the Thur, at Andelsingen, had been destroyed on the 25th, and an unfortunate delay in constructing one of pontoons in the night between the 26th and 27th, prevented the archduke's right wing, under general Nauendorff, from arriving in time to partake in the action, which otherwise might have been more decisive.

The banks of the Tress are very steep, affording an excellent position where the republicans might make a stand. But Massena, their general, made no farther attempt to defend it. He therefore retreated, and took post behind the Glat, to which he was induced, not only by the action at Winterthur, but also by the march of general Nauendorff's column on his left flank. The advanced post of the two enemies were then separated by the river Glat, and the French had an entrenched camp, reported to be very advantageous, about a league from Zurich. At this time, colonel Rövorea was with a corps of Swiss at Notre Dame de Einsellen, in the canton of Schwetz, where he had been joined by some of the inhabitants, and was supported by an Austrian corps under colonel Cavasini. Part of general Bellegarde's corps had also passed Saint Gothard.

A very severe action took place on the 4th of June, in an attack of the French camp before Zurich; of which we shall give a detail, with the movements

ments that led to it. When the French retreated after the action near Winterthur, behind the Glat, the right wing of the archduke's army, under general Nauendorff, advanced toward Borlach; the centre of prince Rouss's column toward Kloten, and general Hotze's toward Basserdorf.

In order to threaten the French on their right flank, and to induce them to quit their position before Zurich, the strength of which was not known, general Zeluchich was sent with a column round the Griefensee, and after this advanced towards Zurich, in concert with another part of general Hotze's corps, which crossed the Glat, below Griefensee, considerably on the enemy's right. But these motions were without effect, and an attack was determined upon by the archduke.

Between the Glat and Lunat there is a considerable ridge of hills, running nearly parallel to those rivers, and covered in most parts with thick woods. On this ridge, just in the front of Zurich, Massena had chosen a most excellent and not very extensive position, which he had for some time strengthened with numerous entrenchments; and after the action of Winterthur, he had collected there a great part of his army, with the right wing posted on the Zurich Berg, which is greatly elevated above every other part of the ridge, within shot of it, and covered with very thick woods, in which the French had made a considerable number of abbatis, consisting of felled trees, with the branches snagged off sharp, and so harped one on another, as to keep off cavalry entirely, and greatly impede the approach of infantry coming into action. These abbatis, defended by redoubts, entirely surrounded the hill of Zurich Berg: and this being the most

interesting point of the position, was occupied by a large body of infantry, with its right flank thrown back toward Zurich, so as to give the line an obtuse wedge-like form, called the arrangement en potence. The left wing of the French army was placed upon a continuance of the above-mentioned chain of hills, and protected by extensive woods abbatis, and intrenchments. In their centre the ground was much lower, free from wood, and easy of access. Through this space, not quite a cannon shot from wood to wood, the roads pass from Kloten and Winterthur to Zurich, being the only interval where cavalry could have acted. But it was completely covered by a chain of closed redoubts, considerably thrown back, and serving as a curtain to connect the two wings; by which means this opening was so flanked and defended, as to render an attack through it extremely difficult, so long as the French wings maintained the heights on either side; and their left flank was farther covered by a corps posted between Regensberg and the Glat, having its retreat secured towards Baden. The only defect in this position in front of Zurich, was, that in case of a defeat, the whole army would be obliged to defile through the town, as it was close behind the right of its position, in which there was only one bridge over the Limmat; and either owing to the rapidity of the current, or confidence in the republicans that the position was impregnable, they had not constructed pontoon bridges in the rear of their centre or left.

From the above-mentioned circumstances of the French situation, it appeared, that if their position on the Zurich Berg was forced, it must have caused a total defeat of their whole army,

army, as their retreat at the foot of the hill would have been attended with the utmost danger and difficulty, for this reason: early on the morning of June the 4th, general Hotze's corps marched off to the left, crossed the Glat; then forming on the enemy's right flank, began an attack upon the Zurich Berg. That post was defended with the greatest obstinacy, and although a considerable part of prince Rouss's column was afterward sent to assist in the attack, it was found impossible to force it. The French were, indeed, driven from some abbatis and entrenchments, but maintained that, their principal position on the Zurich Berg, until night put an end to the contest.

During night, and all the next day, both armies remained exactly where they had stood at the end of the action; the Austrian infantry of the left wing being, in many places, almost within musket shot of the abbatis and works of the enemy. The great fatigue which they had undergone in removing the abbatis, and forcing some of the enemy's works on the 4th, induced the archduke to defer the renewal of the attack till the 6th. But the republicans, whose loss had been very great on the 4th, foresaw that their army would be totally ruined if the Zurich Berg was forced, retired in the night between the 5th and 6th, leaving in their trenches 35 cannon, three howitzers, and a great number of ammunition waggons. In consequence of their retreat, the Austrians occupied Zurich on the 6th, in the afternoon.—The Austrian infantry suffered a considerable loss, both in killed and wounded, in the action of the 4th. Among the wounded were general Wallis, lieutenant general Hotze, and major general Hillar. General Hotze re-

ceived a musket shot in the arm early in the action; but as it did not hurt the bone, he fortunately continued to command the troops, which would at that moment have sensibly felt, and most sincerely regretted, his absence. Cherin, general of a republican division, being chief of their staff, and two other French generals were most severely wounded; and two adjutant generals were among the French taken, of whom considerable numbers fell into the hands of the Austrians.

Turin was formally summoned about this time by general Vukassovich.—After its refusal, he ordered some howitzers to play upon the city, by the shells of which one of the houses situated near the Po gate was set on fire. This circumstance induced the well-disposed inhabitants to open the Po gate, notwithstanding the enemy's opposition; and two squadrons of the 7th hussars immediately forced their way into the city; those pursued the flying enemy to the gate of the citadel, and took 40 of them prisoners. In the mean while, general Vukassovich occupied the city with the greatest part of his infantry, and caused the other gates to be opened; on which all the enemy threw themselves into the citadel; and field marshal Kaim's division occupied the city, who was ordered to blockade the citadel within Turin, while the Russian general prince Pankrasion, blockaded its environs with five battalions, four companies of rangers, and four squadrons of Lewedhoer. There were found in that arsenal, and on the ramparts of the city, 360 cannon and mortars of different calibres, and a very considerable quantity of balls and bombs, with more than 6000 hundred weight of powder, and other military stores. The enemy left behind them
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an hospital with 215 sick men. Immediately on capture of the city, the enemy cannonaded it from the citadel for an hour, and repeated their fire the next day from the morning light until five in the evening, when an agreement was made, by the terms of which convention they were to do nothing farther prejudicial to the city.

About this time, the never-beaten Russian general field marshal Suwarrow was proposing to open his military career, in conjunction with the Austrians. Our readers may, perhaps, wish to know something concerning this redoubtable hero. The following account has been given as a sketch of his character:

Marshal Suwarrow, or, as his name is pronounced by the Russians, Suffroff, is said to be an early riser. In the field, he dines usually at seven in the morning, and is contented with coarse food, very little differing from that of the common soldiers, with whom he drinks frequently, and on that account is very much beloved by them. His dress is of the plainest stuff; and he made his public entry into Warsaw, after that capital of Poland surrendered, not in a triumphant manner, like the conquerors of old, but riding on an ordinary Cossack horse; and on his journey to Cracow, he did not alight from the carriage, but called for a glass of brandy and a bason of water. He drank off the brandy, and washed his face with the cold water, being then dressed only in his shirt, with a cloak thrown over it. At Hazof, where there was an Hungarian regiment, he assembled their officers, saluted them by kissing one cheek of each, and their major on both cheeks and the forehead. Then calling for wine, he drank the health of Frederick II. on his knees, making

all the company do the same, while he continued still kneeling, and concluded with a short prayer, when he rose up, and drank the health of the Russian emperor his master. Then he went and bathed in an ice-bath, which was generally prepared for him when he arrived at any place. His wardrobe consists of a short white waistcoat, white breeches, short boots, and a cloak. Some time after the reduction of Poland, being in company with a party of Prussian officers, one of them, who had been extolling their exploits for a long time, at last addressed Suwarrow thus: "Does your excellency remember the grand manœuvre which we made on such an occasion, how we distributed our troops?" He was then proceeding to explain the whole operations in detail. Suwarrow, who is by no means partial to the Prussians, being tired out with hearing this pompous recital, replied hastily, "Yes, yes, I remember very well, it was that affair of the windmills." Then rising from his seat, he drank the king of Prussia's health, and left the company. His antipathy to looking-glasses is said to be so great, that whenever he enters an apartment where there is such an article of furniture, he turns from it, and hides his face; neither would he ever suffer, with his knowledge, a picture of him to be taken.

An anecdote is related of him, which might rather seem to be taken from a jest-book, than to be real matter of fact; and as it may make our readers merry, we shall insert it, not pretending to vouch for its authenticity. Having occasion for a barber, he sent for one, who made his appearance, and was preparing to perform the operation, when Suwarrow, whose olfactory nerves might probably be more acute than ordinary,

dinary, from his plain diet and frequent use of the ice-bath, drew up his nose, and complained of a bad smell, which he attributed to the barber's coat, and ordered him to put it off. The barber obeyed, and then began to lather him. Suwarrow still complaining, he was forced to put off his waistcoat; the marshal still complaining, his shirt followed, to all which uncasing the barber patiently submitted. But now came his turn of the jest. "Methinks," said he, drawing up his nose like Suwarrow, "the smell your excellency was complaining of is not yet removed. I fancy, that as I have no clothes on me, it must be your excellency's coat." "Very likely," said Suwarrow, and immediately pulled it off; the barber, determined to have his revenge, still complained of the smell, till the marshal was as bare as himself. Then having well lathered, and partly blinded him, he began to flourish with his razor, instead of making plain work; cutting him several times, till Suwarrow, quite exhausted, rose in haste, and forgetting the situation he was in, pursued the barber, and presented himself to the army thus naked and lathered. The laugh it exacted, caused him to retreat as precipitately as he had rushed out, while the barber made his escape, better than the *sans culottes*, or bare-breeched French, which marshal Suwarrow had now to deal with.

While the campaign opened, his military genius had not range sufficient to display itself, being restrained from acting by the unconnected state of the allied forces, which were employed in the reduction of several towns and fortresses in Italy; and the sieges of Mantua, Alessandria, and Tortona; with the blockade of that strong fortress, the citadel of Turin; so that his prospects

were darkened like the sky, when it is overcast, and the clouds keep gathering, until by their collision, they finally burst into a tremendous thunder-storm. Thus the never-beaten Suwarrow came down thundering upon the French under Macdonald, who was attempting to form a junction with Moreau.

By the middle of June, the republicans were moving with an army of 25,000 men, through the Modeness, in the direction of Mantua, with a manifest view of raising the siege of that fortress. General Kray, who had marched with some cavalry, in consequence of orders from marshal Suwarrow, being informed of this movement, returned to his station before Mantua, in which return the marshal so far acquiesced, as to send him some reinforcements, and intended immediately to march himself for Valentia, while the Austrians, which occupied Reggio, Parma, and Modena, retired, and were concentrating their force towards Mantua.

There was sufficient reason for those movements. The great and extensive plan of marshal Suwarrow, having, as we before observed, very much divided his force. Beside Mantua, Alessandria, Tortona, and Turin, either blockaded or besieged, the passes of Susa Pignero, and the Col di Assiette, had been occupied. General Hohenzollern was posted at Modena, with a considerable corps. General Ott, with 10,000 men, at Reggio, observed the enemy's movements on that side, while marshal Suwarrow remained at Turin, with the remainder of the allied army. All these circumstances presented to general Moreau a seeming favourable opportunity of retrieving the French affairs in Italy; and he hoped, that by strongly reinforcing the army of Naples,

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that general Macdonald would be able to defeat the separate corps of the generals Ott and Hohenzollern, and afterwards effect a junction with the army under his own command. Probably, judging that marshal Suwarrow was too far distant to afford them timely assistance, not reflecting on the marshal's great watchfulness, and the rapidity of his movements, when he had a particular object in view. To execute this plan of the republican generals, Macdonald advancing very far to the north of Italy, was joined by the division of general Victor; so that his army, by report of the prisoners taken, must have amounted to 30,000 men; all of them French, except one Polish legion.

Marshal Suwarrow being informed of the enemy's motions, immediately guessed their intentions, and instantly collected all the force possible to Alessandria; from whence he marched on the 15th of June, with 17 battalions of Russians, 12 regiments of Austrian dragoons, and 3 regiments of Cossacks. In the mean time, Macdonald had fallen upon general Hohenzollern and compelled him to pass the river Po with considerable loss. General Ott had also been obliged to retire from Reggio to Placenza. But on the 17th, the French attacked him, and compelled him to fall back upon Castel Saint Giovanni; when the arrival of marshal Suwarrow with his army, enabled general Ott to repulse the French in his turn, and drive them behind the river Tidone, with the loss of a cannon, and several prisoners taken.

On the 18th of June, the allied army marched in three columns to attack that of the republicans. The Russian general Rosenberg commanded the right column; Forester, of the same nation, the centre; and general Melas

the left; the Russian general prince Prokration, commanded the advanced guard; prince Lichtenstein the reserve. The columns were in motion at noon, but advanced with some difficulty; for though that part of the country was perfectly flat, it was much intersected with ditches, and rows of vines; and it did not appear that the French had chosen any particular position to defend; in hopes, perhaps, that the columns being entangled as they advanced, chance might point out circumstances where to make their strongest efforts.

The action commenced with an attack by the Russian grenadiers upon an advanced corps of two battalions, with two guns, at Casseleggio, where the whole corps were slaughtered, or made prisoners; when the French line, intimidated with the bold effort of the Russians, retired beyond the Trebbia. It was too late and the allied troops too much fatigued in their march, to make a general attack, which was therefore ordered for the morning.—The river Trebbia is at times the most rapid torrent in Italy, its channel being near a mile across, from one bank to the other, which intermediate space is mostly an open sand, divided by several streams, fordable any where at that season of the year, being the month of June. The French occupied its right bank, the allied army the left. Upon the 19th, while the allies were preparing to make the attack, the French commenced the action by a heavy fire on their whole line. At first they so far succeeded, as to turn the right of the Russians at Casseleggio, compelling them to fall back. But at the same instant, prince Prokration, who had been detached to attack the enemy's left flank, fell upon them, both in flank and

and rear, taking one cannon and many prisoners. The French, however, did not give up their object in the impression which they had made on the right of the Russians, but repeatedly renewed their attacks upon the village of Casseleggio, and were as often repulsed by the obstinate valour of the Russians. The attacks upon the centre and left of both armies were equally violent, and for some time the success of either was doubtful; but at night, the whole French line was driven from the Trebbia. Marshal Suwarrow intended to follow up his success by attacking them again in the morning, but they had retired in the night, and were pursued on the 20th by the allied army, in two columns. The Russians had commenced their pursuit in the night by Setina, Monteruno, and Zena, where the French rear-guard, after an obstinate resistance, laid down their arms. The left column, composed of Austrians, marched on the great road from Placenza to Parma, as far as Ponte Nura. On the 21st, they moved on to Fiorenzola. General Ott, with a corps of Austrians, being detached in farther pursuit of the enemy, sent in many prisoners, and reported that the republicans were retiring in two columns; one upon Parma, and the other upon Forte Nuovo; but general Hohenzollern had again advanced to Parma, and would check them there. Seven cannon, 10,000 prisoners, with four French generals, fell into the hands of the allies. General Moreau had advanced to Tortona, and gained a slight advantage over some advanced posts of general Bellegarde. The army under general Moreau was then stated not to exceed 12000 men, among whom were a very great number of the Genoese. The citadel of Turin by this

time had surrendered. The garrison, by articles of capitulation, were to return to France, and immediately be exchanged for an equal number of Austrian prisoners. General Fiorella, commandant of the citadel, and all the French officers taken with him, were to be detained as hostages for performance of the conditions; to which article, without doubt, they very readily agreed, as some sanguinary resolutions had been formed by the republicans against any commandants of fortresses given up, without defending them to the last extremity; although they were so ill provided with the means of subsistence and defence, through the peculation of the ministers, and knavery of contractors, that those harpies ought, in justice, to be the chief sufferers. Field marshal Suwarrow arrived at Placenza with the main army, on the morning of June 23, from whence he intended to march the next day, and cover the sieges of Alessandria and Tortona. General Ott had formed a junction with generals Klenau and Hohenzollern. Macdonald retreated with his whole corps by Forte Nuovo, towards Genoa.

In resuming our narrative of naval transactions, we find an account of a French privateer brought into Leith. She mounted 14 guns, with a crew of 60 men; and was taken by his majesty's sloop the *Kite*, upon her return with a convoy from Elsinour, on the 20th of May, Lord Robert Mac Ker, in his majesty's ship the *Cormorant*, had before that time chased and brought to a Spanish brig of war called the *Vincenzo*, of 18 guns, six-pounders, on her main-deck, six brass four-pounders on the quarter deck, and two on her fore-castle, which vessel he captured, and found 140 men on board. She had

thrown six of her guns overboard during the chase. On the evening of May 30, captain Twysden, of his majesty's ship *La Revolutionaire*, after a chase of eight hours came up with, and captured *La Victoire* French privateer of 16 guns, and 150 men, out nine days from Bayonne, fitted for a three months cruise, but had not taken any thing; a fine new vessel and sailed remarkably well. Captain Curzon, of the *Indefatigable*, on the 31st of May, fell in with and took the French privateer *La Venus*, of 12 guns, and 101 men, out nine weeks, from Rochfort. She had captured the schooner *Clarence*, from Lisbon, bound to London, and a ship from the same port, laden with salt for Hamburg. Captain Luchear, of the cutter *Resolution*, on the 25th of May, captured the French privateer *La Vigie*, of 14 guns, and 71 men, belonging to Bourdeaux, but last from Corunna, which she had left eight days before, and had made no capture.— This vessel being quite new and coppered, and being fitted out for a three months cruise. Captain Hammond, of his majesty's ship *Champion*, on the morning of June 26, being off Dungness, observed a brig boarding two merchant vessels, and after a chase of three days and two nights, had the satisfaction of securing the trade from her depredations, when she proved to be the *Amazon* French privateer belonging to Dunkirk, of 16 guns, and 125 men, 74 of whom had been distributed in prizes, which she had taken that cruise. Being coppered, and a fleet sailer, the captain thought her very fit for his majesty's service, and was happy to reflect that his perseverance in the chase had secured her, as she had greatly succeeded in annoyance of her trade, by captures of merchant vessels.

Vice admiral Harvey, commander in chief of his majesty's ships on the Leeward island station, transmitted an account, dated May the 17th, of captures made by the ships under his command, as follows: by the *Bittern*, the Spanish ship *Amistood*, from Spain, bound to Giejon, laden with wine and brandy. By the *Lapwing*, two French schooners, named *Le Revanch*, and *L'Amiable*; the former from St. Thomas, the latter from St. Bartholomew's for Guadaloupe, laden with dry goods and provisions. By the *Concorde*, the French schooner *La Recherche*, from Guadaloupe to St. Thomas, with sugar and coffee. By the *Southampton*, the Dutch schooner *Maria*, from Curazou to Surinam, with salt. Also by the *Pearl*, the *Victorieuse*, a small Spanish schooner from Margarete to the Oronoque, laden with salt. The squadron had likewise retaken three British and 12 American vessels, and detained 14, under suspicion of having enemy's property on board, and sailing under different colours.

Admiral lord Duncan received information that several Dutch gun-vessels were lying behind the island of Ameland; and captains Temple, of his majesty's sloop *Jalouse*, and Boader, of *E'Espeigle*, very handsomely proposed to volunteer their service in cutting them out: upon this proposal, boats from the *Circe*, *Jalouse*, *Pylades*, *L'Espeigle* and *Tysiphone*, were ordered to proceed under their command, on the 17th of June, at midnight, and the ships stood as near shore as possible, to render every assistance in their power. But it soon appeared that the gun-vessels had shifted their position with the ebb of tide, and were lying aground in a place where it was impossible for the boats

boats to get near them. The officers and men were then ordered to cut out as many vessels from the port as might be practicable to bring off; and they succeeded in getting out twelve vessels, without a man being killed or wounded, although the enemy opposed them as much as they were able from their batteries. Six of the vessels cut out had valuable cargoes, bound for Amsterdam. The other six were in ballast.

About this time the emperor of Russia, as a mark of friendship toward his Britannic majesty, and estimation of his naval service, particularly as a testimony of his regard for the officers and crews of ships serving on the 1st of August, 1798, under admiral lord Nelson, signified to the British minister at Petersburg, that the *Leander*, of fifty guns, engaged in that action, had afterward been captured by a French 74 gun ship, notwithstanding a noble resistance; but that she had since that misfortune been re-captured by a Russian armament, at the surrender of Corfu; and the Russian emperor was determined to make a present of that ship to his Britannic majesty, that she might be restored to his service. The king accepted, with the highest satisfaction, this distinguished mark of attention and friendship from the emperor his ally, and gave directions that the *Leander* should be received accordingly from such officers as the emperor of Russia might direct to deliver the same, to be placed again among the ships composing the British fleet employed in the Mediterranean.

On the 9th of June, captain Peard, of the *Success*, under lord St. Vincent's orders, standing toward Cape Creaux, discovered a polacca, to which he gave chase; but in consequence of her being

near land, he could not prevent her getting into La Selva, a small port northward of the cape. As she had shewn Spanish colours, with no appearance of batteries to protect her, the weather being very favourable, the captain sent the ship's boats on trial to bring her out, with instructions to lieutenant Facey, who commanded them, to return if he found any opposition of consequence. At four in the afternoon, lieutenant Facey, in the barge, lieutenant Stupart in the launch, and lieutenant Davison, of marines, in the cutter, all volunteers on this occasion, put off from the ship; and at eight, after a good deal of firing, the captain had the satisfaction of seeing the polacca come round a point which had kept them from being seen for more than an hour. During the time in which the boats were engaged, several of the enemy's gun-boats endeavoured to get in, but were prevented by shot from the *Success*. The captured vessel turned out to be *La Bella Aurora*, from Genoa, bound to Barcelona, laden with cotton, silk, and rice. She mounted 10 guns, having 113 men on board when attacked, and was surrounded with a netting, to prevent boarding; supported moreover by a small battery, and a large body of infantry from the shore. Three of the brave assailants were slain outright; and lieutenant Stupart, with nine others, much wounded; one of whom died next morning. This attack was made in the face of day, by 42 men, in three boats, against a vessel secured with net-work to prevent boarding, with 113 men, supported by a battery, and a body of men at small arms, on shore. Lieutenant Facey was the first man that boarded the vessel, and set so noble an example to the rest engaged, that all, both

both officers and men, behaved most gallantly.

Captain Young, of the *Ethalion*, with captain Cockburn, of the *Minerva*, under his command, on the 10th of June, in the morning, saw a number of vessels standing into Palmy-bay, with a light wind at east. The *Ethalion* being becalmed, captain Young ordered the boats out under the command of lieutenants Plyn and Jerancy. After a long and fatiguing row in the boats, they took possession of two brigs and five tartans, from Barcelona, laden with wheat and sheep, for Majorca.—The *Emerald* and *Minerva* also took off the south-east end of Sardinia, Le Caroline French ship privateer, of 16 guns, and 90 men. The squadron under lord Keith, captured five French vessels on the evening of June 19. Captain Markham, of the *Centaur*, being most advanced, came up with, and obliged three frigates to submit. His majesty's ships the *Belona* and *Santa Teresa*, being nearest when the two sternmost frigates struck, captain Markham made their signals to take possession of them, while he chased the third, which struck in an hour afterward. In the mean time, the *Emerald* took the brig *Salamine*, and the *Alert* was taken by the captain. These ships composed a squadron, commanded by rear admiral Pierre, 33 days from Jaffa, bound to Toulon, consisting of the admiral's ship mounting 40 guns, 18 pounders, with 500 men; *La Courageux*, of 22 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men; *L'Alceste*, 39 guns, 12 pounders, and 300 men; the brig *Salamine*, of 18 guns, and 120 men; the brig *Alert*, of 14 guns, and 120 men. Captain Gore, of the *Terpsichore*, on the morning early of June 23, chased a Spanish zebec and an armed brig. The brig

he captured, she having carried away her main top-mast in the chase. She had 14 brass guns, and was manned with 70 men; had sailed the day before from Malaga, in company with the zebec. Sir Hyde Parker also transmitted a list of 18 French and Spanish vessels taken, and two destroyed, by different ships of his squadron, stationed at Jamaica, in an account brought up to June 1st.

Sir Sidney Smith had been highly exasperated by a close imprisonment and cruel usage while he was detained in France; and although he was only a prisoner of war, the republicans would not exchange him unless 4000 of their best seamen were to be given up in return for him. It is said, that Bonaparte so far condemned their proceeding in that respect, as to affirm, if he had been his prisoner, he would have demanded him of the directory, and exchanged him according to rank; little thinking that Providence would not only deliver him, but also reserve that brave hero to arrest his progress at Saint John d'Acre, to the siege of which place he was advancing; but two days before his arrival, sir Sydney took the port, in the *Tygre*, with the naval force under his command, and found that much had been done by captain Miller, of the *Theseus*, and colonel Phelypeaux in the interval, for putting the place in a better state of defence, to resist the attack of an European army. The presence also of a British naval force appeared to decide and encourage the Pacha and Turkish garrison to make a vigorous resistance.

The enemy's advanced guard was discovered in a day or two at the foot of Mount Carmel, by guard-boats from the *Tygre*, with cannon. The republicans not expecting to find any naval force

force of that description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water side, and were in consequence exposed to volleys of grape-shot from the boats, which made them scamper away on the instant they were opened upon them, with precipitation up the mount again. The main body of Bonaparte's army, upon finding the road between Mount Carmel and the sea thus exposed, advanced by that of Nazareth, and invested the city on the east side, but not without being much exposed and harassed by the Samaritan Arabians, who were even more at enmity with the French than those of Egypt, and much better armed. As the enemy had brought no cannon, a proof of which appeared by returning the British fire by that of small arms only; it was therefore apparent that they expected them by sea. Sir Sydney therefore took proper measures to prevent that supply, by intercepting it. For this purpose, the *Theseus* was already detached off Joppa, then called by the Turks Jaffa; yet the enemy's flotilla fell in with and captured the *Torrid*, and was coming round Mount Carmel, when it was discovered from the *Tygre*, consisting of one corvette, and nine sail of gun-vessels. On sight of the British naval force, they hauled off; but the alacrity of the *Tygre's* company was such in making sail after them, that they were soon within gun-shot, and seven of them struck. The corvette, containing Bonaparte's private property, and two small vessels, escaped; as the main object was to secure those taken, without chasing farther. Their cargoes, consisting of a battering train, ammunition, platforms, and entrenching tools, were destined for the siege of Saint John d'Acre, and as much wanted for its

defence. The prizes were therefore manned from the ships' companies, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, being moored off the town, so as to impede their approaches, and cover the ships' boats, then farther in shore, to cut off their supplies of provisions and implements for the siege, sent coastwise. The ships' crews were constantly employed in this service for five days and nights together, and bore excessive labour at the oars and guns. Yet, such was their spirit to bear this fatigue, and enmity against the French for their brutal treatment of sir Sydney Smith, that they requested not to be relieved, after many hours fatigue.—Some loss, indeed, they suffered; but this was balanced by a greater loss of the enemy, the encouragement given to the Turks by the British valour, and the time gained for the arrival of a sufficient force to counteract and render Bonaparte's whole project abortive.—The gun-vessels composing the flotilla of the republicans, from Alexandria and Damietta, bound to Saint John d'Acre, with a train of battering cannon, and implements for the siege, were, *La Negresse*, of six guns, and 53 men; *La Foudre*, of eight guns, and 52 men; *La Dangereuse*, of six guns, and 25 men; *La Maria Rose*, of four guns, and 22 men; *La Dame de Grace*, of four guns, and 35 men; *Les deux Freres*, of four guns, and 23 men; and the *Toride*, of two guns, and 30 men; all loaded, beside their own complement of guns, with battering cannon, ammunition, platforms, and entrenching tools for the siege.

Before we give an account of the siege, and expulsion of Bonaparte from Saint John d'Acre, we shall present our readers with some extracts from an account given by a jutant general

Bowyer to his friends at Paris; from which an idea may be formed of the whole republican armament which landed in Egypt, the then state of that country, and the manner in which they over-ran it, with part of Syria, and were now commencing a siege which totally put a period to their future prospects.

Bonaparte's army, composed of 30,000 men embarked at Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia, and set sail on the 19th of May, under convoy of 15 sail of the line (two of which were armed *en flute*) 14 frigates, and several smaller ships of war. The convoy altogether formed a total of more than 400 sail; and never, perhaps, since the crusades, had so large an armament appeared in the Mediterranean.

It was steered with a favourable wind for Malta, and arrived on the 19th of June. The conquest of this important place cost them but a few men. It capitulated on the 12th—the order was abolished, and the grand master packed off to Germany with a budget of fine promises; in a word, every thing succeeded to their wish.—Time, however, was precious—they had no leisure to amuse themselves with calculating the advantages to be derived from the possession of Malta; for an English squadron of 13 sail of the line, commanded by Nelson, was at anchor in the bay of Naples, and watched all their motions. Bonaparte informed of this, scarce gave them time to take in water; he ordered the fleet to weigh immediately, and, on the 18th of June, they were already in full sail for the second object of their expedition. They fell in with Candia on the 25th, and on the 30th their light vessels made Alexandria.

Notwithstanding all those difficulties of entering the port of Alexandria, which was defended by a garrison of near 500 Janizaries; the rest of the inhabitants, some had thrown themselves into the forts, and others got on the tops of their houses, they anchored. In this situation they commenced an attack. The charge was sounded—soldiers fly to the ramparts, which they scaled, in spite of the obstinate defence of the besieged; many generals were wounded, among the rest Kleber—the French lost near 150 men; but courage, at length, subdued the obstinacy of the Turks! Repulsed on every side, they betook themselves to God and their prophet, and filled their mosques—men, women, old, young, children at the breast, all were massacred. At the end of four hours the fury ceased—tranquillity revived in the city—several forts capitulated, and one into which 700 had fled; so that by the next day all was quiet.

The adjutant general then states the object of their expedition, and the motives which induced Bonaparte to invade Egypt, as follows:

France, by the different events of the war and the revolution, having lost her colonies and her factories, must inevitably see her commerce decline, and her industrious inhabitants compelled to procure at second-hand the most essential articles of their trade.—Many weighty reasons must compel her to look upon the recovery of those colonies, if not impossible, yet altogether unlikely to produce any of the advantages which were derived from them before they became a scene of devastation and horror; especially, if we may add to this, the decree for abolishing the slave-trade.

To indemnify itself, therefore, for this loss, which may be considered as realized, the government turned its views towards Egypt and Syria; countries which, by their climate and their fertility, were capable of being made the storehouse of France, and, in process of time, the mart of her commerce with India. It is certain, that by seizing and organizing these countries, they would be enabled to extend their views still farther; to annihilate, by degrees, the English East India trade; enter it with advantage to themselves; and, finally get into their hands the whole commerce of Africa and of Asia.

These were the considerations which have induced the government to undertake the present expedition against Egypt.

This part of the Ottoman dominion has been for many ages governed by a species of men called Mameloucs, who, having a number of beys at their head, disavow the authority of the grand signior, and rule, despotically and tyrannically, a people and a country which, in the hands of a civilized nation, would become a mine of wealth.

To gain possession of Egypt, then, it was necessary to subdue these Mameloucs; they are in number about 8000—all cavalry—under the command of 24 beys. It is of consequence to give some idea of these people, their manner of making war, their arms defensive and offensive, and their origin.

Every Mamelouc is purchased—they are all from Georgia and Mount Caucasus—there are a great number of Germans and Russians among them, and even some French. Their religion is Mahometanism: exercised from their infancy in the militar art, they acquire

an extraordinary degree of dexterity in the management of their horses, in shooting with the carbine and pistol, in throwing the lance, and in wielding the sabre; there have been instances of their severing, at one blow, a head of wet cotton.

Every Mamelouc has two, three, and sometimes four servants, who follow him on foot wherever he goes; nay, even to the field. The arms of a Mamelouc on horseback, are two carbines, carried by his servants—these are never fired but once—two pair of pistols stuck in his girdle; eight lances in a kind of quiver, which he flings with admirable dexterity; and an iron-headed mace. When all these are discharged, he comes to his last resource—his two sabres; putting then the bridle of his horse between his teeth, he takes one of them in each hand, and rushes full speed upon the foe, cutting and slashing to right and left. Woe be to those who cannot parry his blows! for some of them have been known to cleave a man down the middle. Such are the people with whom the French were at war!

These advanced upon their army; they rode round and round it, without finding any point where an impression might be made, and, indeed, without any attempt at it. Astonished at the manner in which the columns were drawn up, they were induced to put off to a future day the decision of their fortune and their empire. This affair was trifling enough in itself, the Mameloucs only lost about twenty men, but a considerable advantage resulted from it, that of giving an extraordinary idea of their tactics to any enemy unacquainted with any; who knows of no other superiority in arms than that of sleight and agility; without order or firmness,

firmness, unable even to march in platoons, advancing in confused groups, and falling upon the enemy in sudden starts of wild and savage fury.

After the retreat of the Mameloucs, the French advanced upon Cairo, where a decisive action took place. It was, in fine, on the 22d of July, that the army found itself at day-break about three leagues from Cairo, and five from the so much celebrated pyramids. Here the Mameloucs, commanded by the famous Mourad, the most powerful of the beys, awaited them: till three in the afternoon, the day was wasted in skirmishes; at length the hour arrived. The French army, flanked on the right by the pyramids, and on the left by the Nile, perceived the enemy was making a movement. Two thousand Mameloucs advanced against their right, commanded by generals Desaix and Regnier. Never was seen so furious a charge. Giving their horses the rein, they rushed on the divisions like a torrent, and pushed in between them. The French soldiers, firm and immovable, let them come within ten paces, and then began a running fire, accompanied with some discharges of artillery: in the twinkling of an eye, more than 150 of them fell; the rest sought their safety in flight. They returned, however, to the charge, and were received in the same manner. Wearied out at length by resistance, they turned, and attacked the left wing, to see if fortune would there be more favourable to them.

The success of the right encouraged Bonaparte. The Mameloucs had thrown up a hasty entrenchment in the village of Embabet, on the left bank of the Nile, in which they had placed thirty pieces of cannon, with their servants, and a small number of Janiza-

ries, to defend the approaches. This entrenchment the general gave orders to force; two divisions undertook it, in spite of a terrible cannonade. At the instant the soldiers were rapidly advancing towards it, 600 Mameloucs sallied from the works, surrounded the platoons, and endeavoured to cut them down, but instead of succeeding, met their own deaths. Three hundred of them dropt on the spot; and the rest, in their attempt to escape, threw themselves into the Nile, where they all perished. Despairing now of any success, the Mameloucs fled on all sides; set fire to their fleet, which soon after blew up, and abandoned their camp, with more than 400 camels loaded with baggage.

Alexandria is then described. This city has nothing of its antiquity but the name. If there be any other relics of it, they remain utterly unregarded and unknown among a people who appear to be scarcely conscious of their own existence. A people incapable of feeling, taking events just as they occur, and surprized at nothing; a man who, with a pipe in his mouth, has no other occupation than that of squatting on his breech before his own door, or that of some great man, and dreaming away the day, without a thought of his wife or family. A number of mothers strolling about, wrapped up in a dirty black rag, and offering to sell their children to every one they meet—men half naked, of the colour of copper, and of a most disgusting appearance, raking in the puddles and kennels like hogs, and devouring every thing they find there—houses of 20 feet in height at the most, of which the roof is flat, the interior a stable, and the exterior four mud walls. This picture will give a pretty correct idea of

of the city of Alexandria. Around this mass of misery and horror lie the ruins of the most celebrated city of the ancient world, the most precious monuments of the arts.

Leaving this city to ascend the Nile, occurs a desert, entirely barren, where every three or four leagues you find a paltry well of brackish water. Imagine to yourself the situation of an army obliged to pass these arid plains, not affording the slightest shelter against the intolerable heat which prevails there. The soldier, loaded with provisions, finds himself, before he has marched an hour, overcome by the heat and the weight of what he carries, and throws away every thing that adds to his fatigue without thinking of to-morrow. Thirst attacks him; he has not a drop of water—hunger, he has not a bit of bread. It was that, amid the horrors which this faithful picture presents, several of the soldiers died of thirst, of hunger, and of heat; others, seeing the sufferings of their comrades, blew out their own brains—others threw themselves, loaded as they were, into the Nile, and perished in the water.

Every day of march renewed these dreadful scenes; and, what was never heard of before, what will stagger all belief, the army, during a march of seventeen days, never tasted bread; the soldiers lived during the whole of this time on gourds, melons, poultry, and such vegetables as they found on their route. Such was the food of all, from the general to the common soldier; nay, the general was often obliged to fast for eighteen or twenty hours, because, the privates, generally arriving first, plundered the villages of every article of subsistence, and frequently reduced him to the necessity of satisfying

himself with the refuse of their hunger, or of their intemperance.

It is useless to speak of their drink. They all lived there under the law of Mahomet, which forbids the use of wine; but, by way of indemnity, allowed them as much Nile water as they could drink.

For some account of the country between the two branches of the Nile—to do this properly, there must be laid down a topographical chart of the course and direction of the river. Two leagues below Cairo it divides itself into two branches, one of which falls into the sea of Rosetta, the other at Damietta: the intermediate country is called the Delta, and is extremely fertile. Along the outer sides of the two branches, runs a slip of cultivated land, broader in some places than in others, but no where more than a league; beyond this are the Deserts, extending on the left to Lybia, and on the right to the Red Sea. From Rosetta to Cairo, the country is well peopled, and produce a good deal of wheat, rice, lentiles, &c. The villages are crowded together; their construction is execrable, being little more than heaps of mud trodden into some consistency, hollowed out within; and resembling, in every feature, the snow heaps made by children. If you recollect the shape of those oven-like piles, you have a perfect idea of the palaces of the Egyptians. The husbandmen, commonly called Fellas, are extremely laborious; they live on little, and in a state of filth and degradation that excites horror. They will swallow the residue of the water which camels and horses happen to leave in their troughs.

Such is this Egypt, so celebrated by travellers and historians. In despite, however, of all these horrors, of the hardships

hardships they endured, and of the miseries the army was condemned to suffer, they were still inclined to think it a country calculated above all others to give them a colony which may be productive of the highest advantages; but for this, time and hands are necessary. They saw enough to be convinced, that it is not with soldiers that colonies are founded; above all with such soldiers as theirs. They are terrible in the field, terrible after victory, and, without contradiction, the most intrepid troops in the world; but they are not formed for distant expeditions. A word dropt at random will dishearten them. They are lazy, capricious, and exceeding turbulent and licentious in their conversation. They have been heard to say, as their officers passed by, "There go the Jack Ketches of the French!" and a thousand other things of the same kind.

The cup of bitterness was poured out, and they must drain it to the dregs. Firmness, health, and a spirit which will never flag: with these they will persevere to the end.

Grand Cairo is a city, the capital of a kingdom, which, to borrow the language of the country, has no bounds, contains about 400,000 souls. Its form is that of a long shaft or tunnel, crowded with houses piled one upon another, without order, distribution, or method of any kind. Its inhabitants, like those of Alexandria, are plunged in the most brutal ignorance, and regard with astonishment the man who is able to read and write. This city, however, such as described, is the centre of a considerable commerce, and the spot where the caravans of Mecca and India terminate their respective journies.

To speak of the installation of the Divan, which Bonaparte has formed.

It consists of nine persons. And such a sight! It was composed of nine bearded autamatons, dressed in long robes, and turbans; and whose mein and appearance altogether were like the figures of the twelve apostles in an antique little cabinet. We shall say nothing of their talents, knowledge, genius, wit, &c. This is always a blank chapter in Turkey. No where is there to be found such deplorable ignorance as in every part of that country; no where such wealth, and no where so vile and sordid a misuse of the blessing.

Norden, in his travels, mentions an extraordinary tradition in Egypt, that that country would be visited by spies who would report its state, and bring a great number of Franks to conquer it. This appears to have been accomplished in the expedition of Bonaparte. The following extract from Norden may be interesting to our readers:

"January 4, 1738—On this day (Saturday) the Danish traveller, captain Norden, with his attendants, arrived at Deir, or Derri, the first large village or town in Nubia. The cacheff of that place, a notorious plunderer of all who fell in his power, conducted himself towards the travellers in so infamous a manner as to oblige the captain to relinquish his design of proceeding further, and return to Cairo. When disputing about some of the exorbitant demands of the cacheff, one of the company reminded him that they were under the protection of the grand signior. To which the cacheff answered in a passion, 'I laugh at the horns of the grand signior! I am here grand signior myself, and I will teach you to respect me as you ought. I know already what sort of people you are. I have consulted my cup; and I have found

found by it, that you are those of whom one of our prophets has said, that there would come Franks in disguise, who, by little presents, and by soothing and insinuating behaviour, would pass every where, examine the state of the country, go afterwards, to make a report of it, and bring at last a great number of other Franks, who would conquer the country and exterminate all. But I will take care about that; and without further delay you must quit my bark.' After being plundered by him, in various ways, till the evening of the following Monday, the travellers thought themselves very fortunate in being permitted to escape with their lives."

Such is the country of Egypt, and such the army with which the boasted conqueror of Italy intended to overrun it. No doubt can be made of the authenticity of this communication, as it was written to a friend in Paris, by an officer of rank; and we have inserted the whole narrative, only changing the persons. Two prominent circumstances appear in it respecting the general, and the army which he commanded. His cruelty is manifest in the massacre at Alexandria of men, women, old and young, even children at the breast, who had filled their mosques, relying on the protection of that God and Prophet whom he pretended to adore in his manifesto, and temporized with that superstitious people to become so far a Mahometan, as to drink the muddy waters of the Nile, with his army, rather than wine, which they doubtless had brought with them. His total want of principle was such, as to forge orders from the Sultan and Turkish officers of the Divan, importing that he was authorized to punish the beys and Mameloucs. This bare-

faced imposture does not, indeed, appear in the narrative here given, but is well authenticated by other accounts. Such was the chief intent to overrun countries where so many of the crusaders had perished, with a view of recovering the holy sepulchre from Mahometans. These, with all their superstition, had a reverence for the name of Christ, and ventured their lives in what was then thought his service. What a contrast was here exhibited. An army of men baptized in that sacred name, but swayed by a false philosophy, worse than heathenism, with the sole view of plunder and massacre, attempted to overrun those fertile regions, and introduce a depravity of principle and morals, much more savage than those of the barbarians, above described. But the time of their visitation was at hand, when they were repulsed at the siege of Saint John d'Acre, the account whereof we shall now continue.

For the forming of this siege, Bonaparte had employed eight days in marching across the desert; during which march he lost a great number of men and horses, by bad provisions and want of water, as well as by the incursionary attacks of Arabs, who never ceased to harass his rear and flanks.— Having crossed the desert, he took possession of Larissa, and afterwards of Gaza, Lidda, and Ramle, which places were very ill defended by the troops of Ghezar Pacha. He then marched to Jaffa, formerly called Joppa, which place he battered in breach, and took by assault. But the Turks there made a vigorous resistance, and he was obliged in a manner to besiege every house, until the whole garrison was put to the sword; and the republicans lost 1200 men in its reduction. Bonaparte then

entered Caïffe ; and advancing from thence, invested Saint John d'Acre.— During these transactions, sir Sydney Smith had arrived at Alexandria, and afterwards at Rhodes, taking on his passage the French gun-boat *La Marianne*. Commodore Trowbridge then sailed for Sicily ; and sir Sydney Smith took upon himself the chief command of the naval force, with which he proceeded toward the coast of Syria. Arriving at Caffa, he steered from thence to Saint John d'Acre, and arrived two days before the siege commenced ; by which happy incident he had time not only to concert with Ghezar Pacha proper measures for defending the place, but also of capturing the whole French flotilla, commanded by Eydean, chief de division, with battering cannon, and necessaries for the siege, as before related. The battering cannon, consisting of 44 pieces, all heavy ordnance, were immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, against the lines and batteries of the enemy, also upon the gun-boats, which were employed with the greatest success against the flank of the besiegers, and caused them to slacken their fire. The nature of the ground, however, was so far favourable to them, that they advanced their trenches to within half musket-shot of the ditch. But provisions were scarce among them ; and more so, as sir Sydney took a zebec from Dami-etta, laden with flour, rice, and biscuit, for a supply to the besieging army ; which, however, proceeded in their approaches, and having made a breach in the north-east part of the city, endeavoured to take it by assault. But they were most vigorously repulsed by the garrison, with considerable slaughter of the republicans, so that the ditch was filled with their dead

bodies. The troops of Ghezar Pacha afterwards made three successful allies ; and the object of the last was to destroy a mine which the besiegers had constructed under the covert way, near the old breach, for the purpose of filling up the ditch there. The British took charge of this enterprize ; and while 2000 Turks made the sally, the British jumped into the mine, there finding the works not finished, they tore down the supporters, and destroyed the whole construction, losing in this bold attempt only major Oldfield, of the marines, and one private slain ; with lieutenants Wright and Janverin, of the navy, Mr. Beatey, an officer of marines, and 21 privates, wounded.— After this successful sally, an incessant fire was kept up on the besiegers, the artillery of the garrison being served by English and Turkish engineers, over whom colonel Philippeux presided, and afterwards died, being entirely exhausted with watching and fatigue, during the siege. But previous to this, he had the pleasure of seeing Bonaparte's fire cease entirely, as he wished to reserve his ammunition for a last effort. But an end was now put to his ambitious projects ; for on the 15th of May, four Tartars, the usual couriers of these parts, arrived at Constantinople, two from Aleppo, and two from Saint John d'Arce. The two first announced tidings that the Pacha of Damascus had totally defeated the Arabs allied with Bonaparte, who wished to plunder Damascus. The other two Tartars brought intelligence from Saint John d'Acre of the repulse from that place, and entire victory over Bonaparte, whom Ghezar Pacha had followed 18 leagues beyond Acre, and brought the cannon, with much baggage taken, into that fortress. A great

great many heads of the French, and several sacks of their ears, were sent to Constantinople, and exposed at the gates of the seraglio, as a token of their defeat.

Previous to the siege, Bonaparte had written a letter to Ghezar Pacha, of which the following is a copy :

" Since my arrival in Egypt, I several times informed you, that I had no design to make war amongst you, and that my only object was to expel the Mameloucs. You returned no answer to the proposals I then made you. I announced that I desired you would drive Ibraim Bey from the frontiers of Egypt; but instead of that, you sent troops to Gaza. You formed three large magazines, and gave out that you intended to march against Egypt. You indeed put this plan in execution, and threw 1000 of your troops into the fortress of Arisch, which is only six miles from the frontiers of Egypt. I was obliged then to depart from Cairo, and direct the attack in person which you seemed to invite. The districts of Gaza, Ramle, and Jaffa, are already in my power. I have treated with generosity such of your troops as were in my power, surrendering at discretion. But I have been severe to those who violated the rights of war. In a few days I shall march against Acre. But why should I go to deprive an old man, with whom I am not acquainted, of life? What are a few miles of territory in comparison of those, I have conquered? And as God grants me the victory, I will, like him, be clement and merciful, not only to the people, but toward the great. You have no solid reason for being my enemy, since you were that of the Mameloucs. Your government is separated from that of Egypt by the districts of Gaza, Ramle,

and unpassable morasses. Become my friend, and the enemy of the Mameloucs and the English, and I will do you as much good as I have already done you hurt, and I can still do you more. Send me a short answer by a person invested with full power, that I may know your views. He need only to present himself to my advanced guard, with a white flag, and I have given orders to my staff to send you a pass of safety, which you will find here annexed. On the 21st of March I shall march against Acre. I must therefore have an answer before that day."

The artfulness of this address is manifest; and, no doubt, Bonaparte owed the greatest part of his success in over-running Italy, with Egypt, and part of Syria, by such insidious addresses to governors of the different districts which he conquered, whom he invested with power, as his instruments to oppress the people by every species of exaction. These the republicans regarded with the utmost contempt, of which we have a prominent instance in adjutant general Bowyer's description of the new instituted Divan, given above. The general massacre of common people at Alexandria in their mosques, contained in the same account, is a proof that Bonaparte's profession to save them was in the highest degree hypocritical. For he could have no pretence to say they had violated the rights of war, as the Turkish garrison there only opposed his entrance. All these circumstances might have their proper weight on the mind of Ghezar Pacha, who returned Bonaparte the following laconic answer :

" I have not written to you, because I am resolved to have no communication with you. You may march against Acre

Acre when you please. I shall be prepared for you ; and I will bury myself under the ruins of the place, rather than let it fall into your hands."

Thus it appears the pacha was neither to be intimidated by the threatenings of Bonaparte, nor cajoled by his proffers of friendship, like the grand master of Malta, who, as adjutant general Bowyer observes, was packed off to Germany with a budget of fine promises.—A just reward for his knavery ; who had either by cowardice or treachery, given up a fortress, which both himself and his knights had most solemnly sworn to defend. A fortress which for many years had defied the whole Ottoman power, and which had frequently chastised the piratical rovers of Barbary, when most other maritime states of Eurpoe had so far submitted to their arrogant claims, as to conciliate their good will by embassies with presents, and consented that their trading vessels should purchase Mediterranean passes, to be exempt from their depredations. It appears from official advices, dated the 9th of June, at Constantinople, that Bonaparte lost before Acre 6000 men, 280 officers, with his artillery, baggage, &c. and that the Turkish garrison had 2700 killed or wounded. The English had only 100 killed, wounded, or died by fatigue and sickness. Sir Sydney Smith had emissaries in the French camp, who informed him, that upon their repulse and retreat, they intended to push for the isthmus of Suez ; upon which he advanced before their van column, along the sea shore, and harassed them much in their march, as far as Gaza, on which route they were frequently exposed to attacks from incursions of the Arabians. The pride of Bonaparte, thus vanquished and harassed,

did not allow him to make the least overture in favour of his wounded ; but after closing all intercourse, by an insolent letter to sir Sydney, whom he represented as a mad-man, and fearing the desertion of his whole army, if he deserted, and left them to the mercy of his pursuers, he trailed on these miserable objects by land as far as Jaffa. But unable to take them farther, he caused them to embark on board of some vessels there, together with his 12 and 8 pounder cannon and howitzers, which were found too heavy for land carriage in those sandy deserts which he proposed to traverse. These vessels he ordered to proceed for Damietta, without water, provisions, or sailors to navigate them. Sir Sydney Smith, though greatly insulted by the contents of Bonaparte's letter, attributed this neglect to want of arrangement, and precipitation, rather than cruelty, which it certainly was in the extreme. However it was designed, these poor wretches resolved to steer directly for the British, then at Jaffa, trusting to their known humanity, in the estimation of which they were not disappointed, but received every good office which the then state of the pursuit could extend to them. By this return of the vessels to Jaffa, the pursuers gained possession of the 12 pounder guns, by which the first breach was made at Acre. The 18 and 24 pounders, with the mortars, which made the last breach, lay scattered on the road, together with the dead and dying, the whole way from Acre to Jaffa. The remnant of this redoubtable host, consisting of chosen corps selected from among the conquerors of Italy, kept moving heavily on toward the confines of Egypt, through the sandy desert environing Cairo, from whence

whence Bonaparte. expected reinforcements. But Sir Sydney Smith had taken such measures to employ that part of his army left there, that whatever part of his force should reach Suez, it could not be formidable to India; of which circumstances advices were forwarded from Judda to the British factories there. There was sufficient reason for transmitting this advice. For Bonaparte's success in Egypt and Syria had been greatly magnified, and his army reported they were continually increasing in numbers, by the French emissaries in India; so that Tippoo Saib thought of acting in concert with him, and manifested such a turbulent disposition, that the armies of Bombay and Madras were put in motion against him, with a view to form a junction at a given point. Tippoo was induced, by the hopes of defeating one army before it joined the other, to attack that of Bombay, but was himself defeated, and compelled to retreat with great loss, to his capital; and so great was his overthrow, while his duplicity was a manifest breach of the agreement made between him and lord Cornwallis, that the East India company's agents there were delivered from all apprehensions of his future power to disturb their settlements, and had some thoughts of dethroning that restless despot.

The battle was fought on the 6th of March, at the entrance of the Ghauts. It was decisively brilliant and complete, attended with great loss to the perfidious tyrant who had provoked it, notwithstanding the indulgence by which he had been suffered to retain his state and throne by the peace of Seringapatam, from which he deserves now to be precipitated. There is not the least doubt but that he was induced

by advices from Bonaparte, to act offensively against the East India company, with a promise of powerful co-operation. General Stuart's camp was at Sedapore on the 10th of March, from whence advice was sent that Tippoo's army was moving apparently to the eastward, and that the Koorgs were in possession of the hill at Seedascer.

After this defeat, Tippoo Saib retreated to Seringapatam, his capital, when both armies joining, advanced, and laid siege to it. The fire of their batteries began to make a breach on the 30th of April; and on the 3d of May, so much of the wall was destroyed, against which it was directed, that the breach was reported practicable, and an arrangement was made for the assault on the following day, but was not to commence till noon, that no appearance of an extraordinary movement might make them expect it, and their troops in the heat of the day would be least prepared to resist the attack.

The flanking companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard the camp and outpost, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments, with three corps of grenadier Sepoys, taken from the three Presidencies, and 200 of the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery, and the corps of pioneers.—These were to be supported from the trenches by battalion companies of the regiment de Mearon, and four battalions of Madras Sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, lieutenant colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardner, and Mignan, commanded the several flanking corps; and major general Baird was entrusted

with the direction of this important service.

At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, and passing the rocky bed of the Cavery, under an extremely heavy fire, gained the ditch and glacis, from whence they mounted the breaches in the Fauxbray and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner, every obstacle which the difficulty of passage and resistance of the enemy presented, to retard their progress. Major general Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts, both to the right and left. One division was commanded by colonel Sherbrooke; the other by lieutenant colonel Dunlop, who was disabled from proceeding in the breach. Both divisions, however, though very strongly opposed, were successful. But resistance was made from the place of Tippoo for some time, after all firing had ceased from the works.

Two of Tippoo's sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them, and guards were placed for protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace. Soon after this, it was reported that Tippoo had fallen. Syed Shach, Meer Saduc, Syed Gosar, and many others of his chiefs, were slain. Measures were now taken immediately to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable, as the city was strongly garrisoned, and crowded with inhabitants, their property being much ruined from the fire of a numerous artillery, being taken by actual storm, and liable to be plundered. The captive princes were immediately guarded to the camp.

It appeared so important to major general Baird to ascertain the fate of Tippoo Sultan, that he caused imme-

diately search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening under an heap of slain, and conveyed to his palace. The corpse was recognized the next day. The reports were, that, seeing all at stake, he threw off his robes, left the palace, and, in the dress of a common Sepoy, mingled in the throng which was defending one of the gates, and was there slain with a promiscuous multitude, which was the reason his body was so long in discovering. The corpse was interred with honours, according to his rank, and placed in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort was such, both from its natural situation, and the stupendous fortifications which surrounded it, that all the exertions of the brave troops which attacked it, were necessary to gain and secure possession of it; and their loss was greater than at first estimated; but very moderate, considering the sharp service to which they had been exposed.

On the 5th of May, Abdul Kalich, older of the princes, formerly hostages to lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at the out-posts, claiming protection. Kerim Sabeb, brother to Tippoo, had before this sought refuge with Meer Allum, Behauder. A messenger was dispatched to Fetteg Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo Saib, inviting him to join his brother. Purneah and Meer Odeen Khan, were summoned to Seringapatam, and shortly expected, as their families were in the fort. Ali Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultan to lord Cornwallis, arrived from Meer Kummer Odeen Khan for the general's orders how to dispose of 4000 horse, then under his command, declaring, that he would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of

of the English. Monsieur Chapere, and most of the French, were taken prisoners. Their officers had commissions from the French government.

When the news of this capture was known at Madras, lord Mornington, accompanied by lord Clive, repaired to Seringapatam, for the purpose of settling the new government; and it was generally understood that the hereditary king of Mysore, who was detained a prisoner by Tippoo Sultan, would be restored to his dominions, which had been usurped by Hyder Ally, Tippoo's father; and that the other provinces conquered by Hyder Ally, and annexed to his territories, would be partly restored to their original possessors, paying the customary tribute in acknowledgment of the company's sovereignty, the sea ports being taken possession of by the British, to secure their own dominions. The treasure taken at Seringapatam is said to be three millions sterling. This specie was much wanted at Madras, as all trading was at a stand for want of ready money; and as the place was taken by actual storm, the plunder belonged to the captors, and would consequently soon come into circulation; for the company intended to borrow it a short time, upon good security, to be repaid again in such proportions as would fall to the shares of the original captors, or their representatives.

By the capture of Seringapatam, resources will flow into the East India company's treasury, which are at present not to be calculated. This place being the capital of all the Mysore territory, and the conquests added to it by Hyder Ally. It is a remarkably strong fortress, situated on an island made by the river Caverry. This

island is a most beautiful place, containing elegant buildings, squares, groves, and gardens. The mausoleum of Hyder Ally is one of the most magnificent structures in the place, situated on the south angle of the island, near an elegant palace of Tippoo Sultan's. This repository of the dead is surrounded with a grove of cypress trees, which, from the most ancient times, were accounted symbols of mourning. The island is fortified with 400 cannon; and Tippoo Saib had no idea, from the strength of his capital, that it would be carried in so short a time from the commencement of its siege. He had adopted his old method of annoying the assailants with rockets, discharged into the air, and pointed heavily with iron; so that the confusion when they fall upon a multitude is much dreaded in India, and very mischievous where elephants were employed, as the custom was formerly in that country.

From accounts dispatched by the East India Company, and laid upon the table of the house of commons, it appears that Tippoo Saib had corresponded with the French directory, and had represented to them how much he had suffered by the evacuation of Pondicherry, and want of their assistance, by which means he might have ruined the rich settlements of the East India company. These sentiments he had expressed by two ambassadors, to the French government at the Isle of France, and had received such answers as he wished, together with the French flag from the chief of brigade, and a naval captain, commanding there, to his great satisfaction. And he had kept the latter of these with him in the quality of ambassador, having some hopes that he might be able to attack, and destroy the common enemies both

of him and the republicans. He concludes with making the following requisitions from the directory.

1st. Fifteen thousand troops of all sorts; infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

2d. A naval armament, to make war on the coasts, where their joint armies should be employed, in order to favour their operations, and reinforce them in case of necessity.

3d. The Circar shall furnish all war-like ammunition and provisions for the French armies, as well as horses, camels, and oxen, with tents, even to every thing necessary for them, except European spirits, which he had not in his country.

4th. The orders of the king should be obeyed relative to all marches and military operatives, (no doubt, meaning the despot Tippoo, although the French republicans had openly declared enmity to all such.)

5th. The expedition shall be directed against a point on the coast of Coromandel, and, in preference to all others, against Porto Nuovo, where the disembarkation of the troops should take place; to which place, or another to be named, the king shall repair with his army before-hand; it being his intention to begin his first operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

6th. The king requires that the republic should send to Mangalore two corvettes from Europe, at the distance of 20 days one from the other, advising him of the ships and troops they are sending to him, in order that he may immediately take the field, and gain a situation to be master of the Coromandel coast before the arrival of the republican forces, and be enabled before-hand to provide for all their wants.

7th. All the conquests that shall be taken from the enemy, excepting the provinces which the king has been obliged to cede to the English at Mah-ratta, and Nizam Ally Kaun, shall be equally divided between the two nations; and according to their respective conveniency, the same division shall likewise take place with respect to the enemy's respective ships, and of the Portuguese colonies, in order to indemnify the king for the expences of the war.

8th. Should any difference arise between the allied armies, each of them shall have justice administered to them, according to their own laws and customs; and all questions on this subject shall be treated of in writing between the two nations.

9th. Whatever inclination the republic may feel of giving peace to England, or of continuing the war, they shall always consider the king as a friend and faithful ally, and shall include him in all treaties, and advise him of all such intentions.

We shall now reassume the course of our narrative, in giving an account of some naval exploits, prior to the grand expedition to Holland, which was preparing to sail.

Captain Digby, of the Alcmena, received information of several French privateers which had been hovering on the coast of Portugal, and thought it expedient for the service, as they sailed to the westward, to extend the cruize beyond the limits of his appointed station; and on the 22d of June he saw a ship which was in the act of boarding an American: upon this, he chased her, when she made off, and the American hove to, and told him she was a French frigate, then distant two leagues. The weather, being then clear,
captain

captain Digby saw their manœuvres, and acted accordingly throughout the night; and by using every exertion, got round the island of Corvo, in calms and light winds. The enemy, equally active to escape, preserved their distance by their sweeps, and towing to the westward. On the 24th and 25th he passed two English brigs, and upwards of 40 merchant vessels, steering for Lisbon. A breeze from the northward brought him in sight of the enemy by six in the morning of the 26th, and within gun-shot, when a running fight commenced, till soon after seven, having suffered much in her hull, sails, and rigging. She was named the *Courageux*, of Bourdeaux, of 28 guns, some of which were thrown overboard in the chase. She was manned with 253 men, and sailed last from Passage, 23 days before, expressly for the purpose of intercepting a convoy from Brazil. Captain Ekins, of the *Amphitrite*, on the 22d of June, to windward of Antigua, took *Le Duquesne* French privateer, a coppered brig, of 16 guns, with 179 men, belonging to Guadaloupe, out only three days, and had made no captures; was found on a cruize to windward of the islands, a swift sailer, and one of the finest privateers in those seas.

Captain Winthorp, of the *Circe*, sent his boats, with those of the *Pylades*, *L'Espeigle*, the *Courier*, and *Nancy* cutters, into the *Watt*, at the back of Ameland, on the night of July 10th, and brought out three valuable vessels, deeply laden with sugar, wine, and brandy. They also burned a large galliot, laden with brass ordnance and stores, which could not be brought off, notwithstanding the zeal and perseverance of captain M'Kenzie, who had command of the boats, with other of-

ficers, who greatly exerted themselves on that occasion; as also the sailors, being kept for 15 or 16 hours tugging at their oars in a very hot day, and opposed to enemies of superior force; but happily not a man was hurt. Captain Woollaston, of the *Cruizer* sloop, on the 13th of July, after a chase of three hours, captured the *Courageux*, French privateer, of 14 guns, and 47 men, belonging to Dunkirk, out six weeks, and had taken four prizes, one of which was retaken by captain Woollaston.

Captain Ball, of the *Dædelus*, near the Cape of Good Hope, captured the *Prudente* French frigate, of 32 guns and howitzers, and 297 men, from the Isle of France. She was a very fine large ship, and the captain was highly pleased with his prize, she being one of the two frigates, which had done much damage to the trade in the East Indies, and not taken till after a stout resistance, having had 27 men killed, and 22 wounded. The *Dædelus* had one seaman and one marine killed, with eleven seamen and one marine wounded.

Captain Cook, of *La Sybille* 44 gun frigate, on his arrival at Madras, was informed that the French ship *La Forte*, of 52 guns, 24-pounders, had taken several of our ships, and was then cruising in the bay of Bengal.— Upon which he instantly sailed in quest of her. They met in the night, near Ballysore, when the French took the *La Sybille* for an Indiaman, and fired some random shot to bring her to. One of these shots unfortunately killed captain Davis, aid-de-camp to lord Mornington, then on board of *La Sybille*.— Captain Cook approached the enemy without shewing any lights, as signals, and first undeceived the crew of *La Forte*

Forte by firing a broadside into her, when an action commenced, and was continued for an hour and a half, during which time the French officers did every thing that was possible to keep their men to the guns. But the British fire was tremendous, and great was the slaughter of the French, insomuch that all their principal officers were among the killed, and in the end, a lad, who had for some time commanded, finding all opposition in vain, struck the colours. Admiral de Cercey, reckoned one of the bravest and best officers in the French service, is said to have commanded the La Forte. The British loss was comparatively small, being five men killed, besides captain Davis. But captain Cook had the misfortune to lose his left arm, and was much wounded on the same.

Admiral Lord Duncan, previous to his entering the Texel, transmitted an account to the admiralty of the operations against the Dutch, by a small squadron under captain Sotheron's orders, by which it appears, that captain M'Kenzie, of the Pylades, made an attack upon their shipping, between the Isle of Schiermonikoog and the main land. The navigation for this purpose was found to be very difficult, for the wind was nearly right down the passage, and the channel was so narrow, that there was not above two feet of water more than the Pylades drew, nor was it wider than twice her length. Mr. Grey, the master, who had been previously sent to sound, took the charge of her, until she came alongside the Crash, a Dutch gun vessel; in the mean time lieutenant Searle, in the Courier cutter, working fast to windward, was ordered to engage the Crash, till the Pylades or the Espiegle could get up. This service he effected in

the most gallant manner, although the gun boat was five times the cutter's force.

The Dutch officer fought her much longer than expected, as the Pylades and Espiegle were a great part of the time within half pistol shot, so that both vessels received considerable damage in their rigging and yards. The boats, previous to these ships getting into action, were sent to attack a large gun schooner, which lay to the eastward of a sand, but she ran on shore, keeping up a heavy fire on the boats, by which one man in the Juno's cutter was killed, and three wounded. The Crash had 12 carronades, of 32, 24, and 18 pounders, and 60 men. Capt. M'Kenzie judging her very proper for his majesty's service, fitted and manned her for the purpose of acting against the remaining force of the enemy, and appointed Mr. Sludes, first lieutenant of the Latona, to command her. One of the Dutch heavy gun schooners was hauled ashore on the main land, and a large row-boat was under a battery of six heavy guns on the island of Schiermonikoog, with 300 armed men, waiting for the attack which was intended to commence, if a sufficient depth of water could be found. Accordingly, on the 12th of August, Mr. Grey was directed to take the soundings, which he executed with great diligence, and fortunately found a small channel. In the mean time captain M'Kenzie, being in want of vessels for gun-boats, sent the boats which he could collect, under the lieutenants Campbell and Humphreys, at high-water, to cut out a schoot or two from under protection of the schooner grounded on the mainland; but they could only get two, one they burnt, and brought away the other although

although the schooner kept up a well directed fire. This captured schoot, the captain immediately fitted with 12 pounder carronades, and named her the Undaunted, giving the command of her to lieutenant Humphreys. The vessels were then ordered to move on for the attack, with the Crash, under lieutenant Sludes, and Mr. Moody, master of the Juno, with 12 carronades. The Undaunted, under lieut. Humphreys, and lieutenant Mac Donald, of marines, with carronades, the launch of the Latona, under lieut. Campbell, and that of the Pylades, under lieutenant Cowan, with one 12 pounder carronade each.

The Pylades cutter, under Mr. Ryan, acting lieut. and other small boats, some with swivels, and others with small arms, only followed. The Courier cutter, was intended to cover them, but she unfortunately grounded, and was only saved by great exertions. This force advanced to within half pistol shot off shore, under a heavy fire from the schooner and battery first, then of musketry; but when they were a little placed in their stations, they soon drove the enemy from their battery, and the crew of the schooner, seeing lieutenants Humphreys and Campbell ready to board her, quitted, and first set her on fire, which it was found impossible to extinguish, so that she was destroyed.

As none of her crew were taken, no account could be given of their loss; but while this was transacting, lieut. Cowan landed and spiked the guns of the battery, and with the assistance of all that could land, brought off two brass field pieces, and spiked another 12 pounder gun, taking the row-boat and 12 schoots. What may be considered as extraordinary is, that no man

was killed or wounded in the perilous and successful undertaking.

In the mean time, the first embarkation of troops destined for the invasion of Holland, was in forwardness; but when they sailed, experienced very tempestuous weather, notwithstanding which, they arrived safe at the mouth of the Texel, all but the Griper gun vessel, which carried away her topmast, and was driven to Sunderland, under jury-masts only, with soldiers on board all well. The troops destined for a landing in Holland, made for the shore with such impetuosity, that many leaped from the flat boats into the water, and were instantly formed in front of the batteries, planted on Helder island, commanding the mouth of the Texel, and such was the obstinate resistance of the enemy, that the contest was kept up from six in the morning of August 27th, till four in the evening, when the republicans gave way, and left the brave British in possession of Helder island, and the batteries. This acquisition was not made by them without loss, as the action lasted so long. That of the British consisted of about 500 killed and wounded; the enemy's loss was 1500.

Sir James Pultney, second in command of the British, was wounded; colonel Smollet, of the Guards, and colonel Hay of the Engineers, were among the killed, in whom their country has lost two officers of great experience and high personal valour. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the chief in command of the land forces, was in the heat of action all the time, and happily escaped unhurt. Admiral Mitchell directed the landing in person, and joined the troops with the seamen, continuing engaged with them during the whole contest, which, by the seizure of

of the Helder gave the British an entire command of the Texel, and the whole Dutch fleet. A number of ships and three fine frigates were there found laid up, which the enemy deserted the next morning, and, retreating toward Alkmaar, hauled up, what shipping could be moved to the Zuider Zee. Such was the consequence of the first landing of the British, in the grand expedition. General Don had then sailed from the Downs to join them, with the second division; and the third, under his royal highness field marshal the duke of York, was in readiness to embark. Yet, such is the infatuation of modern republicans, that the French directory, having few of their national forces in Holland, and little dependence on the Dutch conscripts to oppose this formidable armament, were reduced to the mean shift of forging advices from Dunkirk, that, on the attempt only to land, the British were repulsed, and that 5000 of them had bitten the dust.

Upon the reduction of Helder island, the Dutch admiral Story was summoned to give up the fleet, for the purpose of placing it under the orders of its real sovereign, as stadtholder, the prince of Orange. His first answer was modest enough; only importing, that the British admiral would not think of submitting on such a summons, being in the same situation. In consequence of this refusal, admiral Mitchell had the squadron under weigh at five in the morning of August 30, and immediately formed the line for advancing upon the Dutch fleet, with orders to prepare for battle. In running up, two line of battle ships and a frigate took ground, although the soundings had been taken, and buoys laid down, with such precision, that it plainly ap-

peared a practicable channel might be ascertained up the Texel, which had not been known to any but Dutch navigators. The British squadron only met with the obstacle mentioned above. And on passing by the Helder point, and Mars Diep, continued its course along the Texel, in the channel which leads to the Vlieter, where the Dutch fleet lay at anchor, in a line; and a red buoy marked the east south-east course farther up.

Admiral Mitchell having advanced this far, closed the line for an attack; and, according to lord Duncan's orders, sent a summons to the Dutch admiral, of the same import as the former. His answer was, "That he only acknowledged the Batavian republic, and not the prince of Orange, as his sovereign;" terming the Dutch crews on board traitors, because they would not fire against the prince's flag, under which they had been long accustomed to sail, before they had experienced the fraternal hug of French republicans, which had most effectually squeezed them out of all their property. Admiral Story concluded, with an insinuation, that if the crews had stood by him and their officers, the fleet would not have been tamely surrendered—which boast was a wretched contrast to his cowardice, when he deserted admiral de Winter, in the heat of battle, and fled with the ships least disabled into the Texel.

Admiral Mitchell's summons was followed by bringing up the British fleet in a line nearer to that of the Dutch. But captain Rennie, of the Victor, who had been dispatched with the summons, on his way observed two Dutch captains, with a flag of truce, from their admiral. These he very properly took on board; and, from a conversation

conversation of some minutes with them, which he reported, at their earnest intreaty, admiral Mitchell was induced to anchor in a line, nearer their fleet, while the captains returned with his positive orders not to alter the position of their ships, or attempt any operation in them, and in one hour to submit or take the consequences. In less time than an hour, they returned with a verbal answer, that they submitted to the summons, the officers wishing to be considered as on parole, until the lords of our admiralty, or the prince of Orange, should give orders for admiral Mitchell's farther proceedings. In the mean time, he ordered the republican flag to be hauled down, and sent an officer on board each of their ships to have an eye over, and take charge of them, conformably to the request of the Dutch themselves. The prince of Orange's standard was sent on board the admiral, and his flags for the other ships, many of whom had it not to hoist before, and they were all in a short time under the prince's colours. Admiral Mitchell gave the highest encomiums to the behaviour of his officers and men, not doubting of their superiority if an action had commenced. But the Dutch fleet surrendered without firing a gun. And the most experienced of their sailors were astonished as with a stroke of thunder, at the approach of the British squadron, not thinking it possible the buoys could have been so soon laid: and the British squadron led down upon them, in line of battle, and in a channel where they themselves only used to pass with one ship or two abreast at the same time. So little did they know the extent of their own channel, or perhaps the wary policy of their rulers had prevented it from being precisely laid down in the

charts then used by the Dutch navigators.

The ships first taken at Mars Diep, were, the *Urwachten*, of 66 guns; the *Broederschoop*, of 54; the *Hector* of 44; the *Diuffee*, of 44; the *Expedition*, of 44; the *Constitute*, of 44; *La Bella Antoinette*, of 44; the *Unie*, of 44; the *Helder*, of 32; the *Follock*, of 24; the *Minerva*, of 24; the *Venus*, of 24; and the *Alarm*, of 24, submitted: and at the *Vliter*, the *Washington*, of 74, admiral Story's ship, new, and a very fleet sailer; the admiral *de Ruyter*, of 68; the *Guelderland*, of 68; the *Utrecht*, of 68; the *Cerberus*, of 68; the *Beschermer*, of 54; the *Batavier*, of 54; the *Amphitrite*, of 44; the *Mars*, of 44; the *Ambuscade*, of 32; and the *Galatea*, of 16 guns. The largest of these ships were ordered for England, when some of the Dutch sailors on board refused to assist in weighing their anchors; upon which parties of seamen from the British were put on board each of the ships, when they weighed, and proceeded to sea, under a sufficient convoy, and arrived first off Ousley bay, and then at the Nore. Some thousands of Dutch sailors, who had declared for the prince of Orange, were distributed on board the line of battle ships which composed the convoy; but these, and their ships, were at the disposal of the British admiralty, in conjunction with such orders as should be given by the stadtholder, whose son, the hereditary prince of Orange, had by this time joined the army under general Abercromby, and was received, both by the fleet and army, with a royal salute, and military honours.

The second division of the forces destined for the recovery of the Dutch provinces

provinces from French republicans, and reinstating them under the authority of his highness the prince of Orange, their legal stadtholder, had failed. The third division was on its way with field marshal his royal highness the duke of York. In the mean time, general Abercromby occupied a peninsula, the head of which was so strongly fortified, and the whole so well protected by the ships, that he had no occasion to fear any insult from the attacks of the enemy, who had assembled a force consisting of 30,000, composed of French and Dutch, the determined partizans of France, and declared enemies of the stadtholder.—This force had taken up a position so strong, that general Abercromby did not judge it prudent to form an attack for the purpose of dislodging it. He, however, thought that something might be done, both to gratify the ardour of his troops for an attack, and damp the spirits of his opponents, when one was made in earnest by the enemy.

On the morning of September the 10th, the British were attacked on their right and centre, from St. Martin's to Patten, and, apparently, with all the republican forces, in three columns.

That column on the right was composed of Dutch troops, and under the command of general Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin. Their centre column, under general de Monceau, composed also of Dutch, marched on to Cranbendsdam and Zyper Sluys. The left column, composed of French, directed its attack upon the position of major general Burrard, commanding the second brigade of guards. Here, and on the centre they advanced with great rapidity, and penetrated with the heads

of their columns to within 100 yards of the post occupied by the British troops, but were repulsed by the determined courage of the troops, and strength of their position; insomuch, that they retired about 10 o'clock towards Alkmaar, leaving many dead and wounded behind, with one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges. Colonel Macdonald pursued after them for some time, and hastened their retreat. Major general Moore, who commanded on the right, and behaved with firmness and judgment, was slightly wounded. The two battalions of the 20th regiment, posted opposite to Crabbendam and Zyper Sluys, did credit to the high character which that regiment always bore.—Lieutenant colonel Smyth had the particular charge of that post, and received a severe wound in the leg, which would disable him for some time. The two brigades of guards repulsed most gallantly the column of French which advanced to attack them, and it was there where the slaughter of the enemy was greatest. Their loss could not be ascertained, and was supposed to be 800 or 1000 men. That of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed 200 men, the total of rank and file killed being only 37.

The duke of York being landed, and a strong reinforcement of Russians now joined the British, an attack was made on the republican posts in four principal columns. The first column, under lieutenant general sir Ralph Abercromby, on the left, consisted of two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, major general the earl of Chatham's, and major general Moore's brigades, the first battalion of British grenadiers of the line, major general the earl of Cavan's brigade, the first battalion

battalion of light infantry, with the 23d and 55th regiments, under colonel Macdonald. These were destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee, and marched for that purpose at six in the evening of September 18th.

Of the columns composing the right, the first was commanded by lieutenant general de Hermann, consisting of the 7th light dragoons, 12 battalions of Russians, and major general Manners's brigade. The second column, commanded by lieutenant general Dundas, consisted of the 11th light dragoons, two squadrons, two brigades of foot guards, with major general his highness prince William's brigade. The third column on the right, commanded by lieutenant general Pulteney, was composed of two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons, and major generals Don and Coote's brigades. All these columns marched from positions which they had occupied on the morning of the 19th at break of day, only the first column under general Abercromby, destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee, had been put in march at six in the morning of the 18th. The objects of the three columns which now marched, was that the first should drive the enemy from the heights of Comper Dugne, with some villages under them, and finally to take possession of Bergen. The second of these columns was to force the enemy's position at Walmenhuysen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant general de Hermann. The third of these columns was to gain possession of Ouds Gorspel, at the head of the Lange Dyke, on the great road leading to Alkmaar.

It is necessary to observe, that the country in which these columns were to act, presented in every direction the

most formidable obstacles. The enemy on their left, occupied high sand hills, extending from the sea, in front of Petten, to the town of Bergen, which gave them great advantage where they were entrenched, in three intermediate villages. The country over which these columns, under the lieutenant generals Pulteney and Dundas, had to march for the attack of fortified posts at Worlomonhuysen, Schoreldom, and the Lange Dyke, is a plain intersected at every three or four hundred yards, with broad deep ditches and canals, the bridges connecting the only two or three roads which led to the posts intended to be attacked, were destroyed, and felled trees laid across the road at different distances.

Lieutenant general de Hermann's division commenced its attack, which was conducted with the greatest judgment and gallantry, at half past three in the morning, and by eight had so far succeeded, as to be in possession of Bergen. But the principal force of the republicans was stationed in the woody country which surrounds it, and the Russian battalion pushed on with an impetuosity which overlooked the formidable force which they had to contend with, and broke the order they ought to have preserved for the purpose of keeping the advantages which they had gained. In consequence of this neglect, they were obliged to quit Bergen after an obstinate conflict, in which the generals de Hermann and Teherchekoff were made prisoners, the latter of them dangerously wounded. The Russians therefore fell back to Schorel, which village they were forced to abandon; but it was immediately retaken by general Manners's brigade, notwithstanding a very heavy firing of the enemy, and here this

brigade was reinforced with two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with general Dundas in the attack of Walmonhuysen; these troops were joined by general de Oyley's brigade of guards, and the regiment under the command of his royal highness prince William. The action was renewed by these troops for a considerable time; but the Russians were in entire want of ammunition, and the exhausted state of these corps engaged in that particular station, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, to Petten and Zyper Sluys.

As soon as it was sufficiently light that morning, general Dundas with his column attacked the village of Walmonhuysen, where the republicans were strongly posted with cannon; three battalions of Russians, who formed a separate corps, were destined to co-operate from Brabbondam, commanded by general Sedmoratzky, these very gallantly stormed a village on their left flank, being at the same time supported on their right by the 1st regiment of guards.

The grenadier battalion of guards had been previously detached to march upon Seavourelton, on the left of gen. de Hermann's column, as were also the 3d regiment, of guards, and 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, to keep up a communication with that division, under general sir James Pulteney.—The remainder of general Dundas's column, after taking possession of Wolmonhuysen, having been joined by the first battalion of the 5th regiment, marched against Schoreldam, which place they maintained under a very heavy fire, which galled them much, until the troops which had engaged on their right had retired at the conclusion of the action.

The column under sir James Pulteney, which had proceeded to the object of their attack, at the time appointed, after overcoming the greatest difficulties, and determined opposition, carried by storm the principal posts of Ouds, Carspel, at the head of Lange Dyke, and on this occasion the 40th regiment, commanded by colonel Spencer, took an opportunity which presented itself of highly distinguishing their courage and conduct, for this point of the contest was sustained by the chief force of the battalion, under the command of general Daendels, and the circumstances which occurred on the right, rendered it impossible to profit by this brilliant effort, which rendered both officers and men concerned in it a great degree of credit, for military skill and prowess, so that it was found necessary to withdraw general Pulteney's column, from the position which he had taken within a short distance from Alkmaar, and the same circumstances concurred to the necessity of recalling the column under general Abercromby, which had proceeded without interruption, to take possession of Hoorne, the garrison of which place were made prisoners.—Therefore the whole of the army returned to its former position, although well grounded hopes had been entertained of success, from the result of three attacks, and first encounter of the fourth upon the right; however, such was the consequence of these attacks, that upwards of 300 men and 69 officers were prisoners, 16 cannon, and large quantities of ammunition, were destroyed, which the nature of the country, intersected with deep ditches and canals, hindered the enemy from withdrawing, or the allies from bringing off, 15,000 of their troops having had

had no share in the action, as there was not a sufficient breadth of ground to arrange them.

A detachment of seamen under capt. Home Popham, and capt. Godfrey, of the navy, rendered essential service during the contest, in the management of three gun-boats, each carrying a 12 pounder carronade, on the canal of Alkmaar, with considerable effect. — The loss of the allies in killed, wounded and missing, was computed at 1500 men.

The inclemency of the weather alone prevented the farther operations of the allied army, till the 2d of October, when the previous arrangements necessary having been made, a general attack commenced on the enemy's line in the morning of that day, at six o'clock, which continued till the same hour in the evening, when the distinguished valour of British and Russian troops so far prevailed, that the republicans were entirely defeated; and they retired in the night from the positions which they occupied on the Lange Dyke, the Kee Dyke at Bergen, and an extensive range of sand-hills between Bergen and Egmont-op Zee. — The points where this well-fought battle was principally contested, were from the sea shore, in front of Egmont, extending along a desert of sand hills, to the heights above Bergen, and the principal brunt of the action was sustained by British columns, commanded by that highly-distinguished general sir Ralph Abercromby, and lieutenant general Dundas, whose exertions, together with those of the troops under their command, were scarcely surpassed by any former instance of British valour. On the night of that memorable day, the allied army lay upon their arms, and the next morning moved forward,

and occupied positions at the Lange Dyke; Alkmaar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op Zee.

The enemy's force was between twenty-five and 30,000 men, of whom a very small proportion only were Dutch; general Daendels, who commanded the Dutch, was wounded; the French troops had been continually reinforced, and yet their loss must have been very great; they were commanded by the generals Brune, Vandamme and Bontet.

From so long continued an action, and the obstinacy with which it was contested, this victory was not gained without considerable loss of men; but no officer of rank fell in the battle. The British had only to regret major-general Moore, wounded in two places, and the Russians major-general Emme, also wounded; but neither of them so disabled, as to deprive the army of their succour and abilities.

His royal highness field marshal the duke of York, was seriously occupied after the defeat, in making the arrangements necessary for taking a forward position in front of Bever Wyck and Wyck-op-Zee, to which line the enemy retreated, and was of opinion, that the extent of country opened to the allied army by this victory, and in consequence under its protection from French tyranny and rapacity, would afford an opportunity to the well-disposed inhabitants of declaring for the stadtholder, as a proof of which Alkmaar had opened her gates, and received the allied troops, which place is of such consequence, as to be the seat of Assembly for the Northern States of Holland. A considerable number of Dutch troops had also ranged themselves under the Prince of Orange's standard.

Previous to this success, the naval captains Bolton and Boorder, on the 27th of September, came to anchor with the *Haughty* and *Piercer*, and *L'Espiegle*, six miles from Lemmer.— Captain Bolton received from captain Boorder every information he could desire, and finding there were 1000 regulars in the town, desperately resolved to attack it. He gave directions to complete the flotilla, which captain Boorder, with his usual judgment, had begun to prepare, having pressed two schoots, and put on board of each two of *L'Espiegle's* six pounders, which, with two flat-bottomed boats, and a launch from the *Isis*, formed a respectable armament. But being willing to spare the effusion of blood, especially of the innocent inhabitants, on the 28th. he sent captain Boorder at day-light, with a summons to deliver up the town for the prince of Orange, only allowing an hour for sending away the women and children; and on their refusal to surrender, threatened to bury those who resisted in the ruins of the town.

Upon sending this summons, he weighed and stood in shore, when about nine in the morning he descried the captain returning, and soon after a flag of truce came out of the harbour. Before captain Boorder arrived, notice was taken of the gun-boats which had been moored across the harbour, then moving toward the canal. And captain Bolton instantly dispatched lieutenant Simpson with a flag of truce, to inform them, that he should consider their removal, or any other military operations, as a breach of the armistice; and if persisted in, he would infallibly bombard the town. Before the lieutenant's return, the flag of truce came on board, with the commandant's re-

quest for 24 hours time, that the municipality might send a proper answer to captain Bolton's demand; who returned for answer, that, if the prince's colours were not hoisted in half an hour from that notice, he would bombard the town; and informed the officer who brought the answer, that he was coming down into a situation before it, for that very purpose. He found, by captain Boorder's account, that the north part of the pier was considerably reinforced by some 18 pounders, taken from the gun-boats, which made a little alteration in his disposition necessary; and he was concerned to find his brave and able Dutch pilot declare, that from the southerly winds the water was so low, that the *Wolverene* could not get in. But finding it was a regular ouzy flat for two miles, he pushed her through the mud, till within musket-shot of the shore: the gun-brigs passed a-head of him, within pistol-shot of the pier, although both them and himself were aground in a most perilous situation. The enemy, notwithstanding the truce, commenced a heavy firing, but as British seamen are never at a loss, it was returned from every part of the squadron, and kept up for nearly an hour, when the enemy shrunk from their quarters; the soldiers deserted the town, and the *Piercer's* crew planted the British standard on the pier.— The strong opposition made was less to be wondered at, as the hostile troops were mostly French.

The commodore was now under some concern to get off the grounded vessels, for a gale came on, and freshened fast. But he sent lieutenant Ruddy, of the *Speedwell*, with a flat boat to get off the *Piercer*, and lieutenant Simpson, of the *Isis*, to get off the *Haughty*, confiding to captain Boorder

Boorder the arrangements on shore.—As the gale freshened, it was necessary to preserve the *Wolverene*, and with some difficulty her bow was heaved round, when fortunately the wind came round to the southward, and by starting all the water, she was dragged through the mud with a heavy press of sail for two miles, steering by sails alone into 11 feet water, where she lay all night in a heavy gale of wind, and rode it out, though the ship struck repeatedly. In the morning, captain Bolton observed a body of the enemy advancing to the town, along the northern causeway, and immediately sent word to captain Boorder, to apprize him of the danger: but in a little time, the town was attacked on all sides, and he had the pleasure of soon seeing the enemy retreat. From the mast, he perceived that the town was nearly surrounded with water, and judged that a few brave men, with a flotilla on the canal, could most effectually defend it while a well-timed succour to the people would enable the whole province to cast off the French yoke.

The Dutch colony of Surinam surrendered to his majesty's forces, under lieutenant general Trigge, and admiral lord Hugh Seymour. The British took possession of Fort New Amsterdam, the principal fortress there, without opposition, upon the 21st of August. The garrison of this fort consisted of 750 men; 500 of them were Walloon guards, and the rest Dutch troops.—They were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

On the 23d, the redoubt called Leyden, and the battery Friderici, the redoubt and battery Parmarent, and the fort Zealandier, with the town of Paramibe, being the chief settlement, were taken possession of by the British.

From the distances of the rivers Maravina and Saramaca, possession could not be immediately taken of the settlements situated upon them, but the troops occupying them submitted, and agreed to hold them for the British.

Surinam was the chief settlement of the Dutch in Guiana, on the continent of South America, which part of the continent was discovered by Columbus in the year 1498. The province of Guiana was divided by the Dutch, Spaniards, French, and Portuguese, into several settlements. It extends from the 7th degree of north to the 5th of south latitude, being between the 53d and 60th degrees of longitude.—The Dutch territory is bounded on the west by Spanish settlements, and on the east by the river Maroni. Within this extent, the navigable rivers Pomardon, Esequibo, Demarara, Berbica, Surinam, and Meniwida, disembogue their waters into the Atlantic Ocean. The land in Dutch Guiana, for near 50 miles from the sea, is every where so flat and low, that during the periodical rains it is covered with water, to the height of two feet. This overflowing, however, produces effects similar to that of the Nile in Egypt, and renders that extent of land more productive than any other part of the settlement, so that the soil for one foot in depth is composed of rich manure, and was transported as such to Barbadoes; but wood ants, which are here very numerous, destroyed it in the vessel, and rendered a repetition of the project of doubtful consequence. However, the soil is so luxuriant in many places, as to produce thirty crops of ratoon canes successively, without replanting, whereas in the West India islands, more than two crops are never expected. This extraordinary fertility

is somewhat disadvantageous, so that the people are under the necessity of recurring to various expedients, for diminishing it, which is usually done by planting trees, letting them grow for some years, and then introducing canes, which are usually after this precaution too robust and luxuriant for making sugar with advantage, and are therefore converted into rum, which is sold to the Americans in exchange for their articles of traffic, or sent to Africa, for the purchase of Negro slaves. The underwood nearest the sea is low and small, consisting mostly of manisoles, a species of the palm tree, with the treoli, which produces a leaf of prodigious length, fit for thatching houses, and these near currents of water are intermixed with large mangroves. The inland elevated parts of the country has large verdant forests, affording timber of every species, valuable for weight, solidity, durableness, or ornament. The heat there is less than in Barbadoes, which is esteemed the most temperate of all the tropical islands, and the planters here have no particular seasons for planting or harvest, to which the planters in the West India islands are confined; every part of the year being proper for planting and gathering in produce; ripe and unripe fruits with blossoms appearing on the trees at all times, exhibiting one perpetual spring throughout revolving years. The Dutch settlers since the ruin of their commerce by French fraternization, had no vent for their produce, which constrained them to invite the British, who gained possession of this valuable settlement without resistance. The produce whereof in store is supposed capable of supplying all Europe for a whole year's consumption, with cotton,

sugar, coffee, and other tropical produce.

Another attempt was made to drive the French out of Holland, wherein after a great slaughter on both sides, the allied army of British and Russians kept the field of battle, and pushed on to Alkmaar; but not finding the Dutch so disposed to rise in a mass for the recovery of their liberty, as had been represented, a truce was concluded with the enemy for six weeks, with a condition, that the allied forces should be withdrawn unmolested, and the Helder, with its fortifications, resored; an agreement which must prevent much bloodshed, and the total ruin of that country, as inundations would in course have been the consequence of any farther contest, where a defending army would have the greatest advantage, as plainly appeared in the campaigns between the prince of Orange, afterwards king William the III. and Louis the XIV. wherein the prince, with very few forces, ruined successively two mighty French armies. Some politicians have urged that our national honour was concerned, and that a descent on Holland should either have been persisted in, or not undertaken at all; but we must observe, that the capture of a whole Dutch fleet, which the French might have employed against us, was the first fruits of this descent; and as this was taken possession of in the name of his highness the stadtholder, we were in honour bound to make some efforts for reinstating him in his former station there; and this attempt has drawn into Holland considerable bodies of French forces, which might otherwise have marched to strengthen their armies in Germany and Italy.

Considered as a diversion in favour of

of our allies, it has been of the greatest importance, having prevented the republicans from strengthening their armies, while the Austrians and Russians were engaged in reducing Tortona, Mannheim, &c.

We shall now give an account of the armistice concluded between his royal highness the duke of York and general Brune.

Head-quarters, Schagen-Brug,
Oct. 15, 1799.

General,

The late hour at which your letter reached me last night, prevented my sending sooner to Alkmaar major-general Knox, the officer alluded to in my letter of yesterday's date. He is entirely in my confidence, and is fully authorized to treat and conclude with you on the subject respecting which he has received my instructions.

(Signed)

FREDERICK, Duke of York.
To General Brune, commander in chief, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen-Brug,
Oct. 15, 1799.

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to his royal highness the duke of York, commander in chief of the combined English and Russian army, major general Knox will have the honour of communicating with general Brune, commander in chief of the French and Batavian army, and of stating to him, that in consequence of the difficulties arising from the very unfavourable and unusual state of the weather at this season, we have judged it expedient to re-occupy the possession of the Zuyp.

That in this situation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our

communication with England, and masters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder Zee, and the Ocean, it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and circumstances may enable us to renew offensive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees and without risk from this country, retaining possession of such detached points as might be judged most favourable for annoying the enemy, or for securing real advantages to ourselves.

In the event of our recurring to this last-mentioned measure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preservation of the brave troops entrusted to our care, and for this purpose, (however distressing, or however ruinous to the inhabitants, and to the country, the alternative may be) we shall be compelled to avail ourselves of those dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. Having perfectly at our disposal the Sea Dykes, both towards the Ocean and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the Interior Dykes, we should in that case be reduced to the terrible necessity of inundating the whole country of North Holland, and of adding to this calamity every destructive evil which must necessarily result from an attempt to force or interrupt our retreat. We should, under such circumstances, also be constrained to make use of the ample means we possess, of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder Zee henceforth impracticable by obstructing the Mars Diep, and destroying the Nieve Diep; works upon which so many years labour, and such immense sums, have been expended.

Our system of carrying on war, having on all occasions, been governed by the most liberal principles, necessity

and the strongest sense of duty could alone induce us to adopt a system repugnant to the sentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the English nation.

From these considerations, and from our persuasion that general Brune and the Dutch people must be actuated by similar motives, and equally desirous to prevent an useless effusion of blood by the amicable arrangement of a point which is, perhaps, the object of both parties, and from our anxiety, in case of a different result, to stand justified to the whole universe, from whatever destruction may in consequence devolve upon this country: we propose and offer to general Brune, and to the Batavian republic, that the English and Russian troops shall evacuate, before the end of the month of November next, all the coasts, the islands, and the interior navigation of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great sources of its navigation, or laying the country under any inundations.

For this purpose, we propose that a suspension of hostilities shall take place until the period above specified. That during this interval we shall remain in full possession of all the points, and of the whole extent of the country we occupy at this moment, and that the line shall not, under any pretence, be passed by the troops of either, even in the event of our choosing to retire from any part of our present position, or of our quitting it altogether.

That during the above mentioned interval, no interference shall be allowed, nor any objections be started, with respect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their respective positions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hostility excepted) shall continue mutually in force.

That we will grant to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us, every protection consistent with discipline, in the circumstances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally observed by British troops entitles them to expect on such an occasion.

If these proposals accord with the wishes and are conformable to the intentions of general Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

By order of his royal highness the commander in chief.

(Signed) H. TAYLOR, Secretary.

Head-quarters, at Alkmaar,
Oct. 15, 1799.

Brune, general in chief, to the duke of York, commander in chief of the combined English and Russian army.

General,

Major-general Knox, who was instructed to confer with me on your part, upon the subject of a note which he has delivered, signed by your secretary, will communicate my answer contained in an explanatory note.

(Signed) Citizen BRUNE.

Head-quarters at Alkmaar,
Oct. 15, 1799.

The duke of York, commander in chief of the English army, proposes that a cessation of hostilities shall take place, in consequence of the approach of the inclement season. He promises to withdraw from the Batavian territory, between the present period and the end of November next, the whole army under his command; and consents that no damage shall be committed, no sluices

sluices opened, or dykes broken up, on condition of his retreat not being molested by the French and Batavian army.

These motives would not have been brought forward by the duke of York, if he had considered himself possessed of means sufficient for advancing into the country; for in that case he would have had the facility of extending his quarters, of procuring subsistence, and, in short, of placing himself beyond the reach of the inconveniencies arising from the unfavourable season. We ought consequently to look to advantages in an arrangement, proportionate to the insufficiency of the forces under his command.

The terms proposed by the duke of York contain nothing but what would be the necessary result of a cessation of hostilities. It can scarcely be supposed that the duke of York will cause the dykes to be destroyed, the country to be inundated, and the villages to be burnt, for the mere purpose of committing such acts of violence; as such conduct would be contrary to the laws of war, and must draw upon him the reprobation of all Europe, and of his own nation. It appears therefore evident, that the duke of York would confine himself to such measures as might be useful to his own army, or detrimental to ours: but we look upon such accidents as inseparable from a state of war. No object of advantage to us appears therefore to result from the proposals which have been made.

Since, however, the sufferings of humanity come under the consideration of the duke of York, general Brune is ready to meet this honourable feeling, and in doing so, declares that the following stipulations, on which he offers to consent to a suspension of hostilities,

are so obviously just, that he cannot depart from.

I. The Batavian fleet, which was surrendered to admiral Mitchell by admiral Story, shall be restored to the Batavian republic with its stores and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient powers to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released and sent home: the mode of selection, and the proportion for each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged—This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder by general Brune to see that this article is complied with.

IV. The army under the command of the duke of York shall within forty-eight hours evacuate the position of the Zuyp; its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants-Oog. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the positions it occupies at present, taking up however its advanced posts at Petten, Crabendam, Schagen Brug, and Colhorn. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants-Oog.

V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as pos-

sible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands of the Batavian republic, before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation in the country.

VI. All ships of war or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected from amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By order of general Brune.

(Signed) VIVRY, Secretary.

Head-quarters, Schagen-Brug,
Oct. 17, 1799.

General,

I send back major general Knox with my answers to the explanatory note which he has delivered to me in your name. He is fully authorized to conclude on my part upon every point which relates to the subject of his mission.

(Signed)

FREDERICK, Duke of York,

Commander in chief of the combined English and Russian army.

To general Brune, commander in chief, &c.

Head-quarters, at Schagen-Brug.
Oct. 17, 1799.

His royal highness the duke of York, proposed to general Brune, an arrangement equally to the advantage of both parties, originating in his desire to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and

to preserve this country from the terrible effects of an inundation, as also from the destruction of the best of its ports, involving the total ruin of the principal channels of its interior navigation and commerce.

In answer to which general Brune observes, that he cannot imagine his royal highness will recur to measures not less revolting to humanity, than repugnant to the character of the British nation, and to the general feeling of all Europe.

Devastation or destruction is certainly incompatible with the character and with the uniform conduct of the English nation; and as little do either accord with the disposition of his royal highness the commander in chief; but there are duties peremptorily prescribed by the nature of particular situations, the odium of which must fall, not on those who execute, but on such as render the measures necessary, by rejecting the conditions of a just and honourable agreement.

Deeply impressed with what is due to his country on the one hand, and to the claims of humanity on the other; persuaded, likewise, that general Brune is equally guided by these sentiments, his royal highness has taken his proposals into consideration, and consents to abide by the agreement as it stands in the answers annexed to the different articles.

Major-general Knox, who is charged therewith, is authorised to sign and conclude this agreement, as well as to arrange any points of detail which may arise out of it.

It being the duty of every officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops to make an exact report of whatever relates to his command, his royal highness the duke of York, will of course

course lay before the British government every communication which has taken place between his royal highness and general Brune.

Articles proposed in the explanatory Note from General Brune.

Art. I. The Batavian fleet which was surrendered to admiral Mitchell by admiral Story, shall be restored to the Batavian republic with its stores and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient power to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

Answer. His royal highness will on no account treat upon this article, the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible.

Art. II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. The mode of selection, and the proportion of each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged—This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

Answer—This demand seems to rest upon a supposed loss the combined army must sustain should its embarkation be resolved upon. It is by no means admitted that such would be the result; but as in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loss of a certain number of men must naturally be expected; his royal highness, influenced by this consideration, agrees to promise in the name of the British government, that five thousand French and Batavian prisoners, the proportion of each to

be regulated according to the terms of the article, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. Nothing further in this article can be agreed to.

Art. III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder by general Brune, to see that this article is complied with.

Answer—The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally considered, in an improved state.

None of the Dutch artillery shall be carried away.

Art. IV. The army under the command of the duke of York shall within forty-eight hours evacuate the position of the Zuyp. Its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants-Oog. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the position it occupies at present, taking up however its advanced posts at Patten, Crabendam, Schagen Brug, and Colhorn. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants-Oog.

Answer—On no account will it be consented that the army shall be withdrawn from the position of the Zuyp, until every preparation requisite to render its embarkation easy and complete can be arranged at the Helder. It must be evident, that it cannot be desirable that any delay should take place in this respect. No addition shall be made to the works at the Zuyp, and persons properly authorised shall be admitted from time to time to ascertain and report upon this point for the satisfaction of general Brune; but no army detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take post, nearer than they already are to our position.

It must be further understood, that on his part, general Brune will not allow any approaches of offensive preparations to be carried on, and that the French and Battavian army shall remain in the line of advanced posts which it occupies at present, which shall also be the line of separation between the two armies respectively,

Art. V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and the islands of the Batavian republic before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation in the country.

Answer—The embarkation of the English and Russian troops will take place with all possible expedition; and at this season of the year any unnecessary delay will naturally be avoided as much as possible: but to prevent any difficulty or future discussion upon this point, it is proposed that the period of the suspension of hostilities shall be limited to the end of the month of November next, in order to secure sufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, shall be effected sooner, if practicable.

Art. VI. All ships of war, or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

Answer—The ships of war or other vessels immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, or which may hereafter be sent, shall not land their troops, but shall put to sea again as soon as possible.

Art. VII. To guarantee the execution of these clauses, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected among the officers of rank in his army.

Answer—Hostages shall be reciprocally given, to be selected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By order of his royal highness the duke of York.

(Signed) H. TAYLOR, secretary.

SIR, *Alkmaar, Oct. 17, 1799.*

I have seen general Brune, and have talked over with him fully all the articles on which I have received his royal highness's instructions. I have found the greatest disposition on the part of general Brune to enter fairly into the subject.

In respect to the essential article of the fleet, general Brune has already received a letter from the Dutch Directory, to make the delivery of it a *sine qua non*; and I much doubt whether there is any chance of his being brought to give way on this point, at least without some assurance that his royal highness would forward the demand to his court.

In respect to the other very essential article of the prisoners, after much conversation, I brought the general to lower his demand to eight thousand men, beyond which he cannot recede. Every other point can be amicably settled.

I beg his royal highness's orders on these points; and I hope to receive them by noon to-morrow.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. KNOX.

*To the honourable colonel Hope,
adjutant-general, &c. &c.*

SIR,

SIR,

*Head quarters, Schagen
Brug, Oct. 18, 1799.*

His royal highness the commander in chief, in his instructions to you of yesterday's date, having declared that every paper or proposal from general Brune, and consequently that relative to the whole Dutch fleet, will of course be regularly transmitted to England, can give no other answer than what you are already empowered to make, viz.

"His royal highness will on no account, treat upon this article; the execution of which it must be evident to both parties is impossible."

If general Brune expects any thing further to pass on that subject, the sooner the negociation is put an end to the better.

In regard to the number of prisoners, if every other point is clearly and immediately decided upon, his royal highness may be induced to relax; if not, it is unnecessary to enter further into the subject; and he directs you to finish the negociation.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) ALEX. HOPE,
Deputy adjutant-general.

The hon. major-general Knox, &c.

Alkmaar, October 18, 1799.

SIR,

Three P. M.

I have received your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you, that every thing is settled to his royal highness's satisfaction; and in consequence of which general Brune has given immediate orders to all his posts that hostilities shall cease, and that no further work of any kind shall be carried on:

He requests his royal highness will be pleased to give similar orders without loss of time, as a report has just been made that some houses have been

set on fire on the road leading to Herenhuysen.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
J. KNOX.

To the hon. colonel Hope,
adjutant-general, &c.

N. B. General Brune has sent off to Amsterdam to direct that nothing hostile shall be attempted on the part of the flotilla there fitted out; and he begs that similar notice may be sent to admiral Mitchell.

During these proceedings in Holland, the Austrians and Russians were engaged in reducing Tortona, Mannheim, and other forts; on which account Suwarrow was absent when general Hotze was slain, and his army fell back from Zurich, after a most obstinate and bloody contest, which continued for two successive days; for the republican general Massena having gained information that Suwarrow was advancing to join general Hotze at Zurich, and not caring to risk a battle where he was present, attacked the army of general Hotze, who being killed early, as he was observing the enemy's position, that circumstance very much disconcerted the operations of the allied forces. We shall give particulars of this affair, as transmitted by lieut. colonels Ramsay and H. Clinton, to lord Grenville, from the headquarters at Shaffhausen, dated September 30, 1799.

The combined operations of the allied army were intended to take place on the 26th and 27th of September, six battalions under general Korsakoff, being detached to Usnach, on the 25th, for the purpose of increasing the force destined to act in that quarter.

The enemy being doubtless apprized of this circumstance, attacked the Russians

sians on the 25th, at a very early hour in the morning, a brisk fire of musquetry being heard on the left of the allied army in the neighbourhood of Waleshausen, accompanied by a cannonade on their right, appearing to proceed from Baden. This attack on the left of the allies was intended for the purpose merely of diverting their attention from the real point which the enemy had in view, and they passed the Limmat in great force, toward Wemengham, between Zurich and Baden.

By this manœuvre they broke the line in that quarter, cutting off from the allied army eight battalions, under generals Markof and Duras, which were posted between Weinengen and the Rhine, where leaving a corps for observing or attacking them, the republicans ascended the Limmat, towards Zurich. A regiment of dragoons was the only force remaining there, in consequence of detachments sent away, and troops drawn to the left, and in the presence of this small body, the passage of the Limmat was effected, and the enemy advancing, arrived in the neighbourhood of Zurich, before they met with any considerable resistance.

The plain in front of Zurich, between Limmat and the heights, which running parallel to that river, form a continuation of the Albis, to the northwest, was occupied by a line of republican cavalry and infantry. These, with a numerous train of artillery, attacked with great vigour the allies in front of Zurich, and prevented the detaching to the right, on which the chief efforts of the enemy were directed.

At a late hour in the afternoon, some reinforcements arrived on the Zurich side of the Limmat, but the enemy were masters of some principal heights

which commanded the town, and notwithstanding the bravery of the Russians in repeated charges, the superiority of the French in force and position, rendered it impossible for them to regain what had been lost, so that at sun-set the French were masters of Zurich-Berg, and nearly had surrounded the town, although their attack upon the position of general Hotze was determined in favour of the Austrians; but general Hotze was unfortunately killed at the commencement of the action, and general Petrasch, who succeeded to the command, was resolved in consequence of the loss to avoid an attack which he expected the next morning, and retreated in the night from Usnach.

The situation of the Russians was thus rendered very critical, and it became absolutely necessary to abandon Zurich and its neighbourhood without delay. The retreat took place on the 26th in the morning, and the whole arrived that night in the environs of Eglisan and Schaffhausen, experiencing no loss of consequence on their march; but upon the whole, the allies had to regret a loss of between two and three thousand men killed wounded, or missing, and ten cannon taken, with some baggage; nearly an equal number of cannon, were taken by the Russians, but the want of horses prevented them either from taking away their own, or bringing off those which they had taken. During these transactions Marshal Suwarrow had taken possession of Saint Gothard, and was advancing towards Altdorf and Schweitz, having marched in five days time 116 English miles, his intention was to have recovered, by this means, three days lost by a false alarm for the safety of Tortona; but an assemblage of
of

of mules not being completed according to order, the carriages could not proceed farther in the mountains, and obliged him to halt.

The French had greatly exaggerated their success; but by some accounts from Switzerland of a date subsequent to theirs, it seems there was nothing much to boast of, as the battles of two days continuance near Zurich, were dreadfully obstinate and sanguinary; the loss of the French being estimated at 8,000, and some accounts make it 10,000 men. In this contest, the object of Massena's ambition was to gain possession of Zurich by any sacrifice, as he had evacuated it for fear of the Archduke's taking it by storm some months before. The chief force of the French, augmented by some conscripts which they are prodigal of exposing to slaughter, on their first attacks, occupied a position which was judged by all military men impossible to force in front with any prospect of success; at the same time the Austrian army was much weakened by the Archduke, he drawing many of them to the Rhine, and that reduction had not been made good by an equal number of Russian troops.

The troops commanded by the Archduke had been removed from Bruschal to Radstadt, on the 29th of September, whither his army hastened by forced marches. The cavalry not being allowed to enjoy night quarters, so that by the speedy march of this army on one side, and that of Suwarrow on the other, it was probable that Massena might be brought to repent his most dear bought success in attacking the centre of the combined armies. And indeed later accounts from Switzerland stated, that the republicans, in consequence of this victory, ad-

vancing beyond the Thor, took possession of Constance, but were driven from it with great slaughter the same evening by the Imperialists, which is a proof that the defeat experienced by the Russians, far from being such as stated by the French, left them in a condition to continue as an army unbroken on the left bank of the Rhine, and defend their ground foot by foot; and they would be able to do it with more facility when the Archduke arrived with his army at Schaffhausen with 25,000 men, and the army of Conde, consisting of about 6,000, at Stockach. These forces, joined to the Bavarians, and the corps under general Korsakou, would be sufficient to secure that quarter of Germany from any alarm.

On the frontiers of Italy, the republicans have been again beaten, for general Melas receiving accounts that they were assembling considerable forces in the valley of Stura, detached general Gottesheim with seven battalions of infantry, and a regiment of dragoons, to the entrance of that valley: these took a proper position between Fossano and Savigliano, to observe from thence every hostile movement, and the enemy made an attack upon that general's chain of advanced posts, particularly on his left wing, but he made a good use of the knowledge which he had acquired of the ground, and his experience as an able commander of advanced posts, so that the republicans could not obtain possession either of Fossano or Savigliano. In the mean time, the enemy received considerable reinforcements, amounting to 15,000 in that quarter only. This addition to their force, and his knowledge that the ground was intersected with hedges, in which case he might be surrounded with superior numbers, determined general

neral Gotteshiem to draw off nearer to the army. He therefore quitted Savigliano the same evening, and Fossano about midnight. Under these circumstances, the army had arrived near Braa on the 16th of September: and although there was not much reason to expect an attack from the republicans while it was in that position, yet their assembling in the valley of Stura, and the probability of their being joined by the troops at Pignerol, and those advancing from Genoese against Piedmont, it attracted the notice of general Melas, who resolved, before they could execute their intended plans, to attack them in that situation with their force, which advanced too far. For this purpose, a sufficient detachment from the army marched in two columns, one of which proceeded on the high road to Savigliano, and the other against Fossano. The first column was commanded by general Melas, and the other by general Kray. These columns were put in motion at eleven in the forenoon, but did not arrive at the place of their destination until five in the evening, when they immediately attacked the enemy. The regiments of Fursteinbourgh and Stuard led the attack, and did every thing which could be expected from brave and undaunted troops.

The enemy's defence was ably conducted, and they were not put into disorder, until major Brosch was charged by the general of cavalry to attack them in flank with a battalion of Stuard and a detachment of Lobkowitz dragoons, when they were thrown into confusion, and fled towards the Moira, leaving behind two pieces of cannon; but their left wing still making some resistance, the battalion of Schassipate grenadiers was ordered to advance on

them by beat of drum, not firing a shot. That battalion punctually performing its orders, the republicans were beaten in every point, and compelled to retreat, when the post at Savigliano was retaken, but night prevented a pursuit. General Kray had also been successful in his attack upon the enemy, who quitted Fossano in the night, which post was occupied in the morning by Imperial troops. The enemy's loss was 1000 killed or wounded, and 900 prisoners: more would have been taken, but night covered their retreat. The Allies' loss was 92 killed, and 528 wounded, with 63 missing.

About the same time, the republicans advanced in a considerable column from Pignerol, against a small corps at Airasco, consisting of the 7th regiment of hussars, and some infantry. The French proceeded to Scalanga, after they had driven these troops from their post. The enemy proceeded toward Scalanga, and formed their front near the high road. Colonel Scanroth, who commanded the hussars, and had charge of the post, suffered them to advance within cannon shot, and then directed a most destructive fire upon them from six pieces of artillery, and at the same time attacked their left wing and rear so successfully with his hussars, that they were driven back. The action continued till night, when the colonel was enabled to re-occupy his former post.

This expedition, in which the enemy lost near 400 men, is said to have been directed by general Championet in person. General Salm also defeated the French near Pignerol, and took 300 prisoners. The republicans were then driven into Cani from every quarter, and a regular siege of that place commenced. Towards the end of September,

tember, after a siege of eight days, the Neapolitan army took Bieti, in the Ecclesiastical state. It was carried by storm; and the garrison part cut to pieces, and part made prisoners. That army then marched for Rome, with intent to join general Frolich, who was advancing from Tuscany with a considerable body of Austrians, Russians, and insurgents. On the 13th of September, general Klenau's head-quarters were at Chiavara, only 15 miles from Genoa; and on the 9th of the same month, a ship, in which several of the Roman Jacobins endeavoured to escape from Civita Vecchia, was pursued and sent to the bottom of the sea by two British frigates; upon which another vessel, on board of which were the Frenchified Romans, returned. All the heavy artillery had been suddenly conveyed by water to be employed against Ancona. The Bochetto and Genoa were still possessed by the republicans on the 15th; but travellers reported that they were conveying their heavy artillery from Genoa to Nice. The Neapolitan army, in conjunction with the British shipping, blockaded Rome, which the republicans agreed to quit, together with Civita Vecchia, before an actual siege commenced. Garnier commanded the republicans, who were allowed the honours of war in marching out; but agreed by articles not to serve, and the British took possession of Civita Vecchia, the most noted sea-port in those parts.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5, 1799.

Sir,

I am to request you will inform their lordships, that I took possession of Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and Tolfa, on the 29th and 30th ultimo, with 200

marines and seamen of the Culloden and Minotaur, and have already embarked and sent off near 3000 of the enemy; I now wait for transports to get off the remainder, which I suppose about 2000 more.

General Bouchard takes possession of Rome at the same time by the same treaty; all public property to be restored: their lordships may rely on every exertion on my part to put the capitulation in full force, and I trust I shall succeed.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

T. TROWBRIDGE.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5, 1799.

Sir,

In obedience to orders from lord Nelson, I have the honour to send you, for their lordships' information, a copy of the articles of capitulation I have made with the French general Garnier, to clear the Roman state. As I knew the French had all the valuables of the Roman state packed up ready for embarking, and the coast of Civita Vecchia forming a deep bay, with hard W. S. W. gales and heavy sea, which prevented the blockade from being so close as was necessary to prevent the enemy from carrying off those truly valuable articles, I therefore thought it best to grant the liberal terms I have, to get them out of this country, where they have committed every excess possible.

I trust what I have done may meet their lordships' approbation.

I beg you to represent to their lordships, that I received every assistance from captain Louis, who went to Rome and arranged the evacuation, and taken possession of that place, with

with general Bouchard, with great ability and exertion, and much to my satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. TROWBRIDGE.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Articles proposed for the Convention between the General of Division Garnier, Commander in Chief of the French Troops, and those of Italy and other Allies now in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege; and Commodore Trowbridge, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Squadron, lying off Civita Vecchia, on the part of Great Britain and its Allies.

Art. I. Considering that neither the French troops, nor the troops of their allies at Rome, Civita Vecchia, and posts within the jurisdiction of those places, have been regularly besieged by the troops of his Sicilian majesty or those of his allies, his said majesty consents that the troops of France and the Italian or Polonese troops serving with them, as also all persons attached or belonging to those forces, together with their wives and children, shall quit the Roman territory, in order to be sent to France, and to the ports of Villa Franca or Antibes, on board vessels to be provided for that purpose by the commanding officer of the British forces; it is, however, to be understood, that the officers, troops, and other persons to be so embarked, shall be properly victualled by the English government, during the whole of their voyage, and that the expence attending such victualling shall hereafter be accounted for by the French Republic.

Answer.—Considering that Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolfa, and all the Roman State, under the command of general Garnier, has not been regu-

larly besieged, but blockaded, I will grant to the troops of the respective garrisons to march out of the places with all the honours of war, to have their musquets, swords, and bayonets, and not to be considered as prisoners of war on their being sent to France or Corsica, as may be most convenient. The French general shall be allowed to take from the public stores at Rome, provision for the march to Civita Vecchia.

Proper provisions shall be put on board for the voyage, to be paid for by the government of France hereafter.

Art. II. The troops above-mentioned shall assemble at Civita Vecchia within eight days after the acceptance of the present convention, and remain there under their own guard, with the honours of war, until the arrival or junction of the transports in which they are to be embarked; and when the number of vessels necessary for that purpose shall be assembled, the said troops shall file off and embark accordingly, with drums beating, colours flying, a lighted match, and two field pieces, or howitzers, with their appurtenances; and be also allowed to carry away their fire-locks, bayonets, side-arms, and cartouch-boxes, together with all their effects belonging to each individual of the said troops, who shall moreover not be considered as prisoners of war.

Answer.—The transports are ready—St. Angelo and its dependencies under general Garnier's orders on the other side Tolfa, to be delivered to the regular troops under Marshal Bouchard.

The French garrison shall march out with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, in 48 hours after the capitulation is signed; but no field pieces or howitzers allowed; only muskets,

muskets, bayonets, swords, and cartridge-boxes, and not to be considered as prisoners of war.

Art. III. Twenty-four hours after the present convention shall have been signed and accepted, a detachment of four hundred men shall land from his Britannic majesty's ships: one hundred of whom to be stationed at Civita Vecchia, and afterwards to occupy the horn-works at the Roman gate, conjointly with a like number of French troops; the remaining three hundred to march to Rome, accompanied by a French detachment: and on their arrival at that city, to be put in possession of the Cavallegiere, and the hospitals; at which two places an equal number of French troops shall be stationed, until the complete evacuation of Rome.

Answer.—Civita Vecchia and Corneto to be put in possession of the British troops as soon as possible after the signing these articles as a courier can come from Rome; and the garrison to be embarked and sent to France.

General Bouchard will have directions to give a sufficient guard of regular troops to escort the garrisons of Rome and its dependencies.

Art. IV. The sick belonging to the French, and their allies, not in a condition to be removed, shall be allowed to remain at Rome and Civita Vecchia, and be considered as under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty and his allies, subject, however, to the domestice superintendence of a French commissary, and be treated and taken care of as heretofore, by their usual medical attendants. &c. who shall be permitted to continue with them at the two places above-mentioned.

Whatever expence may attend the

victualling of the said sick, shall be reimbursed to the proper persons by the French republic; and on the recovery of the sick they shall be conveyed by sea to the nearest port of France, together with their medical and other persons who may have attended them in the hospitals, and whose presence at Rome or Civita Vecchia may be no longer necessary, after the whole of the sick shall be recovered.

Answer.—The sick belonging to the French garrisons shall be assisted by their proper surgeons at the expence of the French republic, and shall be sent to France when they are well.

Art. V. With a view to the due execution of the preceding article, an assistant shall be appointed to the commissary at war at Rome for the purpose of enforcing the French regulations in the different hospitals, and seeing that the sick are treated according thereto; and he shall correspond, as far as relates to these particulars, with the commanding officer of the English troops, and their allies, who may happen to be at Rome or Civita Vecchia. The French general shall nominate an officer to take charge of the depot which may be formed at Civita Vecchia for the convalescents, according as they shall be discharged from the hospitals.

Answer.—The general may leave such assistants for the sick as he may think necessary.

Art. VI. The French troops and their allies leaving Rome for Civita Vecchia shall be provided with the necessary conveyances for their baggage, as also with a sufficient number of boats for the removal of the sick, who may be judged by the medical people to be in a condition to be sent to the last-mentioned place. The like means of conveyance for the several public accomptants,

accomptants, whether of the troops or civil administrations, such as civil commission, *national treasury*, civil and military appointments, &c. shall be also provided by the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, who shall have entered the city of Rome in conformity to the third article of this convention; and he the said commanding officer, will have regard to the requisitions which shall be made to him by the commissary of war entrusted with the chief management of this service relating to the division or the French army.

Answer.—General Bouchard will furnish cars, boats, &c. for the accommodation of the French garrison of St. Angelo and its dependencies, and the baggage that may belong to it. Especial care shall be taken to convey such sick and wounded soldiers as may be in a state to be removed to Civita Vecchia. In case waggons, &c. cannot be procured immediately, they shall be sent by the first opportunity to France.

Art. VII. The French troops and their allies shall proceed to Civita Vecchia in the course of two days, according to stated marches; they shall set out on the first day for Monteroni, and on the second proceed to their destination: they shall be supplied from the store houses at Rome with the supplies necessary for their subsistence during their march, and the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, shall provide the means of conveying those supplies.

Art.—Answered before.

Art. VIII. All private property, whether moveable or otherwise, belonging to the French or their allies in the Roman territory, shall be respected,

and remain at the disposal of themselves or their agents.

Answer.—Private property never molested.

Art. IX. All descriptions of property, as well as objects of art, belonging to the French republic, throughout the whole extent of the Roman republic, shall also be respected; and the French nation have liberty to leave one or more persons at Rome for the purpose of arranging and preserving the several articles until the French government shall take such measures relative to this matter as may appear most consistent with the national interests.

Answer.—Public property was never before demanded in the long course of service I have seen; of course, wholly inadmissible—Public property must be given up.

Art. X. The cavalry corps belonging to the French and their allies shall be allowed to return to France by land, taking their horses with them, as also their arms and baggage; they shall be escorted by a detachment of fifty mounted Austrian troops, or their allies, as far as the advanced posts of the nearest French army. All French officers, or the officers of the allies of France, who shall be desirous of following the above-mentioned cavalry corps, with their horses, servants, carriages, and baggage, shall be at liberty to do so, and the necessary lodgings, provisions, and forage for this little column during its journey be provided by means of the interposition and good offices of commodore Trowbridge, with the persons in authority belonging to those governments, through whose territories the troops may pass.

Answer.—Cavalry horses, being public property, must be delivered up. The remainder of this article inadmissible.

Art. XI.—An officer of artillery shall be appointed by each party to draw up a report of the ordnance and other military stores and ammunition remaining in the garrisons of the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and the surrounding towers; and an officer of experience shall also be appointed on each side to make a report as to the actual state of the above fortresses with a view to their surrender, and likewise that of the plans and charts in their dependency.

Answer.—Agreed.

Art. XII. Such citizens of Rome and other persons as shall now form, or may hereafter, or have heretofore formed a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic; and those also who shall have served the republican cause, by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with the French troops, and on the same terms as they do, or remain in the Roman territory, free from all kind of molestation, on account of their political opinions or avocations, during the time they shall have exercised either their civil or military functions.

Answer.—As long as they Romans conduct themselves with propriety, and are obedient to the laws, they will not be molested. Such Romans as choose to embark with the garrisons, have my full leave; taking with them their private property.

Art. XIII. Commodore Trowbridge, on the part of his Britannic majesty and his allies, engages on the good faith of the English, that no individuals within the Roman territory shall be incommoded or persecuted on account of their opinions; that their persons and property shall be alike respected; and that they shall moreover be at all

times allowed the necessary passports to enable them to leave the Roman territory, with entire liberty to make such transfer or disposition of their property as they may think fit.

Answer.—Answered before.

Art. XIV. Any neutral vessels which may be in the port of Civita Vecchia, shall be allowed to be employed as transports for the conveyance of the troops, and be afterwards permitted to return to their former employments; and vessels belonging to the republics of France and Rome, which may also be at the port above-mentioned, shall be employed in like manner, and not held subject to confiscation as prizes.

Answer.—Proper transports are provided.

Art. XV. Two covered vessels (that is, vessels not subject to examination) shall be allowed, and chosen from among those above-mentioned, belonging to the French and Roman republics.

Answer.—Inadmissible.

Art. XVI. The storehouses of Civita Vecchia shall remain in the possession of the French, until the troops shall be on the point of embarking; and the French general allowed to take therefrom the supplies necessary for the division, passing his word that he will not suffer any waste, nor permit more to be taken away than the army may require.

Answer.—As long as the garrison remains, the store-houses may be kept, but no more of any species of provisions to be issued than the usual allowance.

Art. XVII. The French ambassador to the Roman republic shall enjoy in the most ample manner the privileges attaching to his character, according to the rights of nations, and be at liberty to leave Rome, and return to France either

either by land or water, taking with him whatever number of carriages he may judge necessary for his own personal accommodation, and the convenience of the persons attached to the embassy, as well as for the conveyance of their effects and the diplomatic papers. Should the ambassador prefer a conveyance by sea, he shall together with his effects and those of the persons in his suite, and the archives of the embassy, be conveyed on board an English ship to some of the ports of Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon. In this article are understood to be comprehended the secretary of embassy, the secretaries, and other persons attached to the embassy, and people composing the suite of the ambassador. The members of the civil commission from the French republic residing at Rome; their agents, and persons attached to such commission, shall also be understood as coming within the description of persons comprehended in this article; and they (the said members) shall be at liberty to take away with them the papers appertaining to their commission, together with their own personal effects, and those of other persons belonging to the said commission.

Answer—A proper English vessel is ready for the reception of the ambassador and his suite, to carry him to France, with his baggage.

Public papers belonging to the Roman State to be delivered to general Bouchard.

No public papers to be taken away which in any shape are belonging to the Roman State.

The agents to be sent to France by sea.

Art. XVIII. The town of Ancona, being under a separate command, shall not be understood as comprehended in the present convention.

Answer—The places to be given up are understood to be those under the command of general Garnier; Ancona is excepted.

Art. XIX. The articles of the present convention shall not be construed as affecting or tending in any respect to prejudice the sovereign right or independence of the Roman republic.

Answer.—Not understood.

Art. XX. In case of any difficulty arising with respect to the interpretation of the articles of this convention, such articles shall be explained in favour of the French and their allies.

Answer.—Agreed.

Done and concluded at a council of war the 10th Vendemaire, eighth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) T. TROWBRIDGE.

(Signed) P. GARNIER.

The foregoing treaty was made, concluded, and agreed upon between us, the above signed, in order to its having full and entire effect, according to the answers of commodore Trowbridge, placed under the respective articles proposed by general Garnier.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, eighth year of the republic—27th Sept. 1799.

(Signed) P. GARNIER.

(Signed) T. TROWBRIDGE.

Additional articles to the Convention made between the General of Division Garnier, Commander in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's Forces before Civita Vecchia.

Art. I. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall take possession of the fort and town

town of Civita Vecchia, the 7th Vendemaire (29th September) in the afternoon. The French troops of the garrison will remain in the barracks, as it will be mentioned hereafter; they will be allowed at the gate of the barracks a guard of honour of their own nation.

The British troops shall take possession of Corneto the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) in the morning; the French troops at Corneto will be at Civita Vecchia the same day, to be placed in the barracks as above. His Sicilian majesty's troops shall take possession of Rome and Forte St. Angelo the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) two hours after midnight, in a sufficient number, and shall be placed according to the dispositions that may be proposed by general Garnier to general Bouchard, so as to assure the tranquillity of the town, and to protect the evacuation of the French. The French shall begin to evacuate Rome the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) a second column shall march out the next day, and the third, which will be the last, shall set out the day after.

They shall also repair to Monteroni the day of their departure, and the day succeeding they will arrive at Civita Vecchia.

They will take with them in their route two field pieces and one howitzer, which they will deliver to the British commodore as soon as they arrive at Civita Vecchia.

Agreed.

Art. II. General Garnier, or for him the French commandant of the city of Rome, agreeably with general Bouchard, shall continue to give the French and the Romans, at the suite of the army, public orders to regulate their evacuation, until the departure of the last French column.

Agreed.

Art. III. The 9th Vendemaire (or the 1st of Oct.) the French troops in the barracks of Civita Vecchia shall be so embarked, that their barracks may be occupied by the first column coming from Rome, arriving the same evening at Civita Vecchia. This column shall be embarked the next day to give room in the evening to the second column. This shall embark the 12th Vendemaire (4th October) to make way for the third column, which shall embark the day after their arrival.

The sick shall be embarked the last; and the most commodious vessels shall be kept for them.

Agreed.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire and eighth republic, (or 27th September, 1799.)

(Signed) T. TROWBRIDGE.

We shall now give an account of some captures by sea, during these transactions by land, Captain Macnamara, in his majesty's ship the Cerberus, to towards the latter end of September 1799, took the French letter of marque Le Exchange, pierced for 14, but carrying only 10 guns, and 40 men, six days out from Bourdeaux, with a cargo of bale goods and wines. On the 3d of October, captain Barlow, of his majesty's ship the Phœbe, captured the French privateer Le Grand Ferrailleure, of 16 brass six-pounders, and 121 men, out sixteen days from Bourdeaux, but had taken nothing.

Captain Brenton, of the Speedy, was running through the Gut of Gibraltar on the 3d of October, and observed a number of small vessels coming out of Algeiras, and concluded that they were Spanish gun-boats, endeavouring to cut off some merchant ships then under

convoy. He therefore steered in such manner as to keep them far off from the fleet. Upon nearing them, he perceived that they were eight Spanish coasters, under protection of a cutter and schooner, upon which he made sail in chase, and soon separated two of the sternmost from them, but these ran under the guns of a castle, which opened a fire on his ship, and prevented bringing them off. Continuing in chase of the other under the fire of Tariff-castle, he came up with four more of them in a bay to the eastward of Cape Trafalgar: one of them immediately anchored near a fort, and the other three under a castle, which had one gun mounted. It blew strong, and being on a lee-shore, he could not adventure so near as he wished, but anchored about four cables length from the castle, bringing his guns to bear upon it; but being in a ruinous state, it did not return the fire; but his own being directed upon the vessels, compelled the Spaniards in a short time to desert them, first cutting their cables, on which they ran on shore, and could not be brought off by boats dispatched for that purpose, owing to the high surf and stormy weather. The boats, however, brought off most of their arms, throwing the remainder overboard, and left all the three vessels perfect wrecks.

Captain Western, of the *Tamer*, being off Surinam, saw a strange sail, and having the evening before been engaged in a running fight with a large French corvette, which escaped by running into shoal water, favoured by darkness of the night, he conjectured the sail in sight to be the same corvette, and immediately gave chase, and came alongside of her, when in ten minutes close action, she struck, and proved to be the corvette *Republicanaire*, command-

ed by captain Le Bozea, of 32 guns, 24 of them long nine pounders, and eight carronades, 32 pounders, manned with 220 men, from Cayenne, on a cruize, wherein she had taken two American vessels. Captain Western had two sailors wounded; his sails and rigging also were damaged much, considering the action was so short; but the enemy's vessel was almost a wreck. She had nine men killed, and twelve wounded. Captain Western took her in tow, and arrived safe with her at Surinam.

Captain Young, of his majesty's ship *Ethalion*, on the 16th of October, discovered three large ships, evidently men of war, with all sails set. He immediately tacked, and stood under easy sail, intending to speak with the sternmost, or to follow them all night; and upon coming up with the sternmost, she made the private signal, by which he concluded the other two were enemies, and made all possible sail to chase. At day-light he discovered the ship which made a private signal to be his majesty's ship, *Naiad*, and another frigate in company, with two large frigates a-head. At seven in the morning, the *Naiad* made captain Young a signal to pass the sternmost, and stand on for the headmost; and at nine o'clock he came within random shot of her, and fired some guns at her, which made her alter her course. At half past eleven, the headmost ship bore up athwart the *Ethalion*, within half musket-shot, when by the spirited behaviour of her crew, and prompt execution of his orders by the officers with a well-directed fire of two broadsides, and a running fight of an hour, exchanging stern and bow-chasers, the latter within half pistol-shot, captain Young had the pleasure to see the Spanish colours hauled

hauled down, and took possession of the Thetis frigate of that nation, carrying 36 guns, and 440 men, commanded by Don Juan de Mendoza, from Vera Cruz to the first port in Spain which she could fetch, with 1,411,526 dollars, and a quantity of cocoa, on board; a fine prize for the captors, not a man of them being hurt; but the Thetis had one killed, and nine wounded.

Captain Young hastened with his valuable prize to port; and in the mean time, captain Pierrepont, in the Naiad, with the Triton and Alkmena under his command, captured the other Spanish frigate Santa Brigada, of 36 guns, and 300 men, commanded by Don Antonio Pillon. She had left Vera Cruz in company with the Thetis captured above. The Naiad had the good fortune to discover them first, being then a single ship; yet her commander had the resolution to chase, and on discovering the Ethalion, informed captain Young by the private signal, as before stated, when a chase commenced, and the Ethalion having captured the foremost, captain Pierrepont made no doubt of this capture. But as the frigates took different courses, he being joined by the Alkmena and Triton, to which latter ship, though much astern when discovered, yet by her superior sailing captain Pierrepont professed himself much indebted for the capture, which, after a chase of 32 hours, was happily effected. During the chase, the Spanish frigate, by a press of sail, having rounded Cape Finisterre, stood so near the rocks of Monte Lara, that the Triton, being first in pursuit, at the rate of seven miles in an hour, captain Gore, her commander, regardless of danger in his eagerness to close with the enemy, struck on these rocks: how

ever, she got off again, and commenced an animated fire on the Spanish frigates. Captain Digby, also, with the presence of mind becoming an experienced officer, kept on in a direction to cut off her entrance into Porte de Vidra. At last, the three frigates closed with the enemy among the rocks of Commoroto, where the Spanish colours were hauled down, and, together with the captors, was in foul ground, but a fortunate breeze springing up from the shore, they got the ships' heads to sea, and began to shift the prisoners, when a Spanish squadron of four large ships, one with a broad pendant, came out of Vigo, with an intention, as was conjectured, to rescue the prize, on which the prisoners were shifted, and all the ships cleared to receive them. The squadron perceiving captain Pierrepont's determination, slunk again into Vigo. Light and variable winds kept him a while on the Spanish coast, which appeared one continued blaze, from artillery and signal fires, when he, well aware of another Spanish squadron in Corunna, thought it best to continue in company for the protection of so valuable a prize, containing 1,400,000 dollars, and a cargo of equal estimation.

Captain Le Barr, in the Mayflower private ship of war, from Guernsey, in a six months cruize, captured a Spanish gun-boat with two long brass eighteen pounders, and 43 men; also a Spanish packet, cutter-rigged, mounting eight guns, four pounders, four of them brass, with four swivels, and 27 men. He likewise took the Caroline French brig, from Leghorn to Toulon, laden with hemp and tin, in boxes; a brig under Danish colours, laden with brandy; the Saint Joseph Spanish bark, from Rio de la Plata to Barcelona, with cocoa, hides, and bales of cotton; also

also the Spanish schooner *Santo Christo de Grao*, from Cadiz to La Guayra, with various kinds of merchandize.— Captain Twisden, of the *Revolutionaire*, brought into the Cove of Cork, the *Le Bourdelais*, belonging to Bourdeaux, pierced for 36 guns, mounting 16 long brass 12 pounders, with eight brass 36 pounder carronades, and 202 men, taken after a chase of 124 miles, in nine hours. She was out from Port Passage 19 days, having captured an American ship, laden with tobacco, and a Portuguese ship from Cork, with provisions; but was taken on the 16th of October, being a most beautiful new ship, the largest fleet sailing privateer out of France, and well calculated for his majesty's service.

About the same time, captain Digby, of the *Alcmene*, took the *Duex Amis* French letter of marque, of six guns, and 60 men, bound to Saint Domingo.

On the 19th of October, captain Laskey, of the American brig *Polly*, belonging to Marblehead, was found hanging to a chest in his cabin, quite dead. The *Polly* had been brought into Falmouth by his majesty's ship the *Triton*. She was laden with sugar and coffee, and it was supposed that she sailed from the Havannah for Bilboa, the cargo being Spanish property.

On the 21st of October, paroles were granted to such of the captains of Dutch ships as had been taken in the Texel; and all of them, but one, set out for London. These ships made a very fine appearance. Their sides being very high above the water level, are painted black and yellow, with a pendant at the main-top-gallant-mast-head, and an union ensign at their sterns. Some Dutch sailors are still in them. A party of them, about 50 or 60, some time before, attempted to seize a vessel at

Sheerness, where they lay, and escape; but they were prevented, and compelled to abandon their project.

A French brig letter of marque called *Le Hazard*, of ten guns, and 30 men, was brought into Plymouth on the 11th of November. She was taken by captain Barlow, of the *Phœbe*, and was bound to Bourdeaux from Senegal, laden with gum and ivory, supposed to have a cargo worth 20,000*l*. The same morning, arrived the *Venus*, of Teignmouth, captain George Squarry, from Newfoundland, with fish and oil. She sailed, with 12 others, under convoy of the *Agincourt*, of 64 guns, vice admiral Waldegrave, and was parted from the convoy in a gale of wind on the 4th. It appears from her account, that the fishery had been very productive in this season, as the *Venus*, though a small vessel, had taken no less than 80,000 fish, with a crew of five men only; and other vessels on that station had been alike successful.

A very severe action took place in the bay between the *Cerberus*, of 32 guns, commanded by captain Macnamara, and two Spanish frigates, each of superior force to the *Cerberus*. One of them struck her flag to the British frigate; but she was constrained to abandon a prize so gallantly obtained, on the appearance of two other Spanish frigates. The loss of men in the enemy's ships was great, but not in the *Cerberus*. It appears from a letter written by an officer on board her, that during her cruize, in company with the *Arethusa*, that they had captured two French ships with valuable cargoes, and a Spanish brig; which the *Arethusa* sending to Portsmouth, the *Cerberus* alone had this action to maintain with a Spanish convoy of five frigates, two brigs, and 83 merchant vessels.

sels. That they engaged three of the frigates for an hour and a half; but the other frigates coming up, obliged them to haul off, which was done with such expedition, that the Cerberus was under sail in ten minutes time. One of the convoy being close, they out with boats, took out the people, set her on fire, and sent her flaming among the convoy. No doubt was made by the officer, if the Arethusa had been with them, of securing the greatest part of that fleet.

The celebrated Buonaparte, instead of conquering Egypt, as he proposed, had slunk from his army very privately, for fear of any notice which sir Sydney Smith might have of his embarking; insomuch, that it was not known for twenty-four hours to the remnant of his exhausted army. In short he escaped, and returned to Paris, where, according to his account, all had been wrong, and was to be mended by a new change of the government, which he effected in the following manner, as translated from the French papers.

COUNCIL OF ELDERS.

November 9th.

Cornet (du Loire) in the name of the committee of inspectors, consisting of Courtois, Fabres, Baraillon, and Beaupins, elected on the 16th of Oct. gave in a report, of which the following is a copy:

"Representatives of the People,

"The confidence which you have placed in your committee of inspectors has imposed on it the duty of watching for your individual security, which is inseparably connected with the safety of the republic. For when the representatives of a nation are menaced in their persons, when they do not enjoy

in their deliberations the most absolute independence; when the acts that should emanate from them have not that character, liberty is no more; the republic is at an end. The most alarming symptoms have manifested themselves for some days past: the most sinister reports have been made to us; if some measures are not taken, if the Council of Elders does not place the country and liberty in a state of security from the very great dangers that still threaten them, the conflagration will become general, and we shall no longer be able to arrest its devouring effects. It will alike involve friends and enemies; the country will be consumed, and those who shall escape the flames, will pour out bitter, but unavailing tears on the ashes which it may leave behind in its course. You are yet able, Representatives of the People, to avert this fate. An instant is sufficient; but if you do not seize it, the republic will have existed, and its skeleton will be in the talons of vultures contending for its mangled limbs.

"Your committee of inspectors are aware that conspirators are repairing in crowds to Paris; that those who are there already are waiting for the signal to raise their poniards against the representatives of the nation, against the members of the first authorities of the republic. It has, therefore convened this extraordinary assembly to inform you on this subject. It has conceived it right to invite the deliberations of the council on the part which it may be proper to take in this crisis. The Council of Elders possesses the power of saving the country and liberty. It would be to doubt its profound wisdom to suppose that it will not seize an opportunity of executing it with his usual firmness and energy."

Cornet

Cornet concluded the report with proposing that the council should pass the following decree :

1. The legislative body shall be transferred to the commune of St. Cloud, where the two councils will hold their sittings in the two wings of the palace.

2. They shall repair thither at noon of to-morrow, the 19th Brumaire (10th Nov.) Any continuation of their functions or deliberations elsewhere, and before that time, is prohibited.

3. General Buonaparte is charged with the execution of the present decree. He shall take every measure necessary for the safety of the National Representation. The general commanding the 17th military division, the guard of the legislative body, the stationary national guards, the troops of the line, who may be without the commune of Paris, the constitutional district, and the whole extent of the station of the 17th division, are put directly under his orders, and commanded to acknowledge him in that capacity. All the citizens shall assist him with all their ability, when called upon to do so.

4. General Buonaparte shall be called into the midst of the council, to receive a copy of the present decree, and to take an oath. He shall consult with the committees of inspection of the two councils.

5. The present decree shall be forthwith communicated by message to the Council of Five Hundred and the Executive Directory ; it shall be printed, posted up, and transmitted to all the communes of the republic by extraordinary couriers.

The council of Elders also decreed the following address to the French people.

The Council of Elders to the French Nation.

Frenchmen,

The Council of Elders exercises the right delegated to it by the 102d article of the constitution, of changing the residence of the legislative body.—It exercises this right in order to suppress the factions which aim at subjugating the National Representation, and in order to restore internal peace. It exercises this right, in order also to restore that external peace, which humanity and your lengthened sacrifices demand. The common safety and common prosperity are the objects of this constitutional measure. They shall be accomplished. And do you, inhabitants of Paris, remain tranquil ; the presence of the legislative body will soon be restored to you. Frenchmen, the result of this day will soon shew whether the legislature be worthy and capable of preparing the means of your happiness. Live the people, by whom, and in whom, exists the republic.

The present address shall be printed, proclaimed, and posted up, along with the decree transferring the residence of the legislative body, and as forming a part of it.

November 10.

The president began by reading a letter from Barras.

Savary.—“ I am at a loss to know the motives which have occasioned the change in the place of meeting of the legislative body. I was informed only of these measures by the notice that has been distributed about. I received no letter of summons.

“ I am convinced that it was not upon light grounds, and without very cogent reasons, that the commission of inspectors

inspectors has caused the council of Elders to avail themselves of the power which the constitution gives them, of changing their place of residence; but however great the confidence we may repose in them, we ought to call upon them for an account of the imminent dangers to which the republic is exposed; our colleagues in the other council ought likewise to be informed of them.

"It is highly expedient that each of us should know to what extent the country is in danger, and the basis on which our deliberations and decisions should rest. I therefore move that the commission of inspectors do deliver in a detailed account of the detected conspiracy—if not publicly, at least in a secret committee."

Regnier.—"That proposition tends to renew the discussion of what was decided by the decree of yesterday, which is irrevocable—a decree in which the majority acquiesced, and which is every where looked upon as enacted. There would be the greatest danger to divulge publicly, or even in a secret committee, at least for the present, the manœuvres of the horrible conspiracy against the republic. I therefore call for the order of the day on that proposition."

Guyomard seconded the motion of Savary, and observed, that one of the reasons adduced in the report of Cornudet was frivolous, as it never appeared that freedom of voting was put under any restraint before yesterday's proceedings.

Colombel.—"We are no longer in the times of the committee of public safety, who, under a veil of mystery, dictated laws to the convention. The commission owes itself to the legislative body, and to all France, to give

in a report of the motives, whatever they may be, which induced it to call for a change in the place of residence of the legislature."

Cornudet.—"For the present the council should only think of giving effect to the decree of yesterday." The deliberation was here interrupted, and the president said,

"Representatives, General Buonaparte has come among you to denounce counter-revolutionary conspiracies; he was received with fraternal affection; he went afterwards to the council of five hundred: he was there received with daggers."—(An emotion of horror.)

Lucien Buonaparte was escorted by his guard to the council of elders. There he rendered an account of the afflicting situation of the council of five hundred; of the tyrannical influence exercised by some members, and of the utter impracticability of all deliberation.

The council of Elders, after sitting a long while in a secret committee, came to the following decision:

1. That the legislative body is adjourned.
2. That there shall be appointed, (ad interim) an executive commission consisting of three members.
3. There shall also be appointed a legislative commission of superintendence, to be composed of 25 members.

The council then broke up at seven o'clock, and adjourned till nine, when they were to proceed to the appointment of the citizens who are to compose the executive and legislative commissions.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

Sitting of Nov. 9.

The members of the council assembled

sembled at 11 o'clock, on the summons of the committee of inspectors.

A messenger of state from the council of Elders was introduced.

One of the secretaries read the decree passed this day by the Council of Elders, and its proclamation to the French people.

The president adjourned the sitting until to-morrow at noon, and stated that it would then be held in the commune of St. Cloud.

On breaking up the sitting, he exclaimed *Vive la Republique!—Vive la Constitution de l'An 3!*

Lucian Buonaparte, President.

Sitting at St. Cloud.

In pursuance of the decree passed yesterday by the Council of Elders, the sitting was held in the *Green-house* of the *ci-devant* Castle of St. Cloud. The necessary preparations for the reception of the council retarded the opening of the sitting till two o'clock.

The minutes of the sitting of Nov. 8 were read.

Godin ascended the tribune, to speak on the motion of order.

"Citizens Representatives," said he, "a Decree of the Council of Elders has transferred your sittings to this place. This extraordinary measure has proceeded from the statement of the existence of extrarodinary dangers. The Council of Elders have announced to the French people that they have made use of the right with which they are invested by the 102d article of the constitution, in order to repress faction and give peace to the country.

"Recal to your recollection, Citizens Representatives, the oath you swore. Your object then was to put a stop to the tyranny of the Directory,

and to give to the French people the enjoyment of that liberty they so much love. Consider the events which followed that day in which you have figured either as spectators or important actors. Never were the dignity and the independence of the legislative body less respective; never was an utter oblivion of all liberal and philosophic views more complete. Never was there a more visible and rapid return to the errors of servitude and monarchy.

"On one hand the royalists no longer thought it necessary to conspire in secret—they raised the standard of revolt. On the other, the extravagant ideas of frantic demagogues excited ferment and agitation. These factious demagogues brandish the axe of terror over every head, and hold it suspended but by a single thread.

"It is time to save the country. It is time to revert to the principles of the revolution, and to secure to the people the enjoyment of all the blessings they wished to obtain by so many sacrifices—It is in your power.

"I move then—

1st. The formation of a committee of five members, who shall be charged to present a report on the situation of the republic.

2d. That this report shall be presented during the present sitting.

3d. That all propositions on the subject be referred to this committee.

4th. That all deliberations be suspended till the report be received.

President.—"It is Grandmaison's turn to speak."

Delbrel.—"First of all let us take an oath of fidelity to the constitution."

"Yes, yes!" exclaimed all the members at once; and the cry of *Vive*

Vive la Constitution resounded from every part of the hall.

"In spite of the bayonets that threaten us," continued Delbrel, "in the midst of the tumult, we are free!"

"Yes, yes!—No Dictatorship," cried a number of voices. "Down with the Dictators!—To the vote on the proposal for taking the oath."

These exclamations were followed by agitation, tumult, and threatening gesticulations.

The president put on his hat.

The cries of "*Down with the Dictators—No Dictatorship!*" continued.

The president. "I am too sensible of the dignity which belongs to the character of president of the council, to permit any longer the insolent menaces of some of the speakers, and I declare"

Tranquillity was at length restored, and Grandmaison ascended the tribune to speak.

Grandmaison.——"Representatives, all France will doubtless hear with astonishment, that the council of five hundred, in compliance with the constitutional convocation of the council of elders, has assembled in this place without being apprized of its real situation, and of the extraordinary dangers on which this extraordinary measure is founded. Before, then, we appoint a committee to consider what we are to do, we ought to appoint a committee to enquire what has been done. We are told of factions; and unquestionably they exist. For a long time past they have held us under a yoke of iron. True it is, we have long exhibited it to view; but if factious men are powerful, yet they must be sensible, from the liberty with which we declare our sentiments, that they cannot hope to

reduce us to a submission to their designs.

"I propose therefore to demand of the council of elders, to be informed of the motives which dictated our removal to this place. (*Murmurs.*) It must surely have been to save the constitution, and not merely to save the republic; for the latter is a word which every body understands in his own way. Some will speak of a republic like that of the United States of America; others perhaps will contend, that the constitution of England is a species of republic. But it is the constitutional republic, which the people of France are entitled to have, at the price of the sacrifices which for ten years have been made by every individual in the country. I cordially, therefore, support the proposal for taking an oath, and, however unacceptable it may seem to be, I repeat my suggestion of a message to the council of elders, to know the reasons for our removal to this place?"

"Seconded!" exclaimed a number of members.

Vive la Republique! Vive la Constitution!

The sense of the assembly being taken, a great number of members stood up in support of his motion.

"Those against, rise!" exclaimed a voice. Nobody rose at all.

Thebault wished to be heard.

"The oath!" exclaimed a number of voices. "The vote!"

The president stated, that a proposal had been made to inform the council of elders, that the council of five hundred was constituted.

Several members proposed likewise to inform the directory.

Bertrand (of Calvados) observed that the constitution required that a majority of the whole members should be present

present to constitute the council, which would appear on calling over the names for the vote.

The names were then called over, and the members individually took the oath.

After the oath had been taken Begonnet ascended the tribune to speak.

Begonnet.—“The oath taken in the Greenhouse at St. Cloud, will likewise be recorded in the annals of the revolution. It cannot be compared to that of the Tennis-court at Paris, because then the representatives were surrounded by bayonets, directed by a despot. Now the bayonets are in the hands of republicans, who will employ them only in the defence of liberty.”

“Bravo! Bravo!” exclaimed a number of voices. *Vivent* the defenders of the country!

Crochon.—“I move that a proclamation be issued to the French people to declare that the national representatives are regularly constituted in assembly at St. Cloud, and that a message be sent to the council of elders, to inform them that we are constituted here.”

“And to the directory!” exclaimed several members.

Arena.—“I move that a list of the members who have taken the oath be signed individually by each member, and transmitted officially to all the communes in the republic. You know, likewise, that it is customary to change the president in time of danger, and when circumstances require it. I move that you immediately adopt this measure.”

A number of members exclaimed “I second the motion!”

Others called for the order of the day.

Durracq.—“Several members have proposed that a message be sent to the

directory, to inform them of our installation; but before we can send this message we must know first *where the directory are.*” (*A loud laugh.*)

Several members exclaimed, “They are here in this commune, agreeably to the constitution!”

“If so,” continued Durracq, “would they not have written to you. I move the order of the day on the proposal for a message to the directory.”

Crochon read the declaration he had moved. It was conceived in the following terms:

“The council of five hundred declare to the republic, that they are constituted to the number of a majority at St. Cloud, and that they are sitting in that commune.”

This declaration was adopted.

Bertrand (of Calvados).—“I hope you shall not have taken the oath of your attachment to the constitution of the year 3 in vain. I move that the declaration state your firm determination to die rather than permit it to be violated.”

“This is unnecessary,” cried a number of members. The order of the day.

The propositions of Bertrand dropped.

The council of elders informed the council by a message, that they were assembled in the picture gallery.

A secretary read the following letter from Barras, one of the directory:

Citizens representatives, engaged in public affairs solely from a passion for liberty, I consented to accept the first magistracy of the state, in order that I might support her in times of peril, by my zeal to protect the patriots who had exposed themselves in her cause from the attempts of her enemies, and to ensure to the defenders of the country those particular attentions which could not

not have been more constantly paid to them, than by a citizen who had formerly been a witness of their heroic virtues, and who was ever affected by their wants. The glory which accompanies the return of the illustrious warrior, to whom I had the happiness to open the career of renown, the distinguished marks of confidence given to him by the legislative body, and the decree of the national representation, have convinced me, that to whatever post the public welfare might have formerly summoned me, the perils of liberty are now surmounted, and the interests of the armies secured. I return with joy to the rank of a simple citizen: happy, after so many storms, to transfer, complete and more respectable than ever, the destinies of the republic, of which I was one of the depositories.—Health and respect,

BARRAS.

Duplantier.—“You have just heard read a letter in which one of the directors gives in his resignation.”

“No! No!” exclaimed several voices.

“Yes! Yes!” cried others.

Duplantier.—“I move that the council fix the hour and moment for appointing a successor to citizen Barras.”

Crochon.—“The appointment of a successor to a member of the highest magistracy in the state is an object of too much importance to be decided, without mature deliberation. As the constitution has allowed the council of five hundred five days for this purpose, and five more to the council of elders, it has, as it were, forbidden the legislative body to proceed in this matter abruptly. I move the adjournment of the ballot till to-morrow at ten o'clock.”

Grandmaison.—“The council must recollect a period infinitely critical,

when they thought it incumbent on them to proceed immediately to fill up the vacancies in the directory. We cannot but observe that we are now placed in circumstances truly extraordinary; and so very extraordinary, that nobody can tell any thing about the matter. (*A loud laugh.*) We have all come here asking one another—“What is the danger? Where are our enemies?” You have heard a resignation announced, but is not this resignation the effect of these extraordinary circumstances?” —*Murmurs.*

At this moment the doors of the hall opened. General Buonaparte appeared, accompanied by an escort of between twenty and thirty persons, and walked up towards the president.

A vehement agitation immediately arose among part of the members, who darted precipitately from their seats towards Buonaparte, surrounded him, and pushed him back with violence. In the midst of this tumult, a person was heard vociferating the cry of—“*Outlaw him! Outlaw him!*” One or two voices were heard exclaiming, “*This is the moment to deliver France!*”

A member attempted to stab him with a dagger; but the blow was warded off by a grenadier.

Buonaparte stepped back firmly, and ordered the grenadiers to withdraw. He went along with them out of the hall.

The tumult increased to the most violent pitch. All the members quit-
ted their seats and walked through the hall in disorder, conversing with the greatest warmth and vehemence. The tribune was choaked up by a croud of members.

By degrees calm was restored.

The president.—“The extreme agitation which has appeared in this assembly

sembly doubtless is a proof that the love of the republic, that the passion for liberty, inflames every heart. But in seeing the general of the guard of the legislative body appear in this hall, you ought not to have suspected him of any odious designs. You ought not thus to have mildewed the laurels of a man who has rendered signal services to his country. He came to inform you of the critical situation in which the republic is placed. He came to discharge the duty which the character with which he is invested imposes on him. I move that every enquiry be made, calculated to remove the disquietudes of the council."

A member, with vehemence——
"Buonaparte has tarnished his glory. I devote him to ignominy, to the execration of republicans, and of every Frenchman!"

Another member—"I move that the council shall instantly decide how far the sanctity of their place of meeting, and the police of the two councils, shall extend."

Bertrand (of Calvados)—"When the council of elders transferred the national representation to St. Cloud, they exercised a right which by the constitution belongs to them. But when they appointed a commandant of the guard of the legislative body, they exceeded their rights and their powers; they openly infringed the constitution. I move that you annul this nomination as illegal and unconstitutional, and that you instantly decree that general Buonaparte is not commandant of the guard of the legislative body."

"Seconded! Seconded! Bravo! Bravo!" exclaimed a number of voices.

Talot—"The first object that ought to engage your attention is your independence; your safety; the publicity

of your deliberations.—What! the council of elders have ventured openly to violate the constitution, by appointing the commandant of your guard. What! they have removed you to a village! What! They have sent us to deliberate in the midst of armed men! It is not that I dread the brave defenders by whom we are surrounded.——

Their bayonets are terrible only to the enemies of liberty. But I contend that here we have no independence. I contend that Buonaparte is not commandant of the legislature. (*He is not! he is not!* exclaimed a number of members.) I move that a message be sent to the council to request them to repeal their decree, and permit us to return to Paris; and, far from dreading the soldiers by whom you are surrounded, I move that you decree that the whole armed force, by which we are surrounded, is the guard of the legislative body."

Bravo, Bravo! exclaimed a number of members, rising and waving their hats. *Vivent* the defenders of the country! *Vivent* the constitution!

Grandmaison—"We are only offering crossing and contradictory propositions, without coming to any decision; I move that you begin by declaring the appointment of Buonaparte to be unconstitutional."—"Yes, yes," was resounded from several parts of the hall.)

Lucien Buonaparte left the chair, and proceeded to the tribune; Chasal presided in his stead.

"I intreat the council calmly to reflect," said L. Buonaparte, "on the commotion that has manifested itself—it may not be needless to represent . . . [here he was interrupted by a loud voice, who said—"do not attempt to amuse us."]

"I propose,"

"I propose," continued Lucien Buonaparte, "that you summon the general who commands your guard to appear before you."

"We do not acknowledge him," exclaimed several members.

"When cool consideration," observed Lucien, "will have stilled in your breasts the extraordinary emotion which you have testified, (*Murmurs*) you will perhaps be sensible of the injustice done to general Buonaparte. Whatever may be the event, I now, in your presence, lay down on the altar of the country, the badge of the magistracy with which the people had invested me."

On saying these words, he laid down his badge of office on the president's table; upon which the doors of the hall were opened; and twenty grenadiers entered. They advanced towards the bureau, took L. Buonaparte into custody, and placing him in the midst of them, they conducted him out of the hall.

The council was seized with extreme agitation. Cries, vociferations and tumultuous confusion arose from the members suddenly quitting their places. Not a word could be distinctly heard.

Grandmaison, Blin, Delbrel, Bigonnet, Sherlock, Crochon, and a dozen other members pressed forward towards the tribune.

Sherlock made an effort to speak, but could scarcely make himself be heard amidst the tumult. "I move," said he, "that you call back your president, whose resignation you have not accepted."

"He could have done nothing better," exclaimed several members, "than to have given it in—"

Meantime, at a distance was heard the sound of drums that beat the

charge Soon after, for the third time, the doors of the hall were thrown open, and a third time the spectators endeavoured precipitately to escape by leaping out of the windows.

An officer came forward, followed by a numerous guard, and exclaimed with a loud voice.—"General Buonaparte orders the hall to be cleared."—Upon which the troops advanced into the nearer half of the hall; the further part remained occupied by the deputies, who had not retired. The soldiers suspended their march for a moment, in order to afford time for the hall to be evacuated. About a dozen of the members, among whom was Blin, remained near the tribune, or at the bureau; one of them who was at the tribune, exclaimed—

"What are you, soldiers? are you any thing else than guardians of the national representation; and do you dare to menace its safety, to incroach on its independence—it is thus then, that you tarnish the laurels which your courage had won?"

This harangue was coldly listened to by the soldiers, who advanced into the hall with drums beating; the members who stood near the bureau and the tribune, were at length obliged to yield their places to the soldiers, who took possession of them; as the latter advanced in the hall, the members went out at the opposite extremity: in a word, the hall was completely cleared in a few minutes. It was then five o'clock.

Several members set out immediately for Paris. Others remained at St. Cloud to observe the deliberations of the council of elders, and the extraordinary movements among the troops who filled the square of the palace.—

From

From time to time were heard cries of *Vive Buonaparte, Vive la Republique!*

General Buonaparte, on leaving the council of five hundred, advanced towards the soldiers, and harangued them. He intreated them to remain calm, and to rest assured that the good cause should triumph. They all answered by shouts of *Vive Buonaparte!*

Paris, November 10.

In the middle of the night, between the 8th and 9th, a great number of troops marched in file to the palace of elders. Buonaparte, attended by Moreau, Berthier, and a very numerous *etat-major*, repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries, the entrances to which were barred against the citizens. The troops (the number of which was greatly increased, particularly in cavalry and artillery) were reviewed by him about eleven in the morning. At the same hour, a strong squadron of cavalry was stationed before the council of five hundred. At eight o'clock in the morning the council of elders held an extraordinary meeting, with Lemer cier for their president.—They were summoned to it by the members of the committee of inspectors, who were joined in a few minutes after by the directors Sieyes and Roger Ducos.—At half after nine o'clock, the council of elders passed the decree of which we gave a copy in the report of the sitting.

This decree was immediately notified to Buonaparte, who repaired to the council of ancients, and took the oaths to execute the acts of the legislative body. It is time, he said, that civil liberty and property should be respected. It is time that the defenders of their country should receive the fruits of their sacrifices.

Buonaparte visited the Thuilleries, where he harangued the troops, who made the air resound with *Vive Buonaparte, Vive la Republique!*

The most perfect calm prevailed in Paris. The two following proclamations of general Buonaparte have been every where posted up:

Buonaparte, general in chief, to the citizens composing the stationary national guard of Paris, (19th Nov.) 8th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

“Citizens,

“The council of ancients, the depository of the national wisdom, has just issued the following decree, which is authorised by the 102d and 103d articles of the constitutional acts.

“It has charged me to take measures for the safety of the national representation. Its translation is necessary, but only momentary. The legislative body will also concur in rescuing the representation from the imminent danger into which the disorganization of all parts of the administration has conducted us.

“In this important crisis, it requires the union and confidence of the patriots. Rally around it, that is the only means of placing the republic upon the basis of civil liberty, internal happiness, victory, and peace.—*Vive la Republique!*

“BUONAPARTE.

(A true copy)

“BERTHIER.”

Buonaparte, general in chief, to the soldiers, November 9.

Soldiers,

“The extraordinary decree of the council of ancients is conformable to the 102d article of the constitutional act.

act. It places in me the command of the city and the army.

"I have accepted the appointment, to second the measures which the council is about to take, and which are all in favour of the people.

"The republic has been badly governed these two years. You have hoped that my return would put an end to so many evils. You have celebrated it with an union which imposes upon me the duties I fulfil. You will fulfil yours, and second your general, with the energy, the firmness, and the confidence I have always beheld in you.

"BUONAPARTE.
(A true copy) "BERTHIER.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Paris, Nov. 10th—8th year of the republic, one and indivisible.

In consequence of the decree of the council of elders, of the date of the 9th of November, which gave to general Buonaparte the command of the 17th military division—of the guard of the legislative body—of the executive directory—of the national sedentary guards—of the troops of the line within the continental circle, and within the whole extent of the 17th division;

General Buonaparte names the general of division Lefebre, his first lieutenant, and the general of brigade Andreossi, chief of the general staff, having under his orders adjutants generals Caffarelli and Doucet.

The general of division commands all the cavalry. The general of division Lannes, commands at the national palace of the ancients; he will have for the chief of his staff the chief of brigade Milhaud. The general of brigade Marmont, commands the artillery.

The general of division Beaseyer, retains the command of the invalids.—The general of brigade, Marraud, retains the command of Paris.

(True Copy) BUONAPARTE.
ALEX. BERTHIER.

The minister of the interior to the central administrations of the departments, and the commissioners of the executive directory resident in those administrations.

Paris, Nov. 9.

Citizens, the council of elders, exercising the right vested in it by the 102d article of the constitution, has, by a decree of this day, transferred the legislative body to the commune of St. Cloud.

The proclamation which accompanies that decree will impress you with the grandeur of the motives that have produced the measure, and will inspire you with religious respect for that great act of public safety. Consider it, and announce it as the forerunner of internal tranquillity and external peace.—They both depend upon the stability which our republican institutions are at length on the point of receiving.

General Buonaparte is charged with the execution of the decree. You will be convinced of the spirit which animates him by the perusal of his two proclamations. You will find them annexed to the 321st number of the bulletin of the laws, which also contain the decree.

Anticipate, citizens administrators, the intrigues of designing men, who seize upon every act for the purpose of misrepresenting, of corrupting the public mind, and misleading the best citizens. The armies, the soldiers and generals have all done their duty—they have

have conquered in every quarter: and the first magistrates of the people are about to acquit themselves of their duty. Having triumphed over every faction and every offender, and now opposing new convulsions by the empire of the laws, they will place liberty, equality, the republic, and peace on a permanent foundation.

The central commissioner shall require the most prompt promulgation of the decree, and the pieces annexed to it; he shall announce to me the receipt of the present letter, and shall inform me without delay of the measures adopted by the central administration.

Health and fraternity!

(Signed) QUINETTE.

OFFICIAL NOTE.

The minister of police apprizes his fellow-citizens, that the councils were assembled at St. Cloud, in order to deliberate upon the interests of the republic, and of liberty, when general Buonaparte, who had gone to the council of five hundred, to denounce some counter-revolutionary manœuvres, narrowly escaped being assassinated.

The genius of the republic has preserved that general; he returned to Paris with his escort. The legislative body have taken every possible measure to secure the triumph and the glory of the republic.

This intelligence was announced in the principal coffee-houses, play-houses, and places of public resort, in Paris, and was every where received with cries of Bravo! and with applauses.

The transferring of the councils to St. Cloud was conducted with the utmost calmness. Buonaparte made his appearance there at noon, accompa-

nied by the whole of his staff: about an hour after, Sieyes and Roger Ducos arrived.

The council of five hundred placed themselves in the Green-house; that of the elders in the gallery of Mignard; vast rooms, and by the half too large. An immense concourse of people surrounded the gates with eager curiosity.

Among the members of the council of elders to whom summons of attendance was not addressed, *The Journal des Hommes* mentions Montenayou, Le Sage Senault, Moreau (de L'Yonne) Philipp (Du Leman) &c.

It is said that the measures adopted by the council of elders were suggested by the desire of disconcerting the projects that had been planned in an assembly at the hotel de Salm, where some very prominent characters were observed.—These projects had for object to convert the two councils into a national convention, from which were to be discarded certain persons, and to invest the government in the hands of a committee of public safety. It is added that a well-known public functionary promoted this project, and had charged himself with bringing over Buonaparte; but that the general, far from seconding his designs, had given information of them to the council of elders.

The orders for shutting the barriers, which was issued yesterday, was immediately recalled.—The mails did not go off yesterday by the post till half past seven in the evening. The Telegraphs in all directions were constantly at work. A great number of couriers extraordinary were dispatched during the night.

Yesterday morning, when it was announced that Buonaparte, called upon by the elders, had assembled around

round him all his staff, the director Moulins was for ordering a Battalion to surround the general's house. At the same moment, the directorial guard quitted the Luxembourg, in order to join Sieyes and Roger Ducos at the Thuilleries.

Gohier, Moulins, and Barras, were assembled at the directorial palace, when Roger Ducos came in to enquire whether certain reports that had reached him were true. His colleagues having informed him that they had no information of them, "I will go in quest of it," said he; and immediately went to the inspectors of the council of elders.

During this time, Sieyes was riding about alone in the Luxembourg garden, where his aid-de-camp Dersonval came and joined him. He afterwards went to the inspectors of the council of elders.

About ten o'clock, Gohier, Barras, and Moulins, called for the commandant of the 17th division, that he might give an account of his conduct to the directory. His answer was, that he no longer had the command of the 17th division; that it was under the orders of general Buonaparte, from whom he had just been receiving instructions pursuant to the decree.

At eleven o'clock Barras sent in his resignation, and Buonaparte gave orders for a detachment of dragoons to escort him to Gros Bois, where he had expressed a wish to retire.

Sieyes and Roger Ducos voluntarily gave in their resignation.

The municipalities of the twelve divisions of Paris were suspended, and the central commissioners appointed in the mean time.

On quitting the council of elders, Buonaparte met Bottot, Barras's secre-

tary, who seemed to have come to intercede for the ex-director. The general talked to him for a few instants in private. He then addressed him in such a manner as to be heard by those around him.

"What have you done," said the general, "with that France which I left you in so prosperous a state?—I left you at peace—I have found you engaged in war. I left you surrounded with victory—I found you overwhelmed with disaster. I left you millions in Italy, and I every where found rapacious laws and heart-breaking misery. What have you done with an hundred thousand Frenchmen, with whom I was acquainted? They are dead; and most of all the companions of my glory have fallen. It is time to confer upon the defenders of the country that confidence which they have so many claims to. Believe not what a set of factious people may say; we should all of us soon be destroyed by the enemies of the republic, we who have consolidated it by our toil and our courage. We desire to see no better patriots than the brave men who have bled in the service of the republic."

Two millions were yesterday taken to the public treasury before three o'clock, and two more are promised to-day.

The following are the articles of the constitution which have served for the basis of the measure adopted by the elders:

Article 102. The council of elders may change the residence of the legislative body. In such case it is to declare the place and time when and where the two councils are to meet. The decree of the elders on this subject is irrevocable.

103. On the day of the decrees, neither the one or the other of the two councils shall be at liberty to deliberate in the commune where they have resided until then. The members, who shall continue their functions there, shall be guilty of an attack on the safety of the republic.

104. The members of the executive directory who shall delay or refuse to seal, and promulgate the decree transferring the legislative body, shall be guilty of the same offence.

105. If in twenty days after the time fixed by the council of elders, the majority of each of the two councils shall not have made known to the republic their arrival at the new place appointed, on their meeting in any other place whatever, the administrators of the departments, or in their default, the civil tribunal of the departments shall convene primary assemblies, to nominate electors, who shall proceed immediately to the formation of a new legislative body for the election of 250 deputies for the council of elders, and of 500 for the council of five hundred.

The number of the members of the council of elders, who received, during the night, letters of convocation, is estimated at 150.

The directors Sieyes and Ducos are the only ones who signed the order for announcing by the Telegraph the decrees of the council of elders.—Their colleagues did not appear to take an active part in what passed. Poultier announces their dismissal as certain, and asserts that Marescot, Berthier, and Talleyrand, are designed by the majority of the councils to replace them.

The quay of Voltaire, and the streets leading to the Thuilleries are filled with troops. The Luxembourg is in-

vested. The greatest tranquillity reigns throughout Paris.

General Brune has been received at Amsterdam with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. The most brilliant entertainments have been given in this city.

COUNCIL OF ELDERS.

Continuation of the sitting of Nov. 10.

A letter was received from the secretary general of the directory to the following effect:—

Citizens representatives,

I have not been able to receive the messenger of state dispatched by the council of elders to the executive directory. Four of the members have sent in their resignation—the fifth is in custody by the order of general Buonaparte. There no longer exists a directory.

Health and respect,

(Signed)

LEGARDE.

The council decreed that this letter should be sent to the council of five hundred.

After the interval of about a quarter of an hour, a tumultuous movement was manifested in the council. The arrival of general Buonaparte was announced. He requested permission to speak, having important information to communicate.

There was instantly a profound silence.

Buonaparte.—“Representatives of the people, you are not in a common crisis: you tread upon a volcano ready to destroy you. Yesterday Paris was in the most profound tranquillity. I have united all my brethren in arms in the execution of the measures which you have adopted. I have given proofs of

of my devotion to the republic, and the country has not had a more zealous defender than I have proved myself. This day, however, I am surrounded with calumny, and covered with reproach and obloquy. I hear circulated around me the words Cromwell, Military Government, &c. Had I wished to establish a military government, I should long since have attempted that enterprise. Since I returned to Paris, I have been solicited by some factions to seize upon the authority of the state. I declare even that propositions have been made to me by Barras and Moulin to overthrow the government, and to assume the direction of affairs—I resisted these insinuations, because I was of no party, of no coterie—I communicated these projects to several representatives. I united my sentiments to those of the council of elders, and I have only accepted the command entrusted to me, with the view of resigning it after having triumphed over the enemies of the republic. Think not then that you see in me a vile intriguer. I know no great coterie but the French people. But I declare the representatives of the people must not be divided; on the contrary, unite your wisdom, and whatever your firmness shall decide, I shall see faithfully executed. I shall be but an arm devoted to the safety of the republic; the safety of liberty and equality.”

Inglef—“And the constitution.”

Buonaparte—“The constitution? Is it now a ground of security to the French people? You violated it three times lately. It is nothing but an empty sound, which serves the purpose of every faction. All the rights of the people have been violated. It is time that you should defend them against every attack. Consider what ought to

be done for the protection of liberty. If you do not save it, you and your children will be disgraced in the eyes of posterity. You are accountable for its safety. Act, and if the execution of your decrees be opposed, I shall appeal to my brave companions in arms, and to my fortune.”

Cornude darted into the tribune.—“You have heard, representatives of the people! he who has filled Europe with admiration, has unveiled the conspiracies with which the republic was menaced. Do you doubt their existence? I agreed to the measure proposed by your committee, because I was convinced a vast conspiracy existed. I move that the council resolve itself into a secret committee, and that Buonaparte give still farther explanations; and afterwards that a message be sent to the council of five hundred, to know whether it be inclined instantly to propose measures for the public safety: or perhaps we ought to assume the initiative. When the safety of the country is at stake, every citizen becomes a magistrate.”

Laussatt asserted, that the whole particulars ought to be disclosed in the presence of all France. We should be the basest of wretches, if we neglected to take every measure necessary to her salvation.

Buonaparte left the council. A message from the council of five hundred stated that it was constituted by a majority.

This notification was ordered to be inserted in the minutes.

The council resolved into a secret committee.

Evening sitting of November 10.

The council received a resolution concerning the suppression of the directory,

tory, the exclusion of sixty-two members, and the adjournment of the legislative body. Some opposition was made to the insertion of two names on the list.

The council then proceeded to the nomination of the intermediate legislative body. The following are the names of the members who compose it:

Garat; Porcher; Cousin; Vimar; Vernier; Goupil; Herwin; Sedille; Lemercier; Cornet; Lenoir-Laroche; Dumets; Farques; Laussatt; Carle-met; Regnier; Rousseau; Bouteville; Peres, Upper Pyrennees; Beauprey; Cornudet; Cretet; Courtois Dupere; Chassiton; Lebrun.

The sitting at length terminated, and the president declared that the next sitting would be at the Thuilleries, on the 20th of February.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

November 10.

About six o'clock the council of five hundred constituted themselves, the majority of the members having repaired to the hall of the sitting.

Lucien Buonaparte took the chair, and invited the council to resume the deliberations.

Beranger retraced the events of the day. He praised the conduct of the troops and the prudence of the officers, the dangers which Buonaparte has run, those of the legislative body itself, the wisdom of the general, as well as the courage of the two grenadiers who covered the general with their bodies and their arms.

On his proposition the council passed a decree, the purport of which was, that the commander in chief Buonaparte, generals Lefebvre, Murat, Berthier, Serrurier, Bournonville, Money,

Sainte, Remy, Andreossi, Solignac; admiral Bruix, Louis Buonaparte, commander of a squadron; Eugenie Beuharnais aid-de-camp; the superior adjutant Beranger; Sparre, officer of the Polish legion, &c. &c. the grenadiers of the legislative body and of the executive directory; the 6th, 79th, and 96th of the line, the 8th and 9th of dragoons, and the grenadiers who made a buckler of their bodies and their arms for Buonaparte, have deserved well of their country, by saving the majority of the legislative body and the republic, attacked by a minority composed of assassins.

Chazal proposed divers measures of public safety, which were referred to a committee of five members, of which he himself was one, as well as Villetard and Boulay de la Meurthe.

Lucien Buonaparte pronounced a discourse on the events of the day. He described the perpetual efforts made by the seditious members of the council to smother the constitution, and to substitute in its stead a reign of blood and of proscription.

Villetard, reporter from the committee, proposed the following resolutions:

The council of five hundred, considering the situation of the republic, declares, that the business is urgent, and adopts the following resolution:

Article 1st. There is no longer any executive directory, and the following persons are no longer members of the national representation, on account of the excesses and the violent attempts which they have uniformly made, and particularly the greater part of them in the sitting of this morning:

Joubert, Jouanne, Talot, Duplantier, Arena, Garaud, Quirot, Leclerc, Chappers, Birche, Poulain-Grand-Pre, Bertrand,

Bertrand, Goupilleau, Daubermesnil, Marquesi, Guesdon, Grandmaison, Crocassand, Dorimond, Frison, Dessaix, Bergasse, Laziroul, Montpellier, Constant, Briot, Destrem, Carrere, Lagarriere, Gorraud, Legot, Blin, Boulay Paty, Souilhe, Demoor, Rigonet, Mentor, Boissier, Bailly Bourier, Pritchett, Honore Declerc, Bouffet, Gastin, Laurent, Reitz, Prudhom, Porte, Truck, Delbrez, Leyris, Douche Dehille, Stevenotte, Lesage Senault, Chalemele, Andre, Demartelle, Colombel, Philippe, Moreau, Jourdan, Leturneur, Citadella, Jourdan, and Bordas—61 members.

2d. The legislative body creates provisionally an executive consular committee, composed of citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and Buonaparte, general.—They shall bear the name of consuls of the French republic.

3d. This committee is invested with the full powers of the directory, and specially commissioned to organize order in all parts of the administration, to re-establish internal tranquillity, and to procure an honourable and solid peace.

4th. It is authorized to send delegates with a power limited according to its own power.

5th. The legislative body is adjourned to the 20th of February. It is to meet at that period in full power at Paris.

6th. During the adjournment of the legislative body, the members shall preserve their indemnity and their constitutional security.

7th. They may, without losing their quality as representatives of the people, be employed as ministers, diplomatic agents, delegates of the executive consular committee, and in all other civil

functions. They are even invited in the name of the public good to accept them.

8th. Before their separation, and during the time of their sitting, each council shall name from among their members a committee of 25 members.

9th. The committees appointed by the two councils, will, in conjunction with the committee of the executive consulate, determine upon all urgent objects relative to the police, legislation, and finance.

10th. To the committee of the council of five hundred will belong the right of proposing, and to that of the council of elders that of sanctioning them.

11th. The two committees will also, in the order above-mentioned, regulate the changes in those parts of the constitution which experience may have shewn to be inconvenient or vicious.

12th. These changes can have no other object but that of consolidating and guaranteeing inviolably the sovereignty of the people, the republic, one and indivisible, the representative system, the division of power, liberty, equality, and the safety of property.

13th. The executive consulate committee may lay before the other committees their views upon these subjects.

14th. The two committees are charged to prepare a civil code.

15th. Their sittings will be held at Paris in the Palace of the legislative body, and they may be convoked extraordinarily for the ratification of peace, or in case of great public danger.

16th. These resolutions shall be printed, and sent by extraordinary couriers to the departments, and solemnly published and stuck up in all the communes of the republic.

Cabaris made a speech, in which he retraced the labours of the different legislative bodies, and of the convention, and also the faults of these different assemblies, as well as those of the present councils. He shewed that the present constitution opened the door to continual resolutions, which would end in anarchy, which was always followed by royalty. He afterwards proposed an address to the French people upon the dangers which the national representatives incurred, and upon the measures of public safety which were to be taken.

At one o'clock the three consuls came and took the following oath :

"Fidelity to the republic, one and indivisible, to liberty and equality, and to the representative system."

At three o'clock they proceeded to the scrutiny of the nomination of the intermediate committee. It is to be composed of the following members :

Cabaris, Boulay de la Meurthe, Chazal, Lucien Buonaparte, Matthieu, Chenier, Creuze, Latouche, Beranger, Dounou, Goudin de la Lozerre, Jacquemenot, Beauvais, Arnould de la Seie, Thiesse, Villetard, Girad Pouzol, Goulay, Cassenave, Chollot de la Gironde, Ludet, Devenck Thierry, Fregeville, Thibault, Chabot du Gard, and Barra des Ardennes.

The president then adjourned the council to the 20th of February at the ordinary place of meeting.

The following are the present ministers :—Gaudin, minister of finance—Berthier, minister of war—Cambaceres, minister of justice—Laplace, minister of the interior—Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs—and Fouche, of Nantz, minister of police.

Many altercations having taken place in forming the plan of the new consti-

tution, it was at length settled, of which the following is an authentic copy :

It consists of three consuls, a corps or *senat conservatif*, a tribunate, and a legislative body. The first consul is to be Buonaparte, with a salary equivalent to 20,000*l.* sterling per annum; the second, Cambaceres, with 6000*l.* per annum; and the third, Lebrun, with the same salary. Sieyes and Roger Ducos are to be members of the *senat conservatif*, which is to be chosen by them and the second and third consuls; and this senate is to choose the tribunate, and the legislative body, from the persons presented to them by the departments, after having reduced the number of such persons by three elections. The tribunate is to consist of one hundred, and the legislative body of three hundred members. The consuls are to propose laws, and the tribunate to discuss them, and the legislative body to vote upon them, but in secret. A fifth part of the members, both of the tribunate and the legislative body, are to go out of office every year, and they are to be replaced by others chosen by the senate. Every member of the senate is to have 1000*l.* sterling per annum; of the tribune, 600*l.*; and of the legislative body, 400*l.* per annum. The first and second consuls are to remain in office ten years; the third only five. All the power is vested in the first consul; the others are merely to assist him with their advice, and to sign their assent or dissent to the measures he proposes.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

TITLE I.

Art. I. The French republic is one and indivisible.

Its

Its European territory is distributed into departmental and communal districts. (*Arrondissements.*)

II. Every man of the age of 21 years complete, born and resident in France, who has caused his name to be inscribed upon the civil list of his communal district, and who has dwelt from that period for a year within the territory of the republic, is a French citizen.

III. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when after having attained the age of 21 years complete, and after having declared his intention of settling in France, has resided in it ten years without interruption.

IV. The character of French citizen may be lost—

By naturalization in a foreign country;

By the acceptance of functions or of pensions offered by a foreign government.

By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which would infer distinction of birth; by condemnation to corporeal or ignominious punishments.

V. The exercise of the rights of French citizen is suspended by a man's being an insolvent debtor, or a direct heir keeping up, without an enormous title, the succession of a bankrupt, in whole or in part;

By a man's acting as a hired domestic, attached either to the person or the business of an individual;

By a man's being in a state of judicial interdiction, accusation or contumacy.

VI. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship in a communal district, a person must have fixed in it his domicile or place of abode by a year's residence, and at the same time he must not have lost it by a year's absence.

VII. The citizens of every communal district are to point out by their votes those they conceive most proper to manage the public affairs. The number so pointed out forms a list of men worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list are to be chosen the public functionaries of the district.

VIII. The citizens comprehended in the communal lists of a department, shall likewise point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence is formed a second list, called departmental, from which are to be chosen the public functionaries of the department.

IX. The citizens whose names stand on the departmental list, shall likewise name a tenth of their own number. Thus there is a third list formed which comprehends the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions.

X. The citizens having a right to assist in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, are to be called upon every three years to supply the place of those upon the lists who may have died, or who are absent for any other cause than that of exercising a public employment.

XI. They at the same time may erase from the lists, those whom they think unfit to appear any longer upon it, and appoint as their successors other citizens, in whom they have greater confidence.

XII. No person can be erased from any of the lists, but by the votes of an absolute majority of the citizens having a right to vote on its formation.

XIII. A person is not to be erased from one list of eligible persons, solely because

because he is at a given period, member of another list, inferior or superior.

XIV. Inscription on a list of persons eligible is not necessary but for those of public offices, for which this condition is expressly required by the constitution or the law. All the lists of eligible persons shall be formed in the course of the year 9.

TITLE 2.

Of the Conservative Senate.

XV. The conservative senate is composed of 80 members irremovable, and for life, who shall be 40 years of age at least.

For the formation of the senate, there shall at first be named 60 members. This number shall be increased to 62 in the course of the year 8; to 64 in the course of the year 9; and thus be gradually increased to 80, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years.

XVI. The appointment to the situation of senator is made by the senate itself, which chooses one out of three candidates presented—the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

The senate may choose one of two candidates in the case that one of them is proposed by two of the presenting bodies. The senate must admit a person who is proposed, on the same occasion, by all the three authorities.

XVII. The chief consul quitting his station, either on the expiration of his functions, or in consequence of resignation, becomes a senator by immediate right, and of necessity.

The two other consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take a place in

the senate, and are not obliged to avail themselves of this right.

They do not possess this right at all when they quit their consular functions by resignation.

XVIII. A senator is for ever ineligible to any other public function.

XIX. All the lists made up in the departments in virtue of the 9th article, are to be addressed to the senate. They compose the national list.

XX. Out of this list the senate chooses the legislators, tribunes, consuls, judges of cassation, and commissioners of accounts.

XXI. It is to maintain or to annul all the resolutions referred to it as unconstitutional, by the tribunate or by the government. The lists of eligible persons are comprehended among such resolutions.

XXII. The revenues of certain national domains to be fixed upon, are to be liable to the payment of the expences of the senate. The annual salary of each member is to be taken out of these revenues. It is to be equal to the 20th of that of the chief consul.

XXIII. The sittings of the senate are not to be public.

XXIV. The citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the consuls quitting their functions, are appointed members of the conservative senate. They shall assemble along with the second and third consuls nominated by the present constitution. The four citizens shall appoint the majority of the senate, which shall then complete itself, and proceed to the elections entrusted to it.

TITLE 3.

Of the Legislative Power.

XXV. No new laws shall be promulgated, but when the project shall have been proposed by the government

ment, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body.

XXVI. The projects which the government proposes shall be drawn up in articles. In every stage of the discussion of these projects the government may withdraw them. It may produce them anew in a modified state.

XXVII. The tribunate is to be composed of 100 members, at least 25 years of age. They are to be renewed by a fifth part every year, and are indefinitely re-eligible as long as they continue on the national list.

XXVIII. The tribunate discusses the project of a law; and votes for its adoption or rejection.

It is to send three speakers, chosen out of its own number, who are to explain and defend its views and motives in either case before the legislative body.

It may refer to the senate, and that solely, on the ground of unconstitutionality, the lists of persons eligible, the proceedings of the legislative body, and those of the government.

XXIX. It may express an opinion respecting laws made or to be made, respecting abuses that require corrections, respecting improvements to be attempted in all the parts of the public administration; but never respecting matter criminal or civil submitted to the courts.

The opinions which it shall express in virtue of the present article have no necessary consequence, and do not bind any constituted authority to act.

XXX. When the tribunate adjourns itself, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, authorised to assemble it, if thought advisable.

XXXI. The legislative body is composed of 300 members, thirty years of age at least. They are renewed by a fifth every year. It must always contain at least one citizen from each department of the republic.

XXXII. A member quitting the legislative body cannot be re-elected to it till the lapse of a year; but he may immediately be elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, if in other respects he is eligible.

XXXIII. The sitting of the legislative body shall commence every year on the 1st Frimaire (22 Nov.) and shall continue only four months. It may be extraordinarily convoked during the eight remaining months by the government.

XXXIV. The legislative body enacts laws by a private ballot, and without any discussion on the part of its members respecting the projects of laws debated in its presence by the speakers of the tribunate, and of the government.

XXXV. The sitting of the tribunate and those of the legislative body are to be public. The number of strangers in both shall not exceed 200 in each.

XXXVI. The salary of a tribune is to be 15,000 francs (625l); that of a legislator 10,000 francs (416l).

XXXVII. Every decree of the legislative body upon the 10th day after its passing, shall be promulgated by the chief consul, unless during that interval he has appealed to the senate on the ground of unconstitutionality. This recourse shall not exist against laws promulgated.

XXXVIII. The first renewal of the legislative body shall take place only in the course of the year ten.

TITLE 4.

Of the Government.

XXXIX. The government is confided to three consuls chosen for ten years, and re-eligible indefinitely.

Each of these is elected individually in the capacity of first, second, or third consul. In the first instance the third consul shall be appointed only for five years.

For this time the following are appointed: General Buonaparte, chief consul; citizen Cambaceres, now minister of justice; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of elders, third consul.

XL. The chief consul has functions and prerogatives peculiar to himself, in which his place may be temporarily supplied, when the case occurs, by one of his colleagues.

XLI. The chief consul promulgates laws. He makes and revokes at pleasure appointments of members of the council of state; ministers, ambassadors, and other external superior agents, the officers of the army by sea and land; members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to the different courts. He appoints all the civil and criminal judges, except the justices of peace, and judges of cassation, without the power of revocation.

XLII. In the other acts of the government, the second and third consuls have deliberate voices. They sign the proceedings to shew that they were present; and, if they please, they may insert their own opinions; after which, the decision of the chief consul is sufficient.

XLIII. The salary of the chief consul shall be 500,000 francs for the year 8, (about 20,833l.)—The salary of each

of the other two consuls shall be equal to the three tenths of that of the chief consul.

XLIV. The government proposes laws, and makes regulations necessary to carry them into execution.

XLV. The government directs the receipts and expences of the state, agreeable to the annual law, which shall determine the amount of each. He is to superintend the coining of money, of which the law alone shall regulate the issue, fix the title, the fashion, and weight.

XLVI. If the government is informed that any conspiracies are devising against the state, it may decree summonses of appearance and warrants of arrest against those who are presumed to be authors or accomplices. But if after the lapse of ten days after their arrest they are not liberated or put in a state for trial in the regular form, the minister who signs the warrant shall be guilty of arbitrary imprisonment.

XLVII. The government shall take measures for the internal security and external defence of the state. He stations the forces, military and naval, and regulates the manner of their being employed.

XLVIII. The national guard in activity is subject to the direction of the public administration. The sedentary national guard is subject only to the dispositions of law.

XLIX. The government is to maintain political relations abroad, to manage negociations, make preliminary stipulations, cause, sign, and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

L. Declarations of war, and treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, are proposed,

proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated like laws.

Only discussions upon these objects, both in the tribune and the legislative body, are to take place in a secret committee, when the government desires it.

LI. The secret articles of a treaty cannot destroy the public articles.

LII. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of state is authorised to draw up projects of laws and regulations of public administration, and to remove the obstacles which may arise in matters of administration.

LIII. It must be out of the council of state that the speakers nominated by the government to state points before the legislative body, must be taken.

These speakers are never to be sent to the number of more than three to support the same project of a law.

LIV. The ministers procure the execution of laws and regulations of public administration.

LV. No act of government can have effect if it is not signed by a minister.

LVI. One of the ministers is specially entrusted with the administration of the public treasurer. He is to secure the receipts, to order the transfer of sums, and the payments authorised by law. He can make or cause to be made no payment, except in virtue, 1st. of a law, and till the concurrence of funds which have been fixed for a distinct species of expence; 2d. of an arrette of the government; 3d. of a warrant signed by a minister.

LVII. Detailed accounts of the expence of each minister, signed and certified by him, shall be made public.

LVIII. The government can elect or continue counsellors of state or mi-

nisters, none but citizens whose names are inscribed on the national list.

LIX. The local administrations established either for each commercial district, or for more extensive portions of territory, shall be subordinate to the ministers. No person can be made or continue a member of the administrations, unless he stand and be retained upon one of the lists mentioned in the 7th and 8th articles.

TITLE 5.

Of the Tribunals.

LX. Each commercial district is to have one or more judges of the peace, to be elected immediately by the citizens for the period of three years.

Their chief function is, to reconcile parties whom they call before them in cases of adverseness to reconciliation, to submit themselves to decisions by arbitration.

LXI. In civil matters, there are to be tribunals in the first resort, and the tribunals of appeal.—The law is to determine the organization both of the one and the other; their competency, and the extent of territory that is to circumscribe their sphere of action.

LXII. In matters of misdemeanour (*delits*) where corporeal or ignominious punishment is inflicted, there is to be a first jury to admit, or to reject the accusation; if admitted, a second jury is to declare the fact to be proved. The judges then form a criminal tribunal, and adjudge the punishment. Against their decision there is no appeal.

LXIII. The place of public accuser before a criminal tribunal is to be filled by the government commissary.

LXIV. Offences (*delits*) which do not incur corporeal or ignominious punishment, are to be judged by tribunals

of correctional police, with power of appeal to the criminal tribunals.

LXV. There will be established, for the whole of the republic, a tribunal of cassation, that is to pronounce upon motions for cassation against judgments in dernier resort, pronounced by the tribunals on motions of appeal, from one tribunal to another, grounded upon legitimate suspicion; or upon reasons that regard the public safety, where the plea of one party is set up against a whole tribunal.

LXVI. The tribunal of cassation does not take cognizance of the grounds of a cause; but it annuls the judgments passed in consequence of proceedings in which either the due forms have been violated, or which contain any express infractions of the law, and it refers the grounds of the cause to the proper tribunal that is to take cognizance of them.

LXVII. The judges who preside in the tribunals of first resort, and the government commissaries that are to act in these courts, are to be taken from the communal, or from the departmental list.

The judges who preside in the tribunals of appeal, and the commissaries who act in these courts, are to be taken from the departmental list.

The judges who compose the tribunal of cassation, and the commissaries acting in these courts, are to be taken from the national list.

LXVIII. Every judge, except the justices of the peace, are to retain their functions for life, unless they be pronounced to have forfeited them, or unless they be already on the list of those who are deemed ineligible to hold such functions.

TITLE 6.

Responsibility of the public functionaries.

LXIX. The functions of the members, whether of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, or those of the consuls and counsellors of state, leave no room for responsibility.

LXX. Personal offences incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, committed by a member, whether of the senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, or the council of state, are to be prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which such a defendant may belong, shall have authorised such a proceeding.

LXXI. Ministers who may be accused of private offences, incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, are to be considered as members of the council of state.

LXXII. Ministers are responsible, 1st. for every act of government which they sign, that is declared unconstitutional by the senate—2d. for the executions of the laws and the regulations of the public administration—3d. for the particular orders they may issue, should these orders be contrary to the constitution, to the laws or regulations.

LXXIII. Where such cases occur as are stated in the foregoing article, the tribunate is to impeach the minister in virtue of an act upon which the legislative body is to deliberate in the usual forms, after having heard, or summoned before them the person impeached. The minister who is brought to trial by a decree of the legislative body, is to be tried by a high court, with power of appeal or recurrence to an act of cassation.

The

The high court is to consist of judges and of juries : the judges to be chosen by, and from among, the tribunal of cassation ; the juries to be taken from the national list. The whole, agreeably to the forms prescribed by the law.

LXXIV. The civil and criminal judges, in case of offences derogatory to their functions, are to be prosecuted before the tribunals to which they may be referred by the tribunals of cassation, after having annulled their decrees.

LXXV. The other agents of government besides the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts connected with their functions, but in virtue of a decision of the council of state ; in such cases the prosecution is to be carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

TITLE 7.

General Dispositions.

LXXVI. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory, is an inviolable asylum.

During the night, no one has a right to enter such house, but in case of fire, or inundation, or of a request made to such purpose from the inhabitants of the house.

During the day, it may be entered for some special object pointed out by a law, or by an order issued by a public authority.

LXXVII. In order to give effect to the act which authorises the arresting of a person, it is necessary, 1st. that they do formally express the motives of the arrest, and the law by virtue of which it has been ordered—2d. that it should be issued by a functionary formally invested with this power by the law—3d. that it must be notified to the

person arrested, and that a copy of it be also left with him.

LXXVIII. A keeper or jailor cannot receive or detain any person till after he has transcribed into his register the act that orders the arrest. This act must be an order issued agreeably to the forms prescribed by the preceding article, or by a warrant for apprehending the person, or a decree of accusation, or a sentence pronounced.

LXXIX. The keeper or jailor is bound (nor can any order free him from the obligation) to bring forward the person so detained before the civil officer, who inspects the police of such prison, as often as the same may be required by such magistrate.

LXXX. Access to the person imprisoned cannot be refused to his relations and friends, furnished with an order to that effect by the civil officer, who shall be always bound to grant such order, unless the keeper or jailor can shew an instruction from the judge to keep the person in secret confinement.

LXXXI. All those who not being authorised by the law to arrest a person, shall issue, sign, or execute an order for such arrest ; all those who even in the case of an arrest authorised by the law, shall receive or detain the person arrested, in any place of confinement not publicly and legally pointed out as such ; and all the keepers and jailors who shall act contrary to the sense of the three preceding articles, shall be held guilty of the charge of arbitrary imprisonment.

LXXXII. All measures of rigour employed in arrestations, imprisonments, or executions, except such as are ordained by the laws, are to be held as crimes.

LXXXIII. Every person has the right of addressing private petitions to every constituted

constituted authority, and more especially to the tribunate.

LXXXIV. It is the essence of the public force to obey—no armed body can deliberate.

LXXXV. Military offences are to be submitted to special tribunals, and to particular forms of trial.

LXXXVI. The French nation declares, that pensions shall be granted to all military persons wounded in the defence of the country, as also to the widows and children of military men, who may be killed in the field of battle, or who may die in consequence of their wounds.

LXXXVII. National rewards shall be decreed to such warriors as shall render distinguished services to the republic in fighting for its defence.

LXXXVIII. A constituted body cannot open a deliberation but in a sitting, in which at least two-thirds of its members shall be present.

LXXXIX. A national institute is appointed to collect discoveries, and to advance the perfection of the sciences and arts.

XC. A commission of national accounts shall regulate and verify the entry of the receipts and expenditure of the republic. This commission is to consist of seven members, chosen by the senate from the national list.

XCI. The administration of the French colonies is to be determined by special laws.

XCII. In cases of revolt in armed force, or of disturbances that threaten the safety of the state, the law may suspend in such places and for such time as it may determine, the powers of the constitution.

The suspension may be provisionally declared in similar emergencies by an arrete of government, during an ad-

journment of the legislative body, provided that this body be summoned to meet at the shortest period by an article of the said arrete.

XCIII. The French nation declareth that it will in no case whatever permit the return of the Frenchmen who have deserted their country since the 14th of July, 1789, and are not comprehended in the exceptions that have been made to the laws enacted against the emigrants; it also forbids any new exception upon this point.

The property of the emigrants is irrevocably confiscated to the profit of the republic.

XCIV. The French nation declareth that after a legal sale hath been made of the national domains, from whatever source they may come, the legal purchasers cannot be dispossessed of them, except where a third party (if such a case should occur) puts in a claim of indemnity from the public treasury.

XCV. The present constitution shall immediately be presented for the acceptance of the French people.

Done at Paris the 22d Frimaire, (Dec. 1) 8th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

Regulations of the Council of State.

The consuls of the republic decree :

Art. I. The council of state is composed of from 30 to 40 members.

II. It is formed into a general assembly, and divided into sections.

III. The president shall be the first consul, and in his absence one of the other two consuls.

IV. The ministers have the right of entering the general assembly of the council of state, but they shall have no votes.

V. The counsellors of state are divided into five sections, viz.—A section of

of finances, a section of civil and criminal legislation, a section of war, a section of the marine, and a section of the interior.

VI. A counsellor of state, appointed annually by the first consul, shall preside in each section.

When the second or third consul is in any of the sections, he shall be president.

The ministers, when they think it of utility, may assist, without a deliberative voice, at the sittings of the sections.

VII. Five counsellors of state are specially charged with the different parts of the administration; only in regard to instruction they shall follow the details of them, sign the correspondence, receive, and call for information of every kind, and convey to the ministers the proposals of decision which the latter submit to the consuls. One of them is charged with the care of the woods, forests, and ancient domains. Another with the bridges, causeways, canals, navigation, and registering of lands.—Another with the arts and sciences.—Another with the colonies.

VIII. The proposal of a law or regulation of public administration shall be urged by the ministers, each in the extent of his department. If the consuls adopt their opinion, the project shall be referred to the competent section, in order that the law or regulation may be drawn up in a proper form. As soon as this labour is finished, the president of the section shall wait upon the consuls to inform them of it. The first consul shall then convoke the general assembly of the council of state. The project shall there be discussed according to the report of the section by which it was drawn up. The council of state shall transmit their opinion, with the

motives on which it is founded, to the consuls.

IX. If the consuls approve of the form in which the law is drawn up, they shall receive the regulation definitively, or if it be a law, they shall decree that it shall be proposed to the legislative body. In the latter case, the first consul, among the counsellors of state, one or more orators, whom he shall charge to present the project of the law, and to support it in the discussion. The orators, when they present the project of any law, shall explain the motives of the proposal of government.

X. When the government withdraws the project of a law, they shall do it by a message.

XI. The council of state pronounces, 1. Respecting the conflicts which may arise between the administration and the tribunals.—2. Respecting disputed affairs, the decision of which has previously been referred to ministers.—3. They shall explain the meaning of the laws, on questions presented to the consuls being referred to them.

XII. The counsellors of state charged with the direction of some parts of the public administration have no voice in the council of state, when it pronounces in the contentions of that party.

XIII. The secretary of state has a secretary general, whose functions are, —1. To communicate the public business to the different sections.—2. To write minutes in the general assemblies of the council of state, and the particular assemblies which the presidents of the sections shall hold each decade.—3. To present to the consuls the result of the labours of the general assembly.—4. To countersign the opinions of the council and the decisions of the officers.—5. To keep minutes of the acts of the general assembly of the council

cil of state, of the functions, and of the counsellors charged with parts of the administration, to deliver or sign the copies of them issued, or extracts from them.

XIV. The uniform salary of the counsellors of state is 25,000 livres. An additional sum is allowed to the presidents of the sections, and to such of the counsellors of state as shall be charged with the direction of any part of the public administration.

XV. The salary of the secretary general is fixed at 15,000 livres.

XVI. The costume of the counsellors of state is thus regulated:—Coat of blue velvet in winter, and blue silk in summer, embroidered with blue silk.

Buonaparte, now installed in his high office, has issued several proclamations to the people and the soldiery, of which the following are authentic copies:

LIBERTY—EQUALITY!

In the Name of the French People.

4 Nivose, year 8th of the French republic, one and indivisible, (Dec. 25, 1799.)

Buonaparte, chief consul of the republic, to the French people.

To render the republic beloved by our fellow citizens, respectable to strangers, formidable to its enemies; such are the obligations we have contracted in accepting the chief magistracy. It will be dear to the citizens, if the laws, if the acts of administration, be always distinguished by the spirit of order, of justice, and of moderation.—Without order, the administration is nothing but a chaos.—No finance, no public credit. With the fortune of the state that of individuals is destroyed. Without justice there is nothing but parties, oppressors,

and victims. Moderation impresses an august character upon governments as upon nations. It is always the companion of force, and the pledge of the permanence of social institutions. The republic will be imposing in the eyes of foreigners, if it respects in their independence the title by which hangs its own; if its engagements, founded on wisdom, formed with candour, are maintained with fidelity. It will be formidable to its enemies, if its armies by sea and land are vigorously constituted; if each of its defenders considers the corps to which he belongs as a family of which he is a member, and in that family an inheritance of virtue and glory; if an officer formed by long study, obtains by regular promotion the reward due to his talents and exertions. Upon these principles depend the stability of the government, the success of commerce and agriculture, the greatness and prosperity of nations. In explaining them, we have pointed out the rules by which our conduct is to be judged. Frenchmen, we have told you our duties. It will belong to you to inform us whether we have fulfilled them.

(Signed)

BUONAPARTE, Chief Consul.

H. B. MARET, Sec. Gen.

Buonaparte, first consul of the republic, to the French armies.

Paris, Dec. 25.

Soldiers!—In promising victory to the people of France, I have been your organ; I know your valour. You are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and gave peace under the walls of astonished Vienna.—You are not now to defend your frontiers: you are to invade the territories of



GENERAL BUONAPARTE



Bye. Sculp.

GENERAL DUMOURIER

of your enemies. There are none of you who have been in several campaigns, who are ignorant that the most essential quality of a soldier is to support want with resolution; many years of bad administration cannot be repaired in a day.

First magistrate of the republic, I shall communicate with pleasure to the whole nation the corps, who, by their discipline and their valour, will deserve to be proclaimed the defenders of their country.

Soldiers!—In proper time I shall be in the midst of you, and Europe will recollect with astonishment that you are of the race of heroes.

Buonaparte, first consul of the republic, to the Army of Italy.

Soldiers!—The circumstances which detain me at the head of Government do not permit me to be with you. Your wants are great, every measure is taking to provide for them. The first qualities of a soldier are resolution and discipline; valour is but the second.

Soldiers!—Many corps have quitted their positions; they have been deaf to the voice of their officers; the 17th of light troops is in this number. Are all the brave men of Castiglione, of Rivoli, of Newmark, dead?—They would have perished rather than quit their colours, and they would have brought back their young comrades to honour and to duty.

Soldiers!—You say that your distributions are not regularly made. What would you have done, if, like the 4th and 22d light troops, 18th and 33d of the line, you had found yourselves in the middle of a desert, without bread or water, eating the flesh of horses and mules? “Victory will give us bread!” they said, and you—leave your colours! Soldiers of Italy!—A new General commands you. He was always in the van in the days of your glory. Give

him your confidence, he will bring victory into your ranks.

I shall order a daily account of the conduct of every corps, and particularly of the 17th light troops, and of the 73d of the line, to be given me. They will recollect the confidence which I had placed in them.

Having detailed the particulars relating to Buonaparte's return from Egypt—The manner in which he effected a Revolution in France, and established a new Constitution, with the proclamations which he issued to the people and soldiery, we shall now resume our account of the farther military operations in Italy, dated Head-quarters, Centalo, Nov. 6, 1799.

The French having taken Pignerol and Susa, and having advanced to Saluzzo, threatening our communication with Turin, gen. Melas thought it necessary to march still farther to his right; and a camp was chosen between Bra and Fossano. These operations, when connected with the system of defence only, upon which this army had so long been acting, deceived the French into a belief that the Austrians were in full retreat. The evacuation of Mondovi, which was determined upon for the purpose of adding a very considerable force to the army, confirmed still more this opinion. Elated with these hopes, they advanced on all points, and on the 3d took possession of Savigliano.

On the 4th the enemy marched in three columns to attack the Austrian army. The first column marched from Savigliano by Marene, the second by Genola, and the third marched to the attack of Fossano, which had been put in a state of defence, and was occupied by a considerable garrison. It happened that the Austrian army moved with the same intent, at the same time, and in

the same number of columns, and upon the same roads. Lieutenant-general Ott commanded the right column, Lieutenant-general Elsnitz the center, and Major-general Gottesheim the left. The two armies met at Marenne and Genola: it was not till after a very severe engagement that general Ott obliged the enemy to fall back from Marenne; a part retired to Genola, and a part to Savigliano. General Ott pursued the enemy to the latter place, where he took three cannon, and above one thousand prisoners. The column of general Elsnitz, that was destined for the attack of Genola, met with a much more formidable resistance. The action lasted for several hours, and it was not till the arrival of the column of general Ott from Savigliano upon the rear of the French, that victory declared in favour of the Austrians. The two columns immediately proceeded in pursuit of the enemy: general Ott by Villa Fallete, general Elsnitz by Valdigi. The army halted at night at Centalo. The column of general Gottesheim repulsed the French from Fossano to Murazza. It will appear surprising, that, while our army was at Centalo, a division of the French army remained between Murazzo and Ronchi, with the Stura in their rear, over which there was no bridge.

Early in the morning of the 5th the army marched in two columns to Ronchi and Murazzo. The enemy, surprised, made no resistance, and 200 prisoners were taken without any loss. It appears that the French army was completely defeated, and that this division was left there without orders. The Austrians have made in the two days above 3000 prisoners. The army, being extremely fatigued, remained at Ronchi; but this morning, general Melas having determined to follow up his success with

the greatest vigour, the army marched in two columns, one upon the entrenched camp of the Madona del Almo, and the other upon Casaglia; the enemy retreated upon our approach, over the mountains.

General Kray attacked the enemy near Alessandria, and obliged them to retire to Pozzola Formigolo, with the loss of one thousand prisoners.

On the 11th the division of general Ott attacked that part of the enemy which remained at Borgo St. Dalmazzo, and drove them as far as Robillante. On the same day major-general Somasiva pursued the French in the valley of the Stura as far as Demonte, of which he took possession, and made 100 prisoners. Major general Gottesheim also obliged the French to evacuate the villages of La Chiusa, Boves, and Povoragne.—General Championet had assembled his whole force at Mondovi, and upon the mountains behind the river Ellero, as far as Monasterlo. As long as he occupied this position, it was impossible to undertake the siege of Coni. General Melas therefore gave orders that a general attack should be made on the 13th. A letter from Championet to St. Cyr had been intercepted, which shewed that the latter was not able to pursue the advantage he had gained over general Kray in the last action. For this reason the division of general Metrowshi, which had marched as far as Cheraso, for the purpose of reinforcing general Kray, was ordered to return to the camp of the Trinita on the 12th, and to form the left of the attack on the town of Mondovi. The remainder of the army marched in two columns. The one, by La Chiusa, upon Monasterlo; the other by Villa Nova, upon the centre of the enemy's line. From the difficulties of the roads the attacks were not made

made till very late, and the enemy, without making much resistance, abandoned all his positions. The people of Mondovi opened the gates of the lower town to the Austrians. The French army retired to Vico, and evacuated the citadel of Mondovi in the night.

General Championet retreated towards Ormia, and major-general Bellegarde was sent with a considerable corps in pursuit of him. The Austrian army marched at Beinitté, to take up the necessary positions to cover the siege. The inveteracy and detestation of the French is so general, and carried to such lengths, that the people are armed: and, headed by a priest, perform the most wonderful exploits. In the beginning of the campaign they took both Ceva and Mondova from the French; and, in the action of yesterday, a body of 15,000 prevented a very strong column of the enemy from marching by a particular road; the country being mountainous, is peculiarly favourable to their irregular mode of fighting.

During the night of the 26th, the trenches before Coni were opened, at 400 paces from the covered way of the fortress, notwithstanding the terrible fire kept up by the enemy against our workmen, who were obliged to dig into a soil hardened by the frost; neither the snow, cold or fatigues, could in the least damp the zeal of the troops, who did not enjoy twelve hours of rest. The works were carried on with such vigour, that from the 1st of December, the first parallel and the inlets of communication were completed. During the night of the 1st, the artillery was mounted upon nineteen batteries, and at seven o'clock in the morning, a fire was opened upon Coni. The fire was so brisk and so well directed, that the enemy was compelled, after the space of four hours, to aban-

don with precipitation the external works, and at nine o'clock the enemy's redoubt towards the Stura blew up, in consequence of a shell having penetrated the powder-chest. The enemy kept up a violent cannonade from the fortress and the different works, but could not in the least impede the rapid success of our fire, and about noon fires broke out in several quarters of the fortress, and in the evening the middle redoubt, with several pieces of cannon and 18 artillerymen also blew up. The conflagration spreading more and more, and it being impossible to extinguish it, on account of the uninterrupted shower of shells and balls, the Commandant of the fortress was induced to send to Prince Lichtenstein a petition from the Municipality, praying, to spare the place, which petition was supported by a letter from the commandant to the same purpose. But Prince Lichtenstein, instead of complying with that demand, redoubling the fire, the commandant found himself under the necessity, at midnight, to solicit the suspension of the fire, adding, that in the morning he would send a person with full powers to negotiate a capitulation.

This proposal was likewise rejected, and it was signified to the commandant, that the fire would not cease, before the Plenipotentiary had actually arrived in the camp. Agreeably to this intimation, the firing continued during the whole of the night, with redoubled exertions; but in the morning, about half-past seven o'clock, a French colonel of artillery having arrived in the camp, to arrange the capitulation, field-marshal lieutenant Prince Lichtenstein ordered the fire to be discontinued. The enemy at first made proposals which would have considerably protracted the fate of the fortress; but the Prince rejected them,

and left the enemy's Plenipotentiary to choose, either to agree to our terms, or to a continuance of hostilities, till the fortress should be forced to surrender at discretion. He chose the former, and the capitulation was signed. The garrison as prisoners, were sent to the Imperial States; the outer works were taken possession of by our troops on the same evening; and the departure of the enemy's garrison was agreed on for the following afternoon, at three o'clock. This fortress was one of the strongest in Europe, provided with 180 pieces of cannon, and the only one that remained in the possession of the French.

The capture of this place secures to us the possession of Piedmont, and crowns the glorious victories atchieved by the Imperial arms during the course of the campaign.

We shall now proceed to give an account of the partition of the dominions of the late Tippoo Saib, and of the seating upon the throne of Mysore the grandson of the legal sovereign, who, it is said, is still alive. The sons of Tippoo, all of whom have surrendered, have been sent to Vellore, where a handsome establishment is provided for them. The great officers of the late sultan have had provision made for them also; and the country has not only been conquered, but the government has fully fallen into our hands. The native sovereign, as he is called, of Mysore, will reside in the old town, in all the pomp of royalty; but, the fortress of Seringapatam, and the real authority, will rest with the British troops. Mangalore is also to belong to the company. But the most agreeable part of the intelligence just received from India is, the ratification by the nizam of the treaty of partition. By this our conquests and newly obtained power are consolidated, and left

without any apparent chance of being disturbed.

Letters from Seringapatam communicate the very satisfactory intelligence that the inhabitants of that capital are to all appearance thoroughly reconciled to the revolution; the inferior ranks among the officers of the late sultan, and his soldiery in general, are as yet in some degree an exception, being hitherto at a loss how to dispose of their time to advantage. Our service has been offered to them, and probably numbers will accept it; but at present many dislike it from the apprehension of being marched away from their friends, which has great weight with them. Besides the spoils taken at Seringapatam, there were found on the works and in the arsenal upwards of 2000 pieces of cannon, one half of which were brass, besides an abundance of stores of every description. The depots of grain exceed all credibility, which proves that Tippoo was fully prepared for a long siege.

On the 17th of May the late Tippoo Sultan's horses, elephants and camels, were delivered over in Purnea's tent to lieutenant-colonels Close and Dallas, and captains Macaulay and Montgomery:—3120 horses were reckoned on this occasion, 99 elephants, and 175 camels, the late sultan's private property.

The forlorn hope, at Seringspatam, was led by a serjeant of the light company of the Bombay European regiment, who volunteered his services on this occasion. His name was Graham. He ran forwards to examine the breach, and, mounting it, he pulled off his hat, and with three cheers called out, "Success to lieutenant Graham" (alluding to his having a commission if he survived;) on which he rejoined his party, and remounted with them with the colours in his

his hands; upon reaching the rampart he stuck the colour staff in it, exclaiming, "I'll shew them the British flag," and was at that instant shot through the head. He has left an European widow and five children to lament his fate.

Further information dated the 20th of May, mentions that Fatty Hyder had surrendered himself to General Harris, but does not specify the day; thus the conquest of the capital has providentially proved the conquest of the country!

Another letter dated the 26th of May, mentions that of the jewels not above six or seven lacks of pagodas worth had been then valued; and as to the merchandize, viz. muslins, shawls, and various rich cloths, they were reckoned at the enormous amount of 500 camels loads. The sultan's throne, being too unwieldy to be carried, had been broken up; it was a howdah upon a tyger, covered with sheet gold; the ascent to it was by silver steps gilt, having silver nails, and all the other fastenings of the same metal. The canopy was alike superb, and decorated with a costly fringe of fine pearls, all round it; the eyes and teeth of the tyger were of glass. It was valued at 60,000 pagodas. It was said, that a dividend, to the value of about a million sterling, would soon be made, part of it, to the amount of 17 lacks of pagodas, in cash, the rest in jewels: a committee had been appointed for the arrangement of it.

Other advices from Seringapatam, dated the 27th of May, mention, that in breaking up the throne, which its bulk and weight rendered necessary, the sheet of gold with which it was covered was found to weigh 40,000 pagodas; the silver work about it, the supporters of the canopy, and the fringe of pearls which went round it, were valued at 10,000 pagodas more. Every inch of

the howdah contained an Arabic sentence, chiefly from the Koran, superbly stamped, being raised and polished in the most beautiful manner. A gold figure of a bird, covered over with the most precious stones, was screwed to the roof of the canopy; its beak is a large emerald, its eyes carbuncles, the breast covered with diamonds, and the wings, which are expanded as if hovering, completely lined with diamonds; on the back are many large jewels, well and fancifully disposed; the tail, which resembles a peacock's, is also studded in the same manner—the whole so arranged as to imitate the plumage, and so closely set, that the gold is scarcely visible.

Information having been given that a quantity of jewels were concealed in the seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley, the Commandant, for permission to search; which being granted, and the proper notice given to remove the women from the apartments which it was the intention to search, the gentlemen deputed on the occasion proceeded to inspect them; but were disappointed in every respect: for they did not find any thing of value, and, instead of elegant habitations which they imagined, found places as filthy as the lowest and dirtiest dwellings in the Bazar, the furniture consisting of a chier, a swing, two or three boxes of clothes, a miserable bed, and a shelf of perfumes, spices, &c. It was discovered afterwards that Tippoo never entrusted his women with the keeping of their jewels. There were in all, including some of the wives and ladies of the late Hyder, and those of Tippoo's family, with their attendants, 650 females in the palace.

On the 24th of July, a proclamation was issued by the commissioners for the affairs of Mysore, to enable the honourable

able English company to obtain reasonable compensation for the expences of the war, and for establishing permanent security and tranquillity for themselves and their subjects, as well as for all the powers contiguous to their dominions.

The following interesting account of the conduct of the late Sultan of the Mysore, pending the assault of his capital, and of the particulars of his death, is collected from the testimony of the Killadar of Seringapatam, and some of the immediate attendants of his person :

“The Sultan went out early in the morning of the 4th of May, as was his custom daily, to one of the cavaliers of the outer rampart of the north face, whence he could observe what was doing on both sides; he remained there till about noon, when he took his usual repast under a pandal. It would appear that he had at that time no suspicion of the assault being so near.

“A few minutes afterwards he was informed that Meer Goshar had been killed by a cannon shot near the breach, which intelligence appeared to agitate him greatly; he immediately ordered the troops that were near him under arms, and his personal servants to load the carabines, which they carried for his own use, and hastened along the ramparts towards the breach, accompanied by a select guard and several of his chiefs, till he met a number of his troops flying before the van of the Europeans, who he perceived had already mounted and gained the ramparts. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, and uniting them with his own guard, encouraged them by his voice and example to make a determined stand. He repeatedly fired on our troops himself, and one of his servants asserts that he saw him bring down several Europeans

near the top of the breach. Notwithstanding these exertions, when the front of the European flank companies of the left attack, approached the spot where the Sultan stood, he found himself almost entirely deserted, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts; these he defended, one after another, with the bravest of his men and officers, and, assisted by the fire of his people on the inner wall, he several times obliged the front of our troops, who were pushing on with their usual ardour, to make a stand.

“While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultan continued to dispute the ground until he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort; here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a bad wound when very young, and ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted, but seeing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he made for the gate, followed by his palaquin and a number of officers, troops, and servants. It was then, probably, his intention either to have entered and shut the gate, in order to attack the small body of our troops which had got into the inner fort, and, if successful in driving them out, to have maintained it against us, or to endeavour to make his way to the Palace, and there make his last stand; but, as he was crossing to the gate, by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket-ball in the right side, nearly as high as the breast; he, however, still pressed on, till he was stopped, about half-way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the 12th light infantry, from within, when he received a second ball close to the other, the horse he rode on being also wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the

the ground; many of his people fell at the same time, on every side, by musketry, both from within and without the gate.

"The fallen Sultan was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palanquin, under the arch, and on one side the gateway, where he lay or sat for some minutes, faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered the gateway. A servant, who had survived, relates that one of the soldiers seized the Sultan's sword-belt (which was very rich,) and attempted to pull it off; that the Sultan, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all his remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee, on which he put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultan through the temple, when he instantly expired.

"Not less than 300 men were killed, and numbers wounded, under the arch of this gateway, which soon became impassable, excepting over the bodies of the dead and dying.

"About dusk, general Baird, in consequence of information he had received at the Palace, came with lights to the gate, accompanied by the late Killadar of the fort and others, to search for the body of the Sultan, and after much labour it was found, and brought from under a heap of slain to the inside of the gate. The countenance was no ways distorted, but had an impression of stern composure; his turban, jacket, and sword-belt, were gone, but the body was recognized by some of his people who were there, to be *Padshaw*; and an officer who was present, with the leave of General Baird, took from off his right arm the talisman, which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance, of the colour of silver, and some manu-

scripts in magic Arabic and Persian characters, the purport of which, had there been any doubt, would have sufficiently ascertained the identity of the Sultan's body. It was placed on his own palanquin, and, by General Baird's orders, conveyed to the Court of the Palace, where it remained during the night."

We shall now resume our account of the captures at sea, during these transactions by land.

On the 14th of October, 1799, Capt. Bond, of his majesty's ship *Netley*, recaptured a brig from Gibraltar, laden with brandy; she proved a Spanish schooner, belonging to Muros, and called *El Orelly, y los Tres Amigos*, mounting four carriage guns, and four brass three pounders on swivels, with a complement of 52 men.

On the 6th of November, the *Speedy* cutter, of 14 guns, came through the gut of Gibraltar, with two sail under convoy from Lisbon; one was a transport, laden with wine for the fleet; the other was a merchant ship bound to Trieste. On their approach into the Bay, twelve Spanish gun-boats, two of them schooners, each with two 24 pounders in their bows, attacked them, and cut off the brig from the *Speedy*, after more than an hour's engagement, close under the batteries of Europa, firing round and grape-shot; in consequence of which Captain Brenton, concluding the transport safe from being taken, shortened sail, bore up to rescue the merchant ship, and with the gallantry of a British naval officer, run right through the centre of the twelve gun-vessels, engaged them so closely on both sides, as to create in the Spaniards such a panic, as deterred them from returning to their station from Malagar, where they were driven. The Spaniards had eleven men killed and one wounded.

The

The transport was very much injured in sails and rigging; but she did not lose a man. The greatest credit is due to Captain Brenton, for having made an attack that has not been surpassed for spirit and enterprize during the war.

Soon after this affair, Captain Frissell, of the *Start*, perceiving an English schooner in the chace of a French lugger, he fired two shots at the lugger, when she immediately struck, and proved to be a French privateer, belonging to Granville, armed with swivels and small arms, and thirteen men, but had taken nothing.

On the 4th of December, Captain Lloyd, of the *Atalante*, observed a lugger board a brig, which he soon discovered to be an enemy; after a running fight of about 40 minutes, he laid her along side, when he received a smart fire from the cannon and small arms, which was returned with success; finding themselves unable to make any resistance, immediately struck. She proves to be *L'Intrepide*, of Calais, mounting 16 guns and 60 men, quite new, commanded by citizen Sillard, from Boulogne. On the same day, captain Hosier, of the *Revenge* schooner of war, was attacked by 4 Spanish privateers, 2 schooners, a brig, and a lugger, mounting from 4 to 14 guns. He kept up a running fight about 15 minutes, when one of the schooners having lost her main mast, gave up the chace, and the other three immediately hauled their wind, which gave him an opportunity of changing his course, when he discovered a Spanish schooner to the west, to whom he gave chace, and coming along-side, desired them to strike; on making no answer, he gave them a broadside, which they returned, and a smart fire was kept up on both sides about an hour, when she blew up, and only 8 of the crew could

be saved. She was a new privateer, named the *Brilliant*, carrying eight guns, 6 and 12 pounders; had, when she began the action, 63 men.

About the same time, Captain Tomlinson, of the *Speedwell*, captured a French lugger privateer of St. Maloes, called *L'Henreuse Esperance*, mounting 14 three pounders, and 24 men. And on the 6th he captured a French brig privateer called *L'Heuteux Speculateer*, of Granville, carrying 14 guns and 58 men. She is a remarkably fast sailer, and has done much mischief to the English trade.

On the 26th of same month, Captain Pengelly, of the *Viper* cutter, discovered a suspicious vessel to windward, and perceiving her to be an enemy, he brought her to close action, which continued for three quarters of an hour, when she sheered off; however, after a running fight of an hour and a half, she had the good fortune to lay her close on board, and upon pouring two broadsides into her, she struck her colours. She proves to be *Le Furet*, of 14 guns, 4 pounders, commanded by Citoyen Louis Bouvet, with a complement of 64 men.

In the evening of the 21st of December, an English cutter, the *Lady Nelson*, was seen off Cabreta Point, surrounded by French privateers and gun vessels, all firing; in consequence of which the boats of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Emerald* were ordered to row towards the enemy, in hopes it might encourage the cutter to resist till she could get under the guns of Algeziras; but she was boarded and taken in tow by two of the French privateers, in which situation Lieutenant Bainbridge, in the *Queen Charlotte's* barge, with 16 men, run alongside the cutter, and after a sharp conflict, carried her, taking 7 French officers and 27 men prisoners; six or seven

seven more were killed or knocked overboard in the scuffle. The privateers cut the tow ropes, and made off close under the guns of Algeziras, pursued and attacked by Lord Cochrane in the Queen Charlotte's cutter, which had by this time got up. Had not the darkness of the night prevented the boats acting in concert, there is no doubt but all the privateers would have been taken. Lieutenant Bambridge was severely wounded on the head by a stroke from a sabre and slightly in other places.

On the 14th of October, Captain Philpot chased a brig into Lagnadille, the north west end of Porto Rico; and observing several vessels in the Bay, some of them loaded, on the 15th he sent the pinnace and jolly boat, under the command of Lieutenants Napier and Rorie; they arrived too late to attempt boarding the vessels at anchor, but had the good fortune to capture a Spanish brig from Camana (on the Main) bound to Old Spain, laden with cocoa and indigo, and having on board two four-pounders, and twenty men. On the 16th he sent the two boats, under the command of Lieut. Napier and Mr. Wood, the boatswain, to cut out what they could from the Bay. They arrived at the anchorage about two o'clock in the morning, and were hailed from the brig they chased in; they perceived her to be armed, and on the look-out for them, moored about half a cable's length from the shore, with her broadside to the sea, protected by two field pieces, one 18-pounder, and some smaller carriage guns, all placed on the beach. The boats did not hesitate, but boarded her in the bow; the Frenchmen and Spaniards (about 30 in number, all upon deck, with matches lighted and guns primed, every way prepared for action) made the best of their way down

the hatchways. By the time the cables were cut, the guns on the beach opened their fire upon the boats; and the third shot, sunk the pinnace, while she was a-head towing the jolly-boat. The brig was several times hulled, but a light breeze favouring, she soon got out of gun shot: luckily not a man killed or wounded; the only loss is the boat, with the arms and ammunition. The brig mounts 12 four-pounders; had 30 men on board; is a French letter of marque, commanded by Citizen Pierre Martin, Enseigne de Vaisseau, is coppered, and a very fast sailer; was to sail in two days for Curacao, there to be fitted as a privateer. She is American built, and has a valuable cargo on board: the Captain of her was on shore.

Captain Hamilton having been induced, for the honour of his country, and the glory of the British Navy, to make an attempt to cut out his Majesty's late ship *Hermione*, from the harbour of Porto Cavillo with the boats of the surprise only, where there are about 200 pieces of cannon mounted on the batteries, we shall relate the particulars of that glorious action; being as daring and gallant an enterprise as is to be found in our naval annals during this war.

On the 22d and 23d of October, he well observed her situation, and the evening of the 24th being favourable, he turned the hands up to acquaint the officers and ship's company of his intentions to lead them to the attack, which was handsomely returned with *Three Cheers*, and that they would all follow to a man; this greatly increased his hopes, and he had little doubt of succeeding: the boats, containing one hundred men, including officers, at half-past twelve on the morning of the 25th, (after having beat the launch of the ship, which carried a twenty-four pounder,

and twenty men, and receiving several guns and small arms from the frigate,) boarded: the fore-castle was taken possession of without much resistance; the quarter-deck disputed the point a quarter of an hour, where a dreadful carnage took place; the main-deck held out much longer, and with equal slaughter; nor was it before both cables were cut, sail made on the ship, and boats a-head to tow, that the main deck could be called ours; they last of all retreated to between decks, and continued firing till their ammunition was expended; then, and not until then, did they cry for quarter. At two o'clock the *Hermione* was completely ours, being out of gun shot from the fort, which had some time kept up a tolerable good fire. From the Captain, Don Romond de Chalas, he was informed she was nearly ready for sea, mounting forty-four guns, with a ship's company of three hundred and twenty-one officers and sailors, fifty-six soldiers, and fifteen artillery-men on board.

About the middle of December, his Majesty's sloop *Vincello*, Captain Long, captured a French brig from Egypt, with dispatches from General Kleber, Commander in chief there, to the Directory, which were thrown overboard; they were however, taken up, and delivered to Lord Keith, who opened them, and in consequence, immediately sailed to the eastward, leaving them to be forwarded to England by the *Earl St. Vincent* cutter; in one of the letters was mentioned, that should it be necessary to sink or destroy the dispatches, Citizen Barras, one of the passengers, could relate their contents. He was therefore taken particular care of at Minorca.

This circumstance leads us to give an account of the intercepted correspondence which is particularly interesting, as

it not only conveys to us the situation of the Army of Egypt, but at the same time gives us a true idea of the character of Buonaparte.

This correspondence comprizes an interval of near 50 days. Buonaparte, before his departure, was to have given Kleber a meeting at Rosetta: but instead of appearing in person he sent a brevet, nominating Kleber to the command of the army of the East, together with instructions what he had to do.

They commence by informing Kleber that he has received the English Newspapers, and the Frankfort Journal up to the 10th of June; and that he had there learnt that Italy was lost; that Turin, Tortona, and Mantua were blockaded; but if fortune favoured him, he should reach France by October, time enough to remedy the existing evils, and bring back the affairs of France from their present deplorable state, to the flourishing condition in which he had left them. He assures Kleber, that this consideration alone had determined him to quit the army without farther deliberation; and he recommends to Kleber to make every possible exertion to preserve Egypt, since that country, from the tottering state of the Turkish empire, would pass sooner or later into Europeans' hands: and he insists strongly on the advantages which would accrue to France, from retaining possession of it, as a point of support for great future revolutions. He proceeds to inform Kleber, that he carried with him an exact account of the state of the army, and its immediate necessities; and that the arrival of the Brest fleet at Toulon, and of the Spanish fleet at Carthage, left him no doubt of the possibility of transmitting succours to them. He promises him that he will certainly not forget the company of comedians, which he had not ceased to demand,

demand, for the purpose of changing the manners of the country.

If circumstances of alarming pressure should occur, Buonaparte advises Kleber to follow up the negotiations which he had commenced with Turkey; and to propose to the Porte, that it should retain the sovereignty of Egypt, more completely than it had ever done, while, by admitting the French, instead of the Mamelukes, to remain as colonial administrators, it should receive the Miri (or annual revenue) regularly, and without fraud, and not nominally only, as under the ancient Government. The French who remained in Egypt would receive and remit the customs: and demanded in return for this, that the Porte should permit to France a free commerce in the Black Sea. If, however, by the month of May next, Kleber shall have lost 1500 men of his army by the plague or war, he is authorised to make the best treaty possible for the total evacuation of Egypt. He orders him to send to Europe, in the month of November, by a flag of truce, General Desaix, and the committee of Arts, who are gone to visit Upper Egypt; and if any of the learned men are necessary, he authorises him to place them in requisition.

Buonaparte also orders Kleber to unite under any pretence whatever at Cairo 600 Mamelukes and Cheiks, and to carry them off as hostages, and embark them for France, where they shall remain two years, and where the wonders they will behold will give them the most exalted idea of the French nation, and they will contribute to dovelope, on their return, the germs of the civilization of Egypt.

He recommends them to act cautiously with the Ministers of the Maho-

metan religion. We must, says he, lay fanaticism asleep, before we destroy it entirely.

Kleber, in his dispatch to the directory, complains warmly of being abandoned. He gives the following statement of his forces and of his position.

"The army is reduced to one half, and consequently can reckon no more than 26,000 men; but of these only 5000 are fit for the field of battle. The others are sick or blind, or otherwise unfit for service, and in the hospitals. These five thousand must defend the triangle, which extends from Alexandria to the Cataracts, and from the Cataracts to Elarish, in the desert on the side of Palestine. These five thousand men will be insufficient for the defence of Alexandria, which can only be considered as a large entrenched camp.—Besides, the disastrous expedition to Syria has deprived me of all the besieging artillery, and the marine artillery employed to arm the frigate in which Buonaparte embarked.

"The army has neither powder, muskets, or cannons—it is without cloathing, and without a sol—the powder mills which were attempted to be established, have produced nothing—the arrear of the finances amounts to ten millions, four of which are for the pay of the army—the enormous contributions levied by Buonaparte, on his arrival, have exhausted the country.

"In the mean time Mourad Bey is still in Upper Egypt, fighting and recruiting his army, at the slightest disadvantage. On the first Firman all the villages are ready to revolt. Ibrahim Bey is with 2000 Mamelukes at the entrance of the Desert of Syria; and the Grand Vizier, who is advancing at the head of 20,000 men, has sent a prisoner, to whom he had shewn his camp, and expressly

expressly desired him to tell his general to tremble.

"I fear the combined attack of the Russians, Turks, and English. The squadron of the latter is mistress of the Red Sea. In this situation I dread being reduced to the extremity of abandoning myself to the humanity of the Turks, who have been too often deceived to allow room to hope for any capitulation with them.

"The two affairs of Aboukir have cost the Turks 9000 men, instead of 22,000, as General Berthier said.

"The Nile was very unhealthy, and as this year only half its banks were overflowed, we shall experience the most fatal effects from plague, famine, and the superstition of the inhabitants, who will attribute the misfortune to the Christians.

"For want of money the pay-masters of the army attempt to satisfy the soldiers, who are ready to mutiny, by drawing Bills of Exchange on the National Treasury, which they hope will be paid.

"In this state of things, what can, and what ought I to do? I think, Citizens Directors, that I should continue the negotiations entered upon by Buonaparte; though the result should be merely the gaining a little time, I should even then have sufficient reason to be satisfied with it. I have inclosed you the letter which, in consequence of this determination, I wrote to the Grand Vizier; sending him at the same time, a duplicate of that from Buonaparte.—If this Minister meets my advances, I shall propose to him the restitution of Egypt on the following conditions:—The Grand Seignior shall appoint a Basha, as before. The Beys shall give up to him the Miti, which the Porte has always *de jure*, and never *de facto*.—

Commerce shall be reciprocally open between Egypt and Syria.—The French shall continue in the country, occupy the strong holds, and the forts, and collect all the duties and customs, till the French Government shall have made peace with England.—If these summary preliminaries are accepted, I shall think I have rendered my country a greater service than if I had obtained the most brilliant victory. But I fear they will not be attended to; if the haughtiness of the Turks opposes no obstacle, I shall still have to combat the influence of English gold. Happen what may, I will endeavour to direct myself by circumstances.

The General of Division, Dugna, in a letter to Barras, says, "I shall say but little to you on the departure of the General. It was only communicated to those who were to accompany him. It was precipitated. The army was 13 days without a Commander in Chief. There was not a sous in any of the military chests; no part of the service arranged; the enemy scarce retired from Aboukir, was still before Damietta. Such was our situation at Cairo from the 18th of August to the 30th. I confess to you, Citizen Director, that I could never have believed general Buonaparte would have abandoned us in the condition in which we were; without money, without powder, without ball, and one part of the soldiers without arms. Debts to an enormous amount; more than a third of the army destroyed by the plague, the dysentery, by ophthalmia, and by the war; that which remains almost naked, and the enemy but eight days march from us!

"A numerous army is assembling in Syria;—fleets, of which we know not the strength, threaten our coasts, which we know to be accessible in many places.

places. The commander in Chief cannot bring together more than 7000 fighting men; the enemy have it in their power to make three separate attacks at the same time; what can 7000 men, (and those necessarily divided) hope to do? If the Government cannot succour us; if it cannot appease the Ottoman Court, and recall it to its true interests; if, in short, we are abandoned here to ourselves, compelled to continue fighting, one against ten, to struggle with the most cruel maladies, all that France will ever see again of the "Army of Egypt" will be the maimed and the blind, if the Turks should have the humanity to send them back. The rest will perish here, exhausted by their fatigues and their victories."

But the two most interesting letters of the collection are from Posselque, Comptroller of the Expences of the Army. He thus writes to the late Director Merlin:

"When the expedition of Egypt took place, we were at peace on the Continent; we had still a considerable fragment of our naval force in the Mediterranean; and we were in possession of the whole of Italy, Corfu, and Malta; a hope, too, might have been indulged, that we should obtain the consent of the Porte, at least tacitly; and thus we should have gained the end we proposed, against the English; for it is my opinion, with that of all the world, that our proper view was, by alarming them for the safety of their Indian possessions, to force them into a peace, advantageous for the Republic, by making the evacuation of Egypt an object of compensation for the restitutions which we should in that case have required!

"But the fatal engagement of Aboukir ruined all our hopes. It prevented

us from receiving the remainder of the forces which were destined for us; it left the field free for the English to persuade the Porte to declare war against us; it re-kindled that which was hardly extinguished with the Emperor of Germany; it opened the Mediterranean to the Russians, and planted them on our frontiers; it occasioned us the loss of Italy, and the invaluable possessions in the Adriatic, which we owed to the successful campaigns of Buonaparte, and finally, it at once rendered abortive all our projects, since it was no longer possible for us to dream of giving the English any uneasiness in India.

"At present we can no longer flatter ourselves that the English will be prevailed upon to agree to an equivalent in the articles of peace, for the evacuation of Egypt. For, in the first place, they know perfectly well the degree of weakness and want to which we are reduced, and which renders it impossible to undertake any thing against them; and, in the second, that even if we should receive succours (which they will use every means in their power to prevent,) we should not, on that account, be a jot farther advanced, while we have the Turks to contend with; and while they are assured that the Porte will not make peace without their consent, or without stipulating that the preliminary article for terminating the war shall be the evacuation of Egypt.

"But there is yet another consideration; it is, that if we delay entering into a treaty (such is the state of weakness to which we are reduced) there is reason to fear that we shall be too late; at present it is in our power to make it the price of peace with the Ottoman Empire and the Barbary States, the strengthening our old connections with Constantinople, and resuming in the Levant

Levant that exclusive commerce which we once enjoyed.

"This treaty, to which the English must be admitted as a party, will be a preparatory step to that peace which it is, at length, more than time to conclude with them. It will infallibly induce Russia to declare war against the Porte, and cause a diversion of the most important kind in our affairs in Europe; *we might even hope to regain by it what we have lost in the Mediterranean.*"

In another official letter to the Directory, the Comptroller thus follows up the arguments he had before addressed to Merlin:—

"General Kleber is now engaged in arranging for the Directory the notes which contain the substance of the conference. To me it is evident that the Grand Vizier would be disposed to do every thing we could wish, if he were not afraid that the instant his communications with us were discovered, Russia would suddenly fall upon the Ottoman Empire; which is at this time in no state of defence. But, if the Porte were sure of a powerful alliance, which would support her feeble efforts at the outset, and finally render her victorious, she would not hesitate an instant in forming a resolution. After all, these measures, as I have already said, cannot be put into execution unless the English become a party in them, and unite with the Porte and with us.

"Now as the French Republic has nothing to apprehend which is not trifling when compared with the losses she must inevitably sustain from the establishment of the Russians in the Mediterranean; as there is not a chance of recovering from the English any part of what they have taken from us during the present war, but by an immediate treaty, which should hold out to them

equivalent advantages elsewhere; and on the supposition that they would agree to no restitution, there would be no present purpose answered by continuing the war, *and no inconvenience sustained by adjourning our claims (reclamations) to a happier period.*

"At all events, *it is indispensable to open negociation in the most earnest manner with the English and the Porte; even if no advantage should result from them than gaining time, and giving offence to Russia; such offence as should induce her to declare war against the Grand Seignior, to an opportunity of doing which she seems to look forward with impatience.*"

The following is a translation of the Address of general Kleber to the French army in Egypt, after he had discovered that Buonaparte and his associates had deserted the army, and fled to France.

"Brave Soldiers,

"I hasten to announce to you, that the General in Chief has clandestinely quitted Egypt, and is now on his return to France, accompanied by Generals Berthier, Murat, Citizen Berthollet, Monge, and several more of his creatures.—I this day received a letter from General Buonaparte (which he directed should not be delivered to me until twenty-four hours after his departure) appointing me Commander in Chief of the army of Egypt.

"Comrades, you will without doubt feel as I do towards the man who has thus basely deserted an army which he swore never to abandon; an army which conquered for him at Lodi and at Rivoli, who, by its discipline, its patience under fatigue and privations of every kind, had conferred on Buonaparte a name equal at least to that of the greatest commander upon record. He has *generously* appointed me to the chief command in his absence: but I do not thank

thank *him* for the appointment ; it is to you, soldiers, that I am in the greatest measure indebted for this honour : he knew that I possessed your good opinion, and that the choice of me would meet with your approbation ; on the other hand, my rank and seniority entitled me to the situation. Had he felt at all the obligations of gratitude, he would not have left men, to whom he owes every thing but his good fortune, and who by their valour had so often bound his temples with laurel. Were I to speak on my own immediate account, I could tax Buonaparte with extreme ingratitude in deserting me, who have upon several occasions saved his life.—One instance I shall mention in support of what I have advanced, and which will immediately recur to you. You remember, when we were at Joppa, on our return from the expedition into Syria, that, exasperated with his cruelties, and maddened by the numberless disasters which accompanied that campaign, you threatened to take his life ; he flew to me for assistance ; he beseeched me to use my influence over you, and intercede for him ; I did so, you listened to my remonstrances, and spared his life.

“ The General has taken with him those whom he knew to be in his interest, and who will second his falsehoods to the Directory : but let them state what they please, the nations of Europe will judge for themselves, and will view *his* conduct in its proper light.

“ Soldiers ! be not depressed by this event : you have still remaining among you officers of tried abilities and courage—they swear never to forsake you, and I pledge myself that *their* promises will be held sacred.

“ Brave men ! I have shared your fortunes for years, and attended you in all your battles in Europe and in Africa ; I

never before had the principal command over you ; now fate has granted me that satisfaction, let me request, that when you are again called to the field, you will convince the enemy that French soldiers can conquer as well under Kleber as Buonaparte.”

Previous to our ministry receiving the above dispatches, overtures were made by Buonaparte to the English Government, on the subject of Peace, which were answered by Lord Grenville, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for Foreign affairs, of which the following are original copies.

Paris, Dec. 25, 1799.

My Lord,

I dispatch, by order of General Buonaparte, First Consul of the French Republic, a messenger to London ; he is the bearer of a letter from the First Consul of the Republic to his Majesty the King of England. I request you to give the necessary orders that he may be enabled to deliver it directly into your own hands. This step, in itself, announces the importance of its object.

Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

TALLEYRAND.

French Republic—Sovereignty of the People—Liberty—Equality.

Buonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to his Majesty the King of Great Britain and of Ireland.

Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the Republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your Majesty.

The war, which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal ? Are there no means of coming to an understanding ?

How

How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefits of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory?

These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your Majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

Your Majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the independence of weak states, prove only in those which are strong the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still, for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted.—But I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world. Of your Majesty.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Sir, *Downing-street, Jan. 4, 1800.*

I have received and laid before the King the two letters which you have transmitted to me, and his Majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with Foreign States, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer which I send you herewith inclosed.

I have the honour to be,

with high consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

NOTE.

The King has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is, nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects.

For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack: and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend: nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France;—Since no real advantage can arrive from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear that those causes have ceased to operate, which originally produced the war, and by which it has since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations.

For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his Majesty's ancient Friends and Allies,) have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged: Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene

scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthensome contest, for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way for fresh aggression; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe; and whom the present Rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

Greatly, indeed, will his majesty rejoice, whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end; that after the

experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished:—But the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty's wishes, can result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts.

The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence, would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad:—Such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation for peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

But, desirable as such an event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from

whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances of whatever nature, as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

Unhappily no such security hitherto exists: no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed, no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation it can for the present only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds, than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed) **GRENVILLE.**

Second letter from the minister for foreign affairs at Paris to lord Grenville.

My Lord, Paris, Jan. 14, 1800.

I lost no time in laying before the first consul of the republic the official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, which you transmitted to me; and I am charged to forward the answer, equally official, which you will find annexed.

Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) **TALLEYRAND.**

NOTE.

The official note, under date of the 14th Nivose, the 8th year, addressed by the minister of his Britannic majesty, having been laid before the first consul of the French Republic, he observed

with surprise, that it rested upon an opinion which is not exact respecting the origin and consequence of the present war. Very far from its being France which provoked it, she had, it must be remembered, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments: and it is not to be doubted that, occupied at that time entirely with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations.

But from the opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe entered into a league for its destruction. The aggression was real, long time before it was public; internal resistance was excited; its opponents were favourably received; their extravagant declamations were supported; the French nation was insulted in the person of its agents: and England set particularly this example by the dismissal of the minister accredited to her. Finally, France was, in fact, attacked in her independence, in her honour, and in her safety, long time before the war was declared.

Thus it is to the projects of subjection, dissolution, and dismemberment, which were prepared against her, and the execution of which was several times attempted and pursued, that France has a right to impute the evils which she has suffered, and those which have afflicted Europe. Such projects, for a long time without example, with respect to so powerful a nation, could not fail to bring on the most fatal consequences.

Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence: and it is only for the maintenance of her own independence that

that she has made use of those means which she possessed, in her own strength and the courage of her citizens. As long as she saw that her enemies obstinately refused to recognize her rights, she counted only upon the energy of her resistance; but as soon as they were obliged to abandon the hope of invasion, she sought for means of conciliation, and manifested pacific intentions; and if these have not always been efficacious; if, in the midst of the critical circumstances of her internal situation, which the revolution and the war have successively brought on, the former depositaries of the executive authority in France have not always shewn as much moderation as the nation itself has shewn courage, it must, above all, be imputed to the fatal and persevering animosity with which the resources of England have been lavished to accomplish the ruin of France.

But if the wishes of his Britannic majesty (in conformity with his assurances) are, in unison with those of the French republic, for the re-establishment of peace, why, instead of attempting the apology of the war, should not attention be rather paid to the means of terminating it; and what obstacle can prevent a mutual understanding, of which the utility is reciprocal, and is felt, especially when the first consul of the French republic has personally given so many proofs of his eagerness to put an end to the calamities of war, and of his disposition to maintain the rigid observance of all treaties concluded?

The first consul of the French republic could not doubt that his Britannic majesty recognized the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he holds his crown; but he has been unable to comprehend how, to

this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the minister of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic, and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England and to his majesty, if a sort of invitation were held out in favour of that republican government of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century, or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family whom their birth had placed there, and whom a revolution compelled to descend from it.

If at periods not far distant, when the constitutional system of the republic presented neither the strength nor the solidity which it contains at present, his Britannic majesty thought himself enabled to invite a negotiation and pacific conferences; how is it possible that he should not be eager to renew negotiations to which the present and reciprocal situation of affairs promises a rapid progress? On every side the voice of nations and of humanity implores the conclusion of a war, marked already by such great calamities, and the prolongation of which threatens Europe with an universal convulsion and irremediable evils. It is, therefore, to put a stop to the course of these calamities, or in order that their terrible consequences may be a reproach to those only who shall have provoked them, that the first consul of the French republic proposes to put an immediate end to hostilities, by agreeing to a suspension of arms, and naming Plenipotentiaries on each side, who should repair to Dunkirk, or any other town as advantageously situated for the quickness of the respective communications, and who should apply themselves without any delay to effect the re-establishment of peace

peace and good understanding between the French republic and England.

The first consul offers to give the passports which may be necessary for this purpose.

(Signed) **TALLEYRAND.**

Second letter from lord Grenville to the minister for Foreign affairs at Paris.

Sir, Downing-street, Jan. 20, 1800.

I have the honour to inclose to you the answer which his majesty has directed me to return to the official note which you transmitted to me.

I have the honour to be,

with high consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) **GRENVILLE.**

NOTE.

The official note transmitted by the minister for Foreign affairs in France, and received by the undersigned on the 18th instant, has been laid before the king.

His majesty cannot forbear expressing the concern with which he observes in that note, that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, are systematically defended by her present rulers under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty will not enter into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and (in so far as they respect his majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they relate, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself.

With respect to the object of the note, his majesty can only refer to the answer which he has already given.

He has explained, without reserve, the obstacles which, in his judgment, preclude at the present moment, all hope of advantage from negotiation. All the inducements to treat, which are relied upon in the French official note; the personal dispositions which are said to prevail for the conclusion of peace, and for the future observance of treaties; the power of insuring the effect of those dispositions, supposing them to exist; and the solidity of the system newly established, after so rapid a succession of revolutions; all these are points which can be known only from that test to which his majesty has already referred them—the result of experience and the evidence of facts.

With that sincerity and plainness which his anxieties for the re-establishment of peace indispensably required, his majesty has pointed out to France the surest and speediest means for the attainment of that great object. But he has declared in terms equally explicit, and with the same sincerity, that he entertains no desire to prescribe to a foreign nation the form of its government; that he looks only to the security of his own dominions and of Europe; and that whenever that essential object can in his judgment be, in any manner whatever, sufficiently provided for, he will eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

To these declarations his majesty steadily adheres, and it is only on the grounds thus stated, that his regard to the safety of his subjects will suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence, to which, under the favour of providence, his kingdoms owe the security of those blessings which they now enjoy.

(Signed)

GRENVILLE.

On the 3d of February the above correspondence was taken into consideration by the British Parliament, when Mr. Dundas called the attention of the House to a subject, he said, the consideration of which no less excited their utmost notice and observance, but which in its result must affect all Europe. In submitting the papers to the House, it would appear, that his Majesty lost not a moment in communicating to his people the whole of their contents, and the answers transmitted respectively to each, upon which he trusted that he was not alone in the sentiment that but one opinion prevailed, viz. the utility and propriety of the answers, and the necessity that enjoined them. It will by them appear, that the same consistency, added to the same spirit of moderation that dictated them, was that which from the commencement of hostilities first and last actuated his Majesty, and in the advice of which he took honour to himself in performing an active part, and he hoped it would meet a dispassionate attention from gentlemen. The importance of the subject in itself claimed not merely a full, fair, and impartial discussion, as well from the nature of its result, as from the consequences that must necessarily ensue through it; but it became highly requisite that by a firm decision of that House, Europe should know the sentiments of the people of Great-Britain, and their determination to persevere in a war, which by its glorious achievements, and by its expected issue, under Divine Providence, would afford this nation the happy and renowned opportunity of giving the world ultimate and permanent tranquillity.

He then proceeded to discuss the first note of Buonaparte; and he considered it his duty now to observe, that specious and frank as this at first sight seemed,

and indited as it appeared by the candour of a soldier, he had no hesitation at the instant he examined it, to pronounce that it was but a dissimulative expediency to see and obtain an artful pretext to provoke a correspondence, which must afford him an opportunity of accusing this nation as the cause and abettors of the warfare wherein we are engaged; and of apologizing to France for the necessity of continuing it. And if any argument had then been wanting to support the opinion he at that time formed of it, the second note officially transmitted by M. Talleyrand abundantly confirmed it. In that the cloven foot appeared; there, instead of palliation for past enormities or promises for future order, recrimination blackens every paragraph; it begins with accusation, proceeds with the utmost vindication, and justifies every enormity preceding rulers of that country had perpetrated, and concludes with a provoking appeal to *protestations* for their sincerity to accomplish a peace, uniting a continued threat in the tone of ill-disguised humility, in case we should not comply with their proposals.

Here then rested the basis whereon to justify this country, if justification were wanting, for co-operating with our Allies in the measures we have determined to carry on, until, by the aid of the Almighty, and the resources in arms and valour he has been pleased to bestow on us, we shall, finally, bring a restless and turbulent enemy to a due sense of the rights of nations, and compel to understand that he shall not with impunity disturb them.

M. Talleyrand, the very author of the Note last in question, was himself a living instance of nearly the falsity of the whole of its contents; he himself was a busy actor in bringing about the

war which he now complains of, and in fact was secretly, as Bishop of Autun, the accredited Minister of the last unhappy monarch of France, in concert with M. Chauvelin; and, in the name of his sovereign, acknowledged his obligations to our Court for not interfering in the Treaty or Convention of Pilnitz; so that he knows this country took no part therein, nor does he know that even such a Treaty ever existed.—A suspension of arms is proposed by that second note; but he desired Gentlemen carefully and critically to consider that overture; he deemed it proper to regard it in this light, as a breathing time for an exhausted foe, acceding to which would be even more dangerous than the fallacious peace he offers; that would retrieve his strength, invigorate his resources, and chill the ardour of our allied friends; it would afford him an opportunity of recruiting his diminished marine, and of quelling an internal war that ravages his bosom; but it would do more, it would cancel the character we have ever maintained of firmness, honour, and steady uniformity in asserting to the remotest period those principles which first armed us against an aggressing system, and which he trusted would eventually carry us through it with éclat.

At present their fleets were almost annihilated, their ports blocked up, their commerce destroyed, whilst ours in each respect were at the very summit of perfection and advantage. Our merchants were not in danger of losses for want of convoys, or our trade in any risque for want of channels of conveyance, but a suspension of hostilities would afford many opportunities to annoy our distant vessels, whilst the European trade would not be safer than it is at present. He then appealed to the House, whe-

ther France had not acquired more conquests by treaties, and by suspensions of arms, than by all her other efforts.—Every country with whom she formed any in succession, became a dupe of their own folly; every Prince and State in Italy that listened to them, became successively abandoned, betrayed, and at last conquered by it; even the ministers of Sweden and Denmark were under orders to quit Paris, from whence he might safely conclude, if they did not speedily submit to some ignominious overture, they in their respective turns must yield to violence and fraud. Venice was sold, Tuscany was bought and sold, Naples was treated with and pillaged, Sardinia was leagued with and dethroned. Could England expect a better fate? When their friends, the Cisalpines, were plundered, could their enemy, England, expect repose? When their ally, Switzerland, was violated, and given up a prey to a lawless and murderous soldiery, could England hope for faith or safety? He believed no man could be so prejudiced an admirer of French generosity as to suppose it for one moment. In every Proclamation, in every Manifesto published and promulgated by each successive tyrant that has swayed France, Britain was everlastingly the theme of their threats, their accusations, and their malice. A treaty therefore, or even a suspension of arms, would not merely tend to invigorate that enemy, but it would tend to lessen that co-operating energy, by which alone Europe can be forced from tyranny and ruin. We are told that a constitution is at last established in France, capable of conducting all the relative considerations which regular governments possess: but we find at the head of this constitution is seated a Mock-Monarch, and through him we are to look for this peace the world

world requires. But in the prosecution of that object, much was to be expected and hoped for from the character of that man, not as regarding him in his new character, of chief Consul, but as individually general Buonaparte. In that rank he was to be viewed as a man capable of proposing, discussing, and making treaties, and he was also the man to be regarded as the breaker of those treaties as soon as made: and here the Right Hon. Gentleman emphatically desired to know, whether such uninterrupted series of covenants, and violations of those covenants, could proceed from chance. In this he believed he would be answered in the negative. Were we to expect peace from the man whose trade it was to convulse all Europe? Did Robespierre in tyranny exceed him? Did Robespierre in usurpation equal him? When all former Revolutions in that devoted country bore some lifeless resemblance of Legislative Authority, to check the Executive, he banishes all that, and scouts even the visionary resemblance of representation, by a general overthrow of all the works of the Mirabeaus, Brissots, Dantons, Marats, Robespierres, and Barras, that successively led down the dance of Revolution. If it should hereafter be asserted, that we had unhand- somely dragged the consideration of that man's character into view, he desired it might be remembered, that he was the cause of that himself, when he forced himself on our notice. The man who, by every detestable art, confounded and confused the undesigning Princes who submitted to the splendour of his artifice, now calls upon the British nation to confide in him, and he pompously tells us, he is "*The first Consul Buonaparte.*" From these circumstances, how, he asked, were we to ascertain his sincerity? and again, if really sincere, con-

sidering the fluctuations of modern constitutions in France, how were we to calculate upon the stability of a treaty made with its novel governors? When we glanced at the Egyptian Expedition, it deprived us of all hope of his sincerity, for at the moment he writes to the Grand Vizier proposing peace, he writes to Kleber, his general, commanding hostilities.—Therefore some further document, besides that of the Grand Consul's own assertion, is requisite for Great Britain to be possessed of, before she listens to his insidious proposals of peace, and more again before we conclude treaties with him.—The facts that will confirm our security for permanent peace, will be therefore one or other of these, viz. either the restoration of the Bourbon Family, or the prosecution of the war until that country is reduced so low that we shall have nothing to apprehend from her efforts. The Revolution of 1688, unlike that of France in 1789, overturned no privileged order, but rather went to the preservation of them; it took no Monarch from his seat, till one, by the constitution of this country incapable of sitting on it, deemed it fit to abdicate it. But the Revolution of France, not content with the overthrow of its own Government, and all its orders, laws, and customs, sought to commit and excite the same excesses in every country of the habitable globe.

No sooner were the sentiments of the British Ministers made known in France, than the most active preparations were made for continuing the War, and the following Proclamation of the Consuls of the Republic to the French, was in consequence immediately published.

"Frenchmen,

"You are desirous of peace; your Government desires it with still greater ardour.—Their first wishes, their perse-

vering measures have been for peace.—The English Minister repels it; the English Minister has betrayed the secret of his horrible policy. To ravage France; to destroy her marine and her ports; to blot her out from the map of Europe, or to degrade her to the rank of secondary powers; to keep all the nations of the Continent divided, in order to engross the commerce of all, and to enrich herself by her spoils; it is to obtain advantages so pregnant with general calamity, that England is prodigal of gold, profuse of promises, and restless in her intrigues.

“But neither the gold, nor the promises, nor the intrigues of England will fix in her views the powers of the Continent. They have heard the wish of France, they know the moderation of the principles that guide her; they will listen to the voice of humanity; and the powerful voice of their interest.

“Were it otherwise, the Government, which has had the courage to offer and to solicit peace, will remember that it is for you to command it.—To command it we must have money, arms, and soldiers.

“Let all make haste to pay the tribute which they owe to the common defence; let the young citizens march. It is no longer for factions—it is no longer for the choice of tyrants, that they are to arm; it is to secure all that is most dear to them; it is for the honour of France; it is for the sacred interests of humanity and of liberty. Already have the armies resumed that attitude which is the promise and the presage of victory; at the sight of them, at the sight of the whole nation united in the same interests, and the same wishes, be assured, Frenchmen, that you will have no more enemies upon the Continent. But if *any power* is yet desirous to try

the fortune of war, the Chief Consul has promised peace; he will go and gain it by arms, at the head of those warriors whom he has more than once led to victory. With them he will again be able to find those fields still impressed with the remembrance of their exploits; yet, in the midst of battle, he will still invoke peace; and he swears to fight only for the happiness of France, and the repose of the world.”

In the west of France, the Royalists assembled in great numbers, and for a considerable time several skirmishes took place under the command of generals Gorges, and Frotte, which gave great alarm to the interior of France; but was at length terminated by the exertions of general Brune, who had assembled considerable forces in the environs of Vannes, in order to terminate the war against the Chouans, collected in great numbers under the command of Gorges, the most obstinate of their Chiefs. Already every thing was prepared for a general action, which it was thought would soon take place. An officer, attached to the Staff of general Grigny, announced soon after, that the insurgents had submitted; and that all their troops would be disbanded, and their arms deposited in places appointed. The following are the particulars reported of this great event:—General Brune made a reconnoitre on the side of Murillae, with 30 chasseurs and hussars, accompanied by generals Debelle and Guillot. Four cavaliers, in a Chouan uniform, presented themselves upon the main road, near a village called Theix. On the cry of *qui vive?* they answered the general in chief Brune. This answer produced a momentary suspense; but one of the cavaliers shouted, that the commandant Gorges was there, and wished to speak with the Republican general.

In short, Gorges, one of the four, alighted and advanced towards general Brune, who went to him with two generals and an aid de camp. A conference was held in the open air, at the corner of a wood, and in the course of an hour every thing was terminated.

There were some difficulties in the arrangements, but the fear of being subdued, and the impossibility of receiving assistance from the English, at length determined him.

Soon after this, general Frotte informed general Hedouville, he was willing to submit to the laws of the Republic accepted by the other Chouan chiefs, in order to re-establish tranquillity in France, having nothing more at heart than the good of his country.—Thus ended, in a hasty manner, the war with the Chouans, which relieved 50,000 men, who were to be employed against the allied forces in the east.

Nothing under the new government in France resembles what passed under the preceding ones. The predecessors of the existing government precipitated themselves towards the revolutionary anarchy by perpetuating the factions, which, after having by turns supported them, ended by swallowing up all, as well the governors as the governed. The Grand Consul, on the contrary, advances evidently and constantly towards a regular organization, by melting down all the factions into that one of which he is the chief; and to which all parties appear to unite themselves in receiving their impulse from the public opinion.

The French Government makes a difference, very strongly marked, between the Emigrants who were engaged in the revolution, and fell victims to the vicissitudes of revolutionary caprice or revenge, and of those who abandoned

France on account of their attachment to the ancient system. Buonaparte hails with transport the return of men of every faction and party who are enemies to the old monarchy; but he seems determined to keep the pure Royalists at a safe distance. He readily gives his hand to La Fayette, Lameth, Carnot, and Barrere, but he rejects all communication with those who will agree to no terms but the unqualified restoration of the Bourbons.

Buonaparte, in casting about for means to excite the enthusiasm of the French nation in support of the present arduous contest, does not disdain to borrow hints from those he conceives to be his bitterest enemies. The lustre with which the naval glory of Great-Britain shines, had suggested the plan of erecting a pillar, to commemorate the heroes and the deeds that gave it this effulgence. Upon this design, the Consul has engrafted a plan admirably calculated to entrap the vanity of Frenchmen. They, indeed, it must be said, have no naval triumphs to commemorate; but in the *anticipation* of continental victories, he has ordered a pillar to be erected in the principal seat of every department, on which is to be inscribed the names of the soldiers of each department, who shall fall in the defence of their country, or receive these swords or rings of honour, the testimonies of their military exploits.

While the contending powers were busily engaged in making preparations for the next campaign, no exertion was omitted by the English to increase their captures at sea: for, on the 24th of January, Captain Rogers of the *Mercury*, re-captured the ship *Aimwell*, of Whitby, from Quebec, bound to London with a valuable cargo; she had been taken 15 days before by L'Arriege, French

French privateer, belonging to Bourdeaux. He also captured, off the Isle of Wight, *L'Egyptienne*, French brig privateer, mounting 15 brass guns, and manned with 66 men; she is a new vessel, and sailed from Cherbourg the evening before, and was close in with Peverel Point when discovered by the *Mercury*, looking out for vessels going in at the Needles; she had, however, taken nothing. The privateer, when the *Mercury* got close up with her, very wantonly, when in the act of hauling down her colours, (not having fired a shot before,) discharged her musketry into the *Mercury*, by which, one of the crew was shot in the body, but the wound is not mortal.

Captain O'Neil observing a cutter to windward, which from her signals and movements, was presumed to be an enemy; they practised several necessary deceptions to decoy her nearly into their wake, when, on tacking and giving her a few guns, she lowered her sails down, and was taken possession of; she proves to be the *Flushinger* Dutch privateer, commanded by Mynheer Van C. G. Hamendel, mounting 4 two-pounders, and 28 men, out from Helvoet 3 days, and had not captured any thing.

Captain James Newman, of his majesty's ship *La Loire*, captured the French national frigate *La Pallas*, Citizen Jaque Epion, commander, after a close action of two hours and ten minutes, close in shore under Seven Islands, where she was supported by a battery. He was most gallantly and ably seconded by captain Turquand, of his majesty's sloop *Railler*; and to the captains of his majesty's ship *Danae*, and *Fairy* and *Harpy* sloops.

The *Pallas* is a new frigate, never at sea before, mounting 42 guns, eigh-

teen, nine, and thirty-six pounders; was bound to Brest, victualled for five months, and had 350 men on board.

Captain William Bowen, of his majesty's ship *Caroline*, on the 15th instant perceived a vessel, which, suspecting to be a cruiser, he chased, and by eight in the evening, being along side, she struck without firing a gun; she proves to be *Le Vulture*, a French privateer ship of Nantz, out 32 days, commanded by Citizen Bazile Aug. Eno Laray. She is a remarkably fast sailer, pierced for 22 guns, and mounting 4 twelve-pounders, 2 thirty six-pound carronades, brass, 16 six-pounders, iron, two of which she threw overboard during the chase; had on board, when captured, 137 men. On his first seeing her, she was in the act of bearing down on the brig *Flora* of London, and a ship, the name he did not learn, both of which, in less than an hour, must inevitably have fallen; but thus delivered, proceeded on their voyage.

On the 22d of January, Lieutenant F. G. Bond, commanding his majesty's gun-vessel *Netley*, captured *L'Esperance*, French lugger privateer, pierced for 12, but having only 5 guns, with 36 men, formerly a privateer belonging to Guernsey. Having, the next day, spoken to the *St. Fiorenzo*, in the neighbourhood of Oporto, he was informed, by Sir Harry Neale, of the dispersion of three convoys on the coast, and the obstacles that had opposed their entry into the Douro for more than 20 days, from considerable freshes, frequent calms, and adverse winds. As the weather was now favourable for the arrival of vessels from the S. W. he conceived no time should be lost in endeavouring to intercept the enemy's captures bound to Vigo. He accordingly stood for the entrance of that

that bay; and, on the 25th, re-took the Hamburg brig *Catharina*, from Oporto, bound to Limerick, laden with wine and fruit. At night, after a smart chase, he came up with a small Spanish lugger privateer, called *Felicidad*, of 2 guns, 8 swivels, and 22 men, and before the prisoners were all shifted, at midnight, another privateer and her prize hove in sight. They were enabled, at one A. M. (the 25th) to come up with the latter, the *Duchess of Gordon*, a bark from Newfoundland to Oporto, with 7600 quintals of salt-fish. By ten that morning, after a short chase, they brought to the *St. Antonie y Animas*, alias *La Aurora*, Spanish schooner privateer, of 6 guns, and 46 men, and her prize, the *Venus*, from London, with shot, lead, tin, staves, &c. for Oporto. On the 27th he made three more re-captures, viz. an English brig, called the *Commerce*, laden with salt-fish; a Swedish brig from Stockholm to Viana, with iron and deals, taken by a French lugger; and a Portuguese schooner with salt.

On the evening of the 28th, the weather began to threaten, with strong winds from the southward. One recapture remained with him till the 8th of January, when their nearness to the shore and a heavy sea, obliged him to carry sail, and to abandon to herself the *Commerce*, that was destitute even of one sail to shift, and those bent were in the worst condition. Having the following day spoke the Trojan West India-man, with the loss of her main-top-mast, cross-jack-yard, and most of her sails, now bound to Lisbon to refit, but separated, with many others, in the recent gales, from the outward-bound convoy, he continued to attend her till the 21st, in almost a continual storm; and on the 27th had the pleasure to see her

safe into port. However, most of the prizes were lost, and several of his crew. Of the *Duchess of Gordon*, which was wrecked near Lisbon, only one person was saved, the pilot of the *Netley* being of the number who perished. The fate of the others is anticipated, though it is known that two brigs are arrived safe; and two others took refuge in Vigo. The French lugger was stranded in attempting the bar of Viana, but her crew were saved.

Captain E. Riou sailed from Cork harbour on the 12th of February, and on the 14th captured the *Bougainville*, a French privateer of St. Malo, commanded by Pierre Dupont, mounting 18 six-pounders, and carrying 82 men. But on the following evening, as the *Amazon* was brought to sound, the *Bougainville* ran on-board them at the rate of nine knots, and rebounded off, with the immediate loss of her fore and main-masts, and with so much injury to her hull that there was an instantaneous alarm of sinking. It was not without some risk, as the night was dark, the sea rough, and the wind high, that the boats were hoisted out of the *Amazon*, and all the men saved excepting one. The *Bougainville*, he was told, was at this time going down by the stern, the water within-board being above the after-part of the gun-deck. The injury done to the *Amazon* was nothing more than the carrying away the sprit sail-yard, and bumkin.

On the 11th of January, Captain Peter Halkett, commander of his majesty's ship *Apollo*, discovered a ship of a very suspicious appearance at a great distance from the convoy: the weather at the time being extremely hazy; after a chase of four hours he got within shot of her, when she brought to, and surrendered. He found her to be the *Aquilla*

Aquilla Spanish ship of war, pierced for 22 guns on the main-deck, but having only four mounted, commanded by Don Mariano Merino, from Buenos Ayres, bound to Corunna with a cargo.—At day break on the 15th instant, when proceeding on their voyage, a sail was seen a-head; on their approaching her she altered her course, and endeavoured to avoid them. After a very short chase they came up with and re-captured her; she is the Lady Harewood, a ship that parted from the convoy on the 1st instant, at the commencement of an excessive hard gale of wind. She was taken two days before by the Vautour French privateer of 20 guns.

On the 23d of December, captain Rolles, of his majesty's ship Alarm, carried with him into Jamaica, a very rich and valuable Spanish ship. She was captured by the Amphion, captain Bennet, in company with the Alarm. She is named L'Asturiana Spanish letter of marque, carrying 18 eight-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, and 4 howitzers, thirty-two-pounders, (all brass) manned with 180 men, from Cadiz, bound to La Vera Cruz, with a very valuable cargo. The Asturiana is a very large ship, quite new, admirably sound, and coppered.

On March 8, 1800, Captain Frazer brought into Plymouth, La Modeste, a French letter of marque, pierced for 16 guns, and having seventy men on board, which he captured on the 24th of February last, in company with the Amethyst. She is a fine ship, about 600 tons burthen, and laden with cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, indigo, &c. Had left the Isle of France only nine weeks, and was bound to Bourdeaux, off which port he captured her.

On the 28th of February, captain F. Watkins, when cruising with his ma-

jesty's ships Repulse and Agamemnon, off the Penmarks, being considerably to leeward of the above ships, he lost sight of them in the night, and at three A. M. he saw a light to windward, which he kept company with, supposing it the commodore's, but it proved a Danish brig; on his standing back to the rendezvous on the following night, he discovered five sail, four ships evidently of force, and a schooner. The moment he had made the necessary preparations for battle, he hauled his wind for them; on the dawn of day he plainly discovered they were of force, and then laying to; when nearly within gun-shot of the largest ship they dispersed different ways; he continued to chase. Night coming on, he lost sight, but was fortunate enough the following morning to see one of them, which, after chasing twelve hours, and running 123 miles, he captured, which proved to be the Vengeance privateer, of Bourdeaux, pierced for 18 guns, twelve-pounders, but only 16 mounted, and 174 men; by her he found that she sailed on the 26th from the above place, in company with the following ships, viz.

Bellona, 24 guns, twelve-pounders, 6 thirty-six-pound carronades, and 420 men. La Vengeance, 18 guns, twelve-pounders, and 174 men. La Favorite, 16 guns, eight-pounders, 120 men. La Huron, 16 guns, six-pounders, and 87 men. La Terrailleuse (schooner,) 14 guns, six-pounders, and 87 men.

From the pusillanimity of the enemy, he had it not in his power to destroy the whole, or of trying the zeal of his officers and young ship's company, but had every thing to say in their favor for the activity and cheerfulness they shewed on the occasion. On the following day he re-captured the American ship Perseverance,

ance, of Baltimore, with a cargo valued at thirty thousand pounds.

The Vengeance is two years old, and has been repeatedly chased by English frigates, but from her superior sailing escaped, nor would he have caught her had she not carried away her jib-boom.

On the 21st of February, Captain Barlow captured the French ship Bellegarde, of 14 guns, and 114 men, belonging to St. Maloes; she had been out 16 days, and had captured the ship Chance, of London, from Martinico, and the brig Friends, of Dartmouth, from St. Michael's, bound to Bristol: the former, since re-captured by his majesty's sloop Kangaroo.

The following letter was received from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, dated Queen Charlotte, off Valette, Feb. 20.

Having received intelligence of the approach of an enemy's squadron towards this island; and, although I had considerable difficulty in persuading myself that they would hazard the attempt in the face of so superior a force, I nevertheless considered it incumbent upon me to take the necessary precautions of reconnoitring the quarter in which they were to be expected, and at the same time guarding most particularly the entrance of the harbour of Valette, as the only point in which they could secure themselves, and debark their troops and stores. The wind being strong from the S. E. and accompanied with rain, I could only communicate by signal; I accordingly denoted the bearing and reputed force of the enemy, and directed the Foudroyant, Audacious, and Northumberland, to chase to windward, and the Lion to look out off the passage between Goza and Malta, while the Queen Charlotte

was kept as close in with the mouth of harbour as the batteries would admit of; the Alexander at the same time was under weigh on the S. E. side of the island. On the 16th being joined by the Phæton, from Palermo; and the wind having shifted to the N. W. which afforded a favourable opportunity for landing the Neapolitan troops at Marsa Sirocco, I accordingly embraced it, and in the afternoon returned off the harbour of Valette; signals were made from various parts of the island of an enemy's being in sight, and with the Queen Charlotte, Phæton, Serena Neapolitan frigate, and Minorca sloop, I anxiously continued to maintain a position near the shore, to prevent the enemy from passing within us, and to expose them to the attack of his majesty's ships that were in pursuit of them. On the morning of the 19th, El Corso joined with a large French armed store-ship, which she took possession of at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th, by signal from Lord Nelson, whose squadron was then engaged with the French. Captain Ricketts reported this ship to be the Ville de Marseilles, loaded with salt meat, brandy, wine, clothing, stores, &c. &c. she sailed from Toulon on the 7th instant, in company with the Généreux, 74, Admiral Pérée, Badine 74, and two corvettes, having near 4000 troops on board for the relief of Malta. At four P. M. the Foudroyant and Audacious joined me, and I was acquainted by rear admiral Lord Nelson that the Généreux had surrendered without any action, and that the three corvettes had escaped, from all the line of battle ships having anxiously pressed after the French admiral. His lordship has on this occasion, as on all others, con-

ducted himself with skill and great address in comprehending my signals, which the state of the weather led me greatly to suspect. Captain Peard has evinced excellent management, from the moment he first discovered the enemy off the south west end of Sicily until the period of the capture; and Lieutenant W. Harrington, commanding the *Alexander* in the absence of Captain Ball, has shewn great merit in so ably conducting that ship in presence of so superior a force previously to the appearance of Lord Nelson; I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships' consideration. I have detached ships in all directions to endeavour to pick up the stragglers. I have the honour to be, &c. KEITH.

The following account has been received of the circumstances attending the loss of the *Queen Charlotte*, which is dated off Leghorn, on the 17th March, 1800.

"Mr. John Braid, carpenter of the *Queen Charlotte*, reports, that about twenty minutes after six o'clock yesterday morning, as he was dressing himself he heard throughout the ship a general cry of "Fire."—On which he immediately run up the fore-ladder to get upon deck, and found the whole half deck, the front bulk-head of the Admiral's cabin, the mainmast's coat, and boat's covering on the booms, all in flames; which from every report and probability, he apprehends was occasioned by some hay, which was lying under the half deck, having been set on fire by a match in a tub, which was usually kept there for signal guns.—The mainsail at this time was set, and almost entirely caught fire: the people not being able to come to the clue garnets on account of the flames. He immediately went to the fore-

castle, and found Lieutenant Dundas and the boatswain encouraging the people to get water to extinguish the fire.—He applied to Mr. Dundas, seeing no other officer on the fore part of the ship (and being unable to see any on the quarter-deck, from the flames and smoke between them) to give him assistance to drown the lower decks, and secure the hatches, to prevent the fire falling down.—Lieutenant Dundas, accordingly went down himself, with as many people as he could prevail upon to follow him; and the lower deck ports were opened, the scuppers plugged, the main and fore hatches secured, the cocks turned, and water drawn in at the ports, and the pumps kept going by the people who came down, as long as they could stand at them.

"He thinks that by these exertions the lower deck was kept free from fire, and the magazines preserved for a long time from danger; nor did Lieutenant Dundas, or he, quit this station, but remained there with all the people who could be prevailed upon to stay, till several of the middle-deck guns came through that deck.

"About nine o'clock Lieutenant Dundas and he, finding it impossible to remain any longer below, went out at the foremost lower deck port, and got upon the fore-castle: on which he apprehends there were then about one hundred and fifty of the people drawing water, and throwing it as far aft as possible upon the fire.

"He continued about an hour on the fore-castle, and finding all efforts to extinguish the flames unavailing, he jumped from the jib-boom, and swam to an American boat approaching the ship, by which he was picked up and put into a Tartan then in the

the charge of Lieutenant Stewart, who had come off to the assistance of the ship."

Lord Keith being on shore at Leghorn, had the mortification of discovering the *Queen Charlotte* on fire four or five leagues at sea. This sight rendered him almost frantic; he immediately gave orders for all the vessels and boats to put off, and every assistance to be given; and in this service he was zealously seconded by the Austrian general, and all ranks in Leghorn. The ship came to an anchor, as the wind blew strongly off the land; but the flames were so rapid, that very little hopes could be entertained of saving her. Between eight and nine o'clock, the masts and rigging caught fire, and made a most awful blaze: the crew, however, cut the masts by the board; and, going over the ship, they no longer threatened mischief: but the fire had taken strong hold of the body of the vessel, and continued to rage.

The guns now began to go off, and the people in the boats and other vessels, who had gone from Leghorn, were so much alarmed for fear of the shot, that they would not approach the ship. Here we must mention that some of the *Queen Charlotte's* own crew, who had rowed Lord Keith on shore, and particularly some of the men who were principal mutineers three years ago at Spithead, behaved with the most generous bravery. Despising all danger, they approached the ship and saved many of their gallant countrymen. But in fact the danger was not so great as the people in the vessels from Leghorn imagined, for the guns were not shotted, it never having been the custom of Lord Keith or his

captain to have their guns shotted till they were going into action. The ship continued to burn about four hours, and at eleven o'clock it blew up with a tremendous explosion; she sunk, and in a moment left not a wreck behind.

The following circumstance deserves particular notice.—An English sailor swam five times from a boat to the burning ship, each time carrying off one of the crew on his back. His strength at last forsook him, and he regretted that he was not able to save more of the unfortunate sufferers.—On the morning of the 17th instant, when the *Queen Charlotte* sailed, two imperial officers intended to go on board her, but, fortunately, she was discovered to be on fire before they were able to reach her.

The *Queen Charlotte* had just completed her equipments, and was to proceed to sea in the course of a few days for Genoa, having on board a vast quantity of shells, grenades, and mortar cartridges, for the siege of that place. She was launched in 1790, in immediate succession off the slip of the *Royal George*, and was allowed, both as a prime sailer, and for her other superior qualities, to be the finest ship of war that ever displayed English colours. At her main, she bore the triumphant flag of Earl Howe, on the memorable first of June, 1794.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ordered letters to be immediately dispatched to the known relatives of those Officers of the ship, who were fortunately saved from the wreck.

Particulars of the loss of the *Earl Fitzwilliam* Indiaman.

At half past eleven o'clock, we were alarmed, says one of her late officers, with

with the cry of the gun-room being on fire, upon which every one came on deck; the steerage was full of smoke, which appeared to come from the gun-room scuttle. Every exertion was made to quell the fire, which in the short space of five minutes, was universal, by the flames coming up the companion and setting fire to the splinter netting.

Finding at this time, nothing could be done to save the ship, every one tried to save himself; the spars, gratings, &c. were thrown overboard; upon which the lascars immediately jumped. The ship was riding flood, and the wind from the southward. All the officers and Europeans went forward; about eighteen went on the spritsail-yard, endeavouring to cut it away: only on one side the braces were cut, so that one yard-arm was in the water and the other in the air; by the time we were on the yard about five minutes, the main-mast went, with a horrible crash, over the star-board gang-way, but in the fall, one end of it was entangled with the gun, so that it remained by the ship. The fire at this time was very violent; the guns, which that afternoon were double shotted, were going off in dreadful peals.

We remained in this situation, upon the yard, about one hour and a half, expecting the ship to blow up every instant. From the situation of the spritsail yard, the people at the lower end were very much incommoded and fatigued; one poor fellow let go his hold and sunk instantly. Mr. Frazer was at the lower end, and seeing Mr. Franklin, whom he had agreed to keep company with, upon a hencoop, bid us farewell, and endeavoured to swim for it. He got there, but was so exhausted,

that he pulled Mr. Franklin three times off the coop, and then sunk under his feet.

By this time the Nonsuch's boats came within two hundred yards of the ship, and there remained. The people, when seeing the boats, called to them in the most pathetic manner to save them. The Thetis's boat, with the 5th officer, now came within an oar's length, which they gave into our hands, and hauled on board as many as the boat could take, and then pulled off for the ship.—Too much credit cannot be given to this gentleman, who, meeting with another of their boats, left us, and again went to the ship. A young lad, a midshipman of the Thetis, in a sloop's boat, with two hands in her, went close to the ship, and picked the men off the wreck, and gave them to the large boats, who at this time kept at a distance. This he did till they were all taken off.

The ship struck on Saugor Sand, about four o'clock, and continued burning till the morning. Mr. Frazer and five Europeans were lost; the number of lascars are not ascertained, but is supposed to be small.

The company's cargo was considerable; 4,500 bags of saltpetre, and 600 bales.—Most of the captain's and officers' private trade were on board.

On the 15th of January, Captain Bowen, of his majesty's ship *Caroline*, perceived a vessel, which suspecting to be a cruizer, he chased, and by eight in the evening, being alongside, she struck without firing a gun. She proves to be *La Vulture*, a French privateer ship of Nantz, out thirty-eight days, commanded by citizen Basil Aug. Ené Laray. She is a remarkably fast sailer, pierced for 22 guns, and mounting four 12-pounders, two 36-pound carronades,

carronades, (brass) sixteen 6-pounders, (iron) two of which she threw overboard during the chase; had on board when captured, 137 men.

Captain Brace, of the *Kangaroo*, had the good fortune to capture and recapture the following vessels; viz. *Minerva*, an American ship, laden with tobacco, re-taken on the 22d of Feb.; *Le Telegraphe*, twenty days out from St. Maloes; had on the 11th February, taken the *Elizabeth* brig from Lisbon, laden with fruit. *Chance*, West-Indiaman, from Martinique; re-captured on the 24th, and in company on the 25th ultimo.

The *Telegraphe* is a fine French brig privateer, quite new, and sails remarkably fast; mounting fourteen carriage guns of different calibre, and having on board 78 men. On the 25th instant, he brought to action a French brig privateer of eighteen guns, which, after a warm contest of an hour, fifty minutes of it fought in good style, close to each other, she began to make off, having damaged the rigging and sails so as to prevent his closing with her again, though every exertion was made, on the part of the officers and men.

On the 5th of March, Captain Barlow captured the French ship privateer *Heureux*, of Bourdeaux, mounting twenty-two brass 12-pounders, and manned with 220 men. She bore down to them at eight in the morning, her commander taking the *Phœbe* for an East Indiaman, and not discovering his error until within point blank musket shot, when she wore on their weather-bow, and hauled to the wind on the same tack as the *Phœbe*. In this situation she began a spirited, well directed fire, which was kept up a considerable time, in the hope of escaping

by disabling their masts, sails, and rigging, an act of temerity to be regretted, as it occasioned a loss to his majesty's ship of one seaman killed and five wounded, two of them mortally, and since dead; and to the enemy a loss of eighteen killed and twenty-five wounded; most of which have lost limbs. The *Hereux* is the most complete flush-decked ship ever seen, coppered, copper fastened, highly finished, and of large dimensions; viz. one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, thirty-two and a half broad, and admeasures six hundred tons. The accounts given of her sailing are very extraordinary; she will be considered as a most desirable ship for his majesty's service. She had been out forty-two days, and had taken only a small Portuguese sloop, laden with wine, which had been blown off the land in her passage from Limerick to Galway.

On the 20th of February, Captain Boyle re-took the *Elizabeth Jane*, of London, from the Bahamas, with twenty-five French on board her; that vessel parted with him on the 24th, and he had not since heard of her; on the evening of that day he captured the Spanish brig privateer *El Batador*, of fourteen guns, and eighty-seven men, out of St. Andero eight days, on a cruise of three months; had made no captures: it then blowing a hard gale of wind and a very heavy sea running, he thought it impossible to take possession of her, but by the zealous and well-managed conduct of Mr. Joseph Blyth, his second lieutenant, with the gunner, and seven other volunteers, she was boarded; the boat, in the attempt to exchange prisoners, sunk, when, from the few persons on board with Mr. Blyth, and the darkness of the night, the Spaniards twice

twice attempted to retake her, but were frustrated.

Captain Middleton, of his majesty's ship *Flora*, on the 20th of March, after a chase of eight hours, captured a Spanish ship privateer, of 16 guns (six of which she hove overboard during the chase,) and 90 men; proves to be the *Corunesa*, of and from *Corunna*, fifteen days, commanded by Robert Tortau; has captured during his cruise the *William*, brig, of *Jersey*, loaded with salt; and a Swedish brig, loaded with talk, fish, and butter.

The following is an extract of a letter from John Thomas Duckworth, esq. rear admiral of the white, to Evan Nepean, esq. dated on board his majesty's ship *Leviathan*, at *Gibraltar*, the 11th of April.

On the 5th instant, in the afternoon, I discovered twelve sail from the mast head, but at the close of the day could ascertain no more than that three or four were men of war; I therefore attempted to anticipate their manœuvres, that I might fall in with them the next morning, and at three o'clock we crossed on one, which the *Emerald* boarded; from her I learnt that she had sailed the 3d instant, with thirteen sail, under convoy of three frigates. At day-break we could only see a brig, which was so nigh, and the weather inclined to be calm, that I sent the boats of the *Leviathan* and *Emerald* under my second lieutenant, Gregory, to capture her, and after a smart skirmish of 40 minutes, they succeeded: she mounted 14 guns, with 46 men, and bound to *Linia*. By this time we saw three sail, east, west, and south; in consequence, the *Swiftsure* being much to leeward, I made her signal to chase south, the *Emerald* east, and stood westward in the *Leviathan*, with

a very light air, when, at noon, the *Emerald* made the signal for six sail in the north-east; this induced me to stand directly to the eastward, and at the close of day we saw nine sail from the mast head: it was then nearly calm, and continued so till eleven o'clock P. M. when a fresh breeze sprang up from the south-west, and I steered north in hopes of crossing them: at midnight we observed three sail, and as we approached them fast, at two o'clock I plainly saw two of them were frigates, standing to the N. N. W. and close together; I therefore kept on a parallel with them, and proportioned my sail to theirs, that I might commence the attack just before day-break; because I feared the vessels under their convoy (which I judged must be near) would, on our commencing a fire, separate, and we might lose them all; at this time the *Emerald* being near, I hailed and acquainted captain Waller with my intentions.

At dawn of day I bore down upon the two frigates, which evidently had taken us for part of their convoy, and upon hailing of them, she directly endeavoured to make all possible sail, as did the other close upon her bow, on which I directed a volley of musquetry to be fired, concluding they would strike; but this not having the desired effect, I gave a yaw, and discharged all the guns before the gangway at her yards and masts, but it was not successful in bringing any of them down; at this time captain Waller very judiciously shot up to the leeward one, and in a few minuses we so disabled their sails and rigging, that on my being in a position to have fired a broadside into them both, they struck their colours: during this the Spaniards kept up a straggling fire, and I should not do justice

justice to their captains, were I to omit saying, that from the moment of their discovering us to be enemies, they used the greatest exertions to get off, and displayed a gallantry in commencing an action with such a superior force, as might be truly termed temerity, for I evidently could have destroyed them. You will find, by their return of killed and wounded, they sacrificed many lives.—It was near half past five when they struck, and I directly made the Emerald's signal to chase the third sail, which appeared to be the other frigate; but soon after discovering seven more, and it being doubtful whether the Emerald (whose copper is very bad) would come up with the frigate, I made her signal to attack the convoy; which captain Waller in a very officer-like manner executed, and before night had possession of four of the largest. As soon as I had secured the frigates, and put them in a state to make sail, which took near two hours, I gave chase to the other frigate, but after four hours the wind dying away, and not appearing to gain on her so as to expect success, I hauled towards the Emerald, and in the afternoon took a brig; it then becoming quite calm, and continuing so till after dark, I saw no more of the enemy; and the next day joining the Emerald, I made for this port with the prizes, and arrived safe with them all the 10th in the morning, when I found the Incendiary had arrived the previous day, with two of the stragglers that she had fortunately picked up in looking for me. In this transaction I trust their lordships will believe, that nothing in my power was left undone to secure the whole of a convoy so important to the Spaniards. The two captured frigates, which

were bound to Lima with quicksilver, are completely stored for such a voyage, and recently coppered. On board of the Carmen the archbishop of Buenos Ayres was a passenger.

The following are the particulars of the surrender of the French ship of war, *Le Guillaume Tell*, of 86 guns, and 1000 men, to his majesty's ships *Foudroyant*, *Lion*, and *Penelope*, as detailed in a letter by captain Dixon to lord Keith.

The signal rockets and the cannonading from our batteries at Malta, the midnight preceding, with the favourable strong southerly gale, together with the darkness which succeeded the setting of the moon, convinced me the enemy's ships of war were attempting to make an escape, and which was immediately ascertained by that judicious and truly valuable officer captain Blackwood, of the *Penelope*, who had been stationed a few hours before between the *Lion* and the *Valette*, for the purpose of observing closely the motions of the enemy; nearly at midnight an enemy's ship was descried by him, when the *Minorca* was sent to inform me of it, giving chase himself, apprizing me, by signal, that the strange ships seen were hauled to the wind on the starboard tack. I lost not one moment in making the signal for the squadron to cut or slip, and directed captain Miller, of the *Minorca*, to run down to the *Foudroyant* and *Alexander* with the intelligence, and to repeat the signal.

Under a press of canvass I gave chase until five P. M. solely guided by the cannonading of the *Penelope*; and, as a direction to the squadron, a rocket and blue light were shewn every half hour from the *Lion*. As the day broke, I found myself in gun-shot

shot of the chace, and the Penelope within musket-shot raking her, the effects of whose well-directed fire during the night, had shot away the main and mizen top-masts, and main yard; the enemy appeared in great confusion, being reduced to his head-sails, going with the wind on the quarter.

The Lion was run close alongside; the yard arm of both ships being just clear, when a destructive broadside of three round shot in each gun was poured in, luffing up across the bow, when the enemy's jib-boom passed between the main and mizen shrouds: after a short interval I had the pleasure to see the boom carried away, and the ships disentangled, maintaining a position across the bow, firing to great advantage.

I was not the least solicitous either to board or be boarded, as the enemy appeared of immense bulk and full of men, keeping up a prodigious fire of musketry, which, with the bow chases, she could for a long time only use, I found it absolutely necessary, if possible, to keep from the broadside of this ship: after being engaged about fifty minutes, the Foudroyant was seen under a press of canvas, and soon passed, hailing the enemy to strike, which being declined, a very heavy fire from both ships, broadside to broadside, was most gallantly maintained, the Lion and Penelope frequently in situations to do great execution; in short, sir, after the hottest action that probably was ever maintained by the enemy's ship, opposed to those of his majesty, and being totally dismasted, the French admiral's flag and colours were struck.

I have not language to express the high sense of obligation I feel myself under to captain Blackwood, for his prompt and able conduct in leading the

line of battle ships to the enemy, for the gallantry and spirit so highly conspicuous in him, and for his admirable management of the frigate; to your discriminating judgment it is necessary to remark, of what real value and importance such an officer must ever be considered to his majesty's service; the termination of the battle must be attributed to the spirited fire of the Foudroyant, whose captain, sir Edward Berry, has added another laurel to the many he has gained during the war.

The following are the authentic particulars of the unfortunate loss of his majesty's ship Repulse, of 64 guns, captain Alms.

The Repulse was one of the ships of the channel fleet, but had been detached by sir Alan Gardner to cruise off the Penmarks, for the purpose of intercepting provision vessels going to Brest. On Sunday the 9th instant there came on a sudden and violent gale of wind, and the rolling of the ship, occasioned an accident to captain Alms, who, while standing near the companion ladder, was thrown down it, by which one of his ribs was broken, and he was disabled from doing any further duty, on the ship's deck.

For two or three days the weather had been so thick, that it was not possible to make any observation, and the current had driven the ship so far out of her reckoning, that about twelve o'clock on the night of the 10th, the Repulse struck on a sunken rock, supposed to be the Mare, 25 leagues south-east of Ushant. She was then going about six knots an hour. The ship continued striking on the rock near three quarters of an hour before she could be brought to wear, and the water rushed in so fast, that the lower deck

deck tier was soon flooded. By great exertions, the ship was kept afloat long enough to be able to approach the coast near Quimper, and at half past ten o'clock captain Alms and the ship's company quitted her, and made good a landing in one of the Glenans islands, about two miles from the continent. The peasantry on the island gave every assistance, and it is supposed the ship's company have been sent prisoners to Quimper.

Early in the morning, says one of the officers, I saw the necessity of running for the French coast, I had determined within myself to attempt making my escape in one of the boats, and mentioned my resolution to Mr. Gordon, the fifth lieutenant, with whom I was very intimate, who readily agreed to accompany me. Accordingly, when the eight-oared cutter was hoisted out, I got into her in order to assist in landing the people; in this service I was employed till near ten o'clock, when Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Rothery, the first lieutenant, who also agreed to go with us, Mr. Gordon having imparted our plan to him, came into the boat. I had previously to this secured the pilot and eight of our best men in our scheme; we now provided ourselves with a compass, some raw hung beef, a little biscuit, and half a dozen of wine, which we unluckily mistook for brandy: we still wanted water, and how to get any we were for some time at a loss. At length I recollected a small cask which always stood in the mizen chains in case of fire; this being pushed overboard, we got into the boat; we now wanted nothing but masts and sails; (the boats' sails being always kept down in the store-room when at sea, it was impossible to get to them;) this was

what we could by no means do without, and Mr. Rothery observed we must endeavour to supply their place by sheets and table-cloths, which he had brought with him for that purpose. We had still some men in the boat to be put on shore, and in our way there we picked up the jolly boat's mast and sail, and several masts and yards that had drifted from the wreck.

Having landed the people, among whom was lieutenant Hatheral, who declined accompanying us, we set the jolly boat's sail for a foresail, and with a favouring wind we again committed ourselves to the mercy of the waves and to the care of providence. But before I leave the ship it will be proper to mention the number of lives that were lost. While I was employed aiding the people, those on board had thrown the ends of hawsers on shore to the peasantry, who made them fast to the rock, and by being hauled taut on board, they could very easily go on shore by them. Two men, by being in liquor, fell off the hawser and were drowned; which, with four more that were lying dead drunk upon deck when we came away, are all that I know of that suffered; the latter I hope were saved, as the master and several men were on board the ship when I left her. I shall now return to the boat; one of the men fortunately having some sail-needles in his pocket, we all hands turned to sail-making, some sewing, and others untwisting rope and making it into twine. A table-cloth and sheets sewed together made a most excellent main-sail, and a piece of canvas which happened to be in the boat, we contrived to make a mizen of, so that in a little time we had a complete suit. About this time we broached our water, and made a
4 N very

very unfortunate discovery; we found it so much impregnated with the varnish which the cask had frequently been laid over with, that it was almost unfit to be drank, and even made some of us sick, but we consoled ourselves with reflecting, that its bad quality would make it last the longer.

About noon we were much alarmed by getting becalmed among the Penmark rocks, and were obliged to pull very hard for some hours, to prevent her being dashed to pieces: there soon afterwards sprung up a fine breeze, and about five o'clock we found ourselves close in with the land, a little to the southward of Cape Raz, and the wind so scant, that we could barely lay along shore, and were obliged to pass under a strong fort and several signal-posts, at each of which there was a gun, expecting every moment they would fire at us. I believe by our being so slovenly rigged, and our white sail, they took us for Frenchmen, and some of us having taken off our hats and tied handkerchiefs round our heads, I think also aided the deception. About dark, we had a very narrow escape amongst a reef of rocks that lay off Cape Raz, by a heavy swell and strong tide setting us upon them. It being now dark, and having every appearance of being a stormy night, we run down into a deep bay, to the southward of Brest harbour, purposing to come to an anchor till the morning; but in hauling up round a point under which we meant to take shelter, we were much alarmed by something like a fort, and our fears were soon realized by the centinel hailing us in French, which he repeated twice. We had now no time to lose, but made off as fast as we could, and I fancy were out of reach before

they could get a gun ready, as we saw several lights running about from place to place. Some in the boats now thought our undertaking so desperate, that they proposed to deliver ourselves up rather than run any farther risk; however, it was agreed to wait and see what the morning would produce, and we accordingly came to an anchor in the middle of the bay, not daring to trust ourselves in shore any more.

About eleven o'clock, it having then moderated a good deal, and the moon shining bright, we got under weigh, and run through between the Saints and the Main, a very dangerous passage, and by two o'clock on Tuesday morning we were clear of Ushant, and having also passed between that and the main land. We were now in high spirits at having got clear of the coast of France, with a fair wind across the channel, and regaled ourselves with an additional glass of wine, in hopes of being next morning in England; but how were they frustrated!—for, about four o'clock in the afternoon, it fell calm, at a time when we had computed ourselves only eight leagues from Plymouth. We now took to our oars, but made very little progress. At seven o'clock there sprung up a breeze from the northward, and at eight it blew very hard, with a heavy sea; the gale still continued to increase till eleven, when our situation became truly alarming.—In a gale of wind, in the middle of the English Channel, in an open boat, the sea breaking over us in such a manner, that the most experienced seaman in the boat expected every succeeding one to be the last.—In this dreadful state we had the additional misfortune to break the glass of our compass, which rendered it entirely useless. This completed our distress, and

and we looked upon our fate as inevitable. Necessity, they say, is the mother of invention—Mr. Rothery, having brought a hat-box with him, we contrived to fix the compass in it, and covered it over with a piece of canvas, and cut a hole in the middle of it, and Mr. R. having also a small trunk with him, in which his servant had luckily put up a looking glass—having scraped the silver off the glass, and laid it over the hole in the canvas, we found our compass traverse as well as ever.

As it was morally impossible to fetch any part of England, the pilot proposed, as the only chance we had left, to bear up and run for Guernsey or Jersey. This we would all have readily agreed to, but were of opinion, that if we once put the boat before the sea, she would immediately fill. However, during our consultation, a circumstance occurred that determined us to make a trial:—There happened three distinct flashes of lightning, at regular intervals, in the S. E. quarter, which was exactly in the direction we supposed the islands to bear of us. This we considered as a signal from heaven, and immediately bore up and steered in the same direction we saw the lightning. It is somewhat remarkable that we saw no lightning before or after the time I am speaking of, during the night. By proper attention, and keeping the boat end to the sea, we found she scudded much better than we could have imagined. Next morning the gale rather abated, and at two P. M. on Wednesday, we, to our infinite joy, saw the island of Guernsey; but falling little wind towards evening, we did not get on shore till one o'clock on Thursday morning, when we were so weak it was with difficulty we could walk to the inn; Mr. Gordon had to

be carried up, and was immediately put to bed, and still continued very ill on the Friday when we came away.

On the 25th of April, Captain Wilson, of his majesty's armed lugger Lark, chased and came up with a French cutter privateer, who, after engaging a little while, ran on shore on the Vlie Island, where she defended herself pretty well for an hour, when he perceived her men were escaping to the shore, under the cover and protection of troops to the amount of about an hundred. He immediately hoisted out his small boat, and directed his large one to follow, and, under the fire of the musketry of the troops on shore, boarded her, but not until the crew had escaped; in their endeavours to get the cutter off they were considerably annoyed by the fire from the troops; but having detached the large boat further in shore, he succeeded in dislodging them from the Sand Bank, behind which they had taken shelter; and he was fortunate enough to get the privateer off. She is called the Impregnable, mounts fourteen guns, twelve of which are three-pounders, and two are nine-pounders. She had on board during the engagement about sixty men, as appears by her log; and it also appears she had been particularly successful during her former cruizes. The Lark has suffered in her hull and rigging, but fortunately had no man killed or wounded. The enemy, there is reason to suppose, from the state of the vessel, suffered considerably, and several men were killed on the beach.

The Trincomalee, armed ship being blown up during an engagement in the Arabian gulph with a French privateer; the following letter from Mr. John Cramlington, the first officer of the ship Pearl, to his brother in

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Newcastle,

Newcastle, gives a full detail of this melancholy event:—

On the 1st of October we got clear of Bussora river, bound for Bombay, and were proceeding very pleasantly on our voyage until the 7th, when having got about two thirds down the gulph, at nine o'clock at night, we were suddenly surprised by the appearance of a ship close to us; she had been lying under an island called the Great Tomb, and had seen us before sun-set, though we had not perceived her. We hailed each other, and to our sorrow, we found her to be French—an action commenced; but her fire was so much superior to ours that she soon drove the Lascars from their quarters, and the whole of them ran below. The privateer was at this time about pistol shot from us, and preparing to board, and not an armed soul to receive them except myself and five or six Arabs, who had never flinched.

Under such circumstances I was under the disagreeable necessity of striking to her, after throwing three packets of government dispatches overboard. We had previously endeavoured to run, but unluckily our main-top-sail-tie was shot away. Captain Fowler was shot through the body with an eight-pound shot the second broadside; we had likewise three Lascars wounded, one of whom died shortly after. I had a grape shot through my trowsers, which grazed the back part of my thigh, and a slight wound on my left by a splinter from the same shot which killed the Captain. We did not engage above a quarter of an hour. I was taken on board the privateer; she had nobody killed on board, and only some shot

through her sails. She was named *La Iphigenie*, Captain Malroix, from the Isle of France, mounting 18 guns, two of them 48 pound carronades, six long French 8-pounders, 10 ditto ditto 6-pounders, and 170 or 180 men. We had only ten guns, and all of them small, and of different sizes, none of them good, except two 9-pounders, and 50 men, all natives but the Captain and myself. They got in us a very valuable prize, as we had on board 110 packages of treasure, value upwards of three lacks of rupees, 40 horses, 5000 slabs of copper, besides several bales, chests, &c.

The treasure was shifted on board the privateer the next day; and they were so elated with their success, that they determined to return from their cruise immediately; but on the 19th, at night, we fell in with his majesty's ship *Trincomalee*, Captain Rowe, mounting 18 twenty-four-pound carronades, but badly manned: she had been fitted out at Bombay, and had been cruising in the gulph nine or ten months: her crew very sickly, had lost a number of them by death, and had no fresh supply. I have been told she had only 70 active men on board; a partial action took place the next day as they passed each other, and on the 12th, they came within gun-shot again, and kept firing at each other till after sun-set, but at too great a distance for much damage to be done; owing to calms and light airs they could not get near to each other. A schooner, named the *Comet*, was in company with the *Trincomalee*, mounting eight small guns. The captain of the privateer wanted very much to cut her off, but through the bravery and good conduct of her captain, all his schemes failed, and she served to engage the *Pearl*,

Pearl, for whom she was more than a match.

At half past six o'clock the same evening a fine breeze springing up, the privateer bore down towards her prize; the Trincomalee followed, and brought her to action, which continued with great fury for two hours, within musket shot, when, with one ship hissing up and the other edging down, they fell alongside each other, and grappled muzzle and muzzle. In this situation they remained about half an hour, the slaughter very great on both sides. The French being more numerous, were preparing to board, when, by some fatal accident, the Trincomalee blew up, and every soul on board perished, except one English seaman, named Thomas Dawson, and a Lascar. The explosion was so great, and the ships so close, that the privateer's broadside was stove in.

I leave you to judge the dreadful situation I was in at this crisis, being below two decks in the square of the main hatchway, in the place appropriated for the wounded, which was full of poor souls of that description, in circumstances too shocking to be described. All at once the hatch-way was filled up with wood, the lights were driven out, the water rushing in, and no visible passage to the deck. The ship appeared to be shaken all to pieces, as the hold-beams had shrunk so considerably, that, where there was room before to stand nearly upright, you could now only crawl on hands and knees, which I did towards the hole in the side where the water was coming in. Close to this, by the light of the moon, I found a hole through both decks, which had newly been made, I suppose, by the fall of some of the Trincomalee's guns, or other

wreck. Through this I got with difficulty upon deck, when I found the ship just disappearing forward, and hastened aft as fast as I could over the bodies of the killed, with which the deck was covered, to the tasserel, and jumped overboard.

I swam a little way from her, dreading the suction, and looked round for her, but she had totally disappeared. I afterwards caught hold of a piece of wood, to which I clung for about an hour and an half, at which time the boats of the Pearl came to pick us up, there being nearly thirty Frenchmen in the same predicament. They, however, were all taken up first; and when I solicited to be taken in, I had a blow made at my head with an oar, which luckily missed me. This treatment I met with from two different boats, and I began to think they were going to leave me to my fate; but the French officer in command of the Pearl, hearing there were some Englishmen upon the wreck, ordered the boats immediately to return, and take us up, viz. myself and Thomas Dawson, then the only survivor of the Trincomalee.

There were killed and drowned on board *La Iphigenie* 115 or 120 men; among whom were the Captain, seven officers, surgeon, two young men volunteers from the Isle of France, the first boatswain, gunner, and carpenter. All the treasure went down in the privateer. Captain Rowe, of the Trincomalee, was killed before the ship blew up, as was also the first lieutenant, whose name was Williams. The *Comet*, immediately on the accident happening, made sail from the Pearl. I suppose she was afraid there might be too many Frenchmen for her to manage. On the 15th we arrived at Muskat

Muskat for water, &c. and the French officer was so good as to give me my liberty.

On the 27th of March, Major-Douglas, late commander of the party of marines serving on board his majesty's ship the *Tigre*, arrived with dispatches from sir Sidney Smith, knight, captain of that ship, and senior officer of the squadron employed on the coast of Egypt, containing an account of the capture of the fort of El-Arish, by an advanced body of the army of the Grand Vizir, assisted by a detachment of marines from his majesty's ships under the orders of the major. By this account it appears, that the Grand Vizir moved from Gaza to El-Arish, on the 20th of Dec. last, and that the French commandant having refused to capitulate, the fort was reconnoitred by major Douglas, accompanied by lieutenant colonel Bromley and captain Winter: that batteries were erected on the 24th, and the following days, the fire of which was attended with complete success; and that, on the 29th in the morning, the enemy having ceased firing, major Douglas ascended the wall of the fort, by means of a rope which was let down for him, and received the sword of the French commandant; but that, it having been found impossible in the first moments to restrain the impetuosity of the Turkish troops, 300 of the French garrison were put to the sword; the remainder were, however, by his exertions, and those of the Turkish commanding officer, placed in security, and the sick and wounded taken care of. The major acknowledges himself highly indebted to the assistance of lieutenant colonel Bromley, and commends the good conduct of captains Winter and Trotte, and the

gallant behaviour of Mr. Thomas Smith, midshipman, belonging to the *Tigre*, and represents that the cheerful manner in which the whole detachment performed their duty, exposed as they were in the desert without tents, very ill fed, and with only brackish water to drink, gained them the admiration of the whole Ottoman army.

The following is the official intelligence from sir Sidney Smith to lord Nelson.

I lament to have to inform you of the melancholy death of Patrona Bey, the Turkish vice-admiral, who was assassinated at Cyprus, in a mutiny of the janissaries, on the 18th of October; the command devolved on Seid Ali Bey, who had just joined me with the troops from Constantinople, composing the second maritime expedition destined for the recovery of Egypt. As soon as our joint exertions had restored order, we proceeded to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile to make an attack thereon, as combined with the Supreme Vizir, in order to draw the attention of the enemy that way, and leave his highness more at liberty to advance with the grand army on the side of the desert. The attack began by the *Tigre's* boats taking possession of a ruined castle situated on the eastern side of the Bogaz, or entrance of the channel, which the inundation of the Nile had insulated from the main land, leaving a formidable passage. The Turkish flag displayed on the tower of this castle, was at once the signal for the Turkish gun-boats to advance, and for the enemy to open their fire in order to dislodge us; their nearest post being a redoubt on the main land with two 32-pounders, and an 8-pounder field piece mounted thereon,

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a point

a point-blank shot distant. The fire was returned from the launch's caronade, mounted in a breach in the castle, and from field-pieces in the small boats, which soon obliged the enemy to discontinue working at an entrenchment they were making to oppose a landing. Lieutenant Stokes was detached with the boats to check a body of cavalry advancing along the neck of land, in which he succeeded; but I am sorry to say with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. This interchange of shot continued with little intermission during the 29th, 30th, and 31st, while the Turkish transports were drawing nearer to the landing-place, our shells from the caronade annoying the enemy in his works and communications; at length the magazine blowing up, and one of their thirty-two-pounders being silenced, a favourable moment offered for disembarkation. Orders were given accordingly; but it was not till the morning of the 1st of November that they could effectuate this operation. This delay gave time for the enemy to collect a force more than double that of the first division landed, and to be ready to attack it before the return of the boats with the remainder. The French advanced to the charge with bayonets. The Turks completely exculpated themselves from the suspicion of cowardice, having been the cause of their delay, for when the enemy were within ten yards of them they rushed on, sabre in hand, and in an instant completely routed the first line of the French infantry. The day was ours for the moment; but the impetuosity of Osman Aga and his troops occasioned them to quit the station assigned them as a corps of reserve, and to run forward in pursuit of the fugi-

tives; European tactics were of course advantageously employed by the French at this critical juncture. Their body of reserve came on in perfect order, while a charge of cavalry on the left of the Turks put them completely to the rout in their turn. Our flanking fire from the castle and boats, which had been hitherto plied with evident effect, was now necessarily suspended by the impossibility of pointing clear of the Turks in the confusion. The latter turned a random fire on the boats, to make them take them off, and the sea was in an instant covered with turbans, while the air was filled with piteous moans, calling to us for assistance; it was (as at Aboukir) a duty of some difficulty to afford it them, without being victims to their impatience, or overwhelmed with numbers; we, however, persevered and saved all, except those which the French took prisoners by wading into the water after them: neither did the enemy interrupt us much in so doing. Major Douglas and lieutenant Stokes, who were with me on this service, gave additional proofs of their zeal, ability, and bravery, and the boats' crews, as usual, behaved admirably. The loss in killed, on our side, cannot be ascertained. The French general, in his offer to exchange prisoners on the general account, assures me he has 1100. As to the enemy's loss, we have no means of estimating it, but it must have been sufficient to convince them that such victories as these against troops which, though irregular, will fight hand to hand with them, must cost them dear in the end.

In consequence of the surrender of El Arish, the Executive Directory of the French Republic received the following particulars from General Kleber,

ber, dated January 30th, Camp of Salahich.

I have, Citizens Directors, just signed the treaty relative to the evacuation of Egypt, a copy of which I send you. That which bears the signature of the Grand Vizir cannot be transmitted to me for some days to come, as the exchange is to take place at El-Arish.

In my former dispatches I gave you an account of the situation in which that army was placed. I have also informed you of the negociations which general Buonaparte had commenced with the Grand Vizir, and which I was to continue.

Although at that period I could reckon but little upon the success of these negociations, yet I hoped they would so far retard the march, and the warlike preparations of the Vizir, as to give you time to send me succours of men and arms; or at least to send me orders relative to the conduct I should pursue under the painful circumstances in which I was placed. I entertained hopes of receiving these succours, because I knew that the French and Spanish fleets were united at Toulon; and only waited for a favourable wind to sail from thence. They left that place, indeed, but it was for the purpose of re-passing the Streights, and getting into Brest. The army was deeply afflicted at this news; they heard at the same time of our reverses in Italy, in Germany, in Holland, and even in La Vendee, without any proper measures having been taken to arrest the course of those calamities that threatened the very existence of the Republic.

In the mean time the Vizir advanced from Damas; on the other side a fleet appeared about the end of October, before Damietta, from which

4000 men were disembarked, and were to be followed by an equal number; but they were not permitted to come on shore, for the first that landed were completely beaten in half an hour. The carnage was frightful; more than 600 of them were made prisoners.

This event did not facilitate the negociations; the Vizir manifested the same intentions, and suspended his march only during the time it was necessary for him to form his establishments. His army was then estimated at 60,000 men; but the other Pachas were marching after him, and collecting fresh troops in every part of Asia, as far as Mount Caucasus. The first division of that army soon arrived at Jaffa.

At this period, namely, some days before the debarkation at Damietta, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith wrote to me; and as I knew the influence he had over the Vizir, I thought it was proper not only to send him an answer, but also to propose that the conferences should be held on board his ship. I had every objection against receiving English or Turkish Plenipotentiaries in Egypt, or sending mine to the camp of the latter. My proposition was accepted; and from that time the negociations were more seriously carried on. All this, however, did not stop the progress of the Ottoman army until the Grand Vizir came to Gaza.

All this time the war continued to be carried on in Upper Egypt; and the Beys, who had until then been dispersed, were thinking of uniting themselves to Mourad, who, always pursued, and never beaten, leading along with him the Arabs, and the inhabitants of the province of Benissouef,

nissouef, never ceased collecting forces, and giving us disturbance.

"The plague also menaced us with its ravages, and already carried off several of our men every decade.

"At length, about the end of December, general Dessaix and citizen Poussielgue, whom I had appointed plenipotentiaries, opened the conferences on board the *Tigre*, with sir Sidney Smith, to whom the Grand Vizir had given powers to treat. They were to continue off the coast from Damietta as far as Alexandria, but a violent gale of wind having forced them to keep away from the shore, they were at sea for eighteen days. At the expiration of that time they came to the camp of the Vizir, who had taken possession of El-Arish on the 30th of December. He was alone indebted for that success to the shameful cowardice of the garrison, who surrendered it without a blow, on the seventh day of the attack.

"This event was the more unfortunate, inasmuch as general Regnier was marching to raise the blockade before the great body of the Turkish army should arrive.

"Then there remained no longer any hope of protracting the negotiations by delay. It was time then to weigh maturely the danger that must ensue from breaking them off; to lay aside all motives of personal vanity, and not to expose all those Frenchmen whose lives were entrusted to me, to the terrible consequences which a further delay would render inevitable.

"The most recent accounts stated the amount of the Ottoman army to be eighty thousand men, and that it was still to be increased; there were twelve Pachas said to be attached to it, six of whom were of the first rank;

there were forty five thousand men before El-Arish, with fifty pieces of cannon, and ammunition in proportion. This artillery was drawn by mules. There were twenty other pieces at Gaza with the corps of reserve. The remainder of the troops were at Jaffa, and in the environs of Ramle. The camp of the Vizir was furnished with provisions by coasting vessels. All the tribes of the Arabs vied with each other in assisting this army, and furnished it with more than fifteen thousand camels. I was assured that the distributions were regularly made. All these forces were commanded by European officers; and five or six thousand Russians were expected every moment.

"To oppose this army, I had eight thousand five hundred men divided in the three points of Kauch, Salahich, and Belbeys. This partition was necessary, to facilitate the communications with Cairo, and to be able to carry succours speedily to those parts that might be first attacked.—In fact, it is certain that they might be either turned or avoided: this was recently done by Effi Bey, who, during the negotiation, entered with his Mamelukes into Charkia, for the purpose of effecting a junction with the Arabs of Billis, and with Mourad in Upper Egypt. The rest of the army was distributed in the following manner; One thousand men, under the command of general Verdier, for the purpose of forming the garrison of Lesbe, of levying contributions, and of keeping in obedience the country between the Canal of Achmoun and that of Moes, which was agitated by the cheick Leskam—one thousand were under the orders of general Lanusse, to supply the garrisons of Rosetta, Aboukir, and Alexandria, and to keep

keep the Delta and the Bahira in awe—twelve hundred men remained at Cairo and at Gize, and they were obliged to furnish escorts for the convoys of the army. Finally, two thousand five hundred were disposed in Upper Egypt, over a space of more than one hundred and fifty leagues, where they had every day engagements to sustain with the Beys and their partizans. The whole army consisted of fifteen thousand men, constituting our only disposable force.

“Notwithstanding so great a disproportion of force, I hoped for victory, and I would hazard a battle, had I been assured of the arrival of assistance before the season of landing. But that season having happened before I obtained reinforcements, I was obliged to dispatch at least five thousand men to the coasts, and there only remained with me three thousand for the defence of a country open in every part, against the invasion of thirty thousand horse, supported by the Arabs and the inhabitants, while I was without a strong place, provisions, money, and ships. No means of safety were left, and we could only treat with arms in our hands, with undisciplined hordes of barbarous fanatics, totally ignorant of the rights of war. Every mind was struck with the force of these motives, and my opinion was determined. I ordered my plenipotentiaries not to break off the negotiations, but in the case that they went to compromise our glory or our safety.

“I conclude this report, Citizens Directors, by observing, that the circumstances of my situation were not foreseen by general Buonaparte. When he promised me speedy succours he founded, as I did, his hopes on the junction of the French and Spanish fleets in the Mediterranean. We

were then far from thinking that those fleets would again return to the Ocean, and that the expedition of Egypt, entirely abandoned, would become a principal subject of impeachment against those who ordered it.

“I annex to this letter a Copy of my Correspondence with the Grand Vizir, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, and my Plenipotentiaries, as well as of all the official Notes delivered on both sides. I also annex a copy of the Reports made to me on the capture of El-Arish.

“I count upon my return to France with the army, about the end of May at the latest.

“Health and Respect,

“KLEBER.”

“General Kleber, doubtless from want of information, has charged a part of his army with cowardice, and having on the seventh day surrendered El-Arish, without resistance, when the fact is, that the garrison for nine days kept up a constant and heavy fire, which destroyed numerous Turks, &c. and that the commandant on falling into our hands declared, that, though part of his troops were in a state of insubordination, he would yet have continued to resist, but for the battery fought by the English, which made a practicable breach in the great tower, with considerable slaughter amongst the garrison. But this is not the only instance in which the French general's information or memory has failed him; he states that the Grand Vizir “had 50 pieces of cannon, with a proportionable number of ammunition wag-gons. This artillery was carried on by mules.”

The fact is, that all the artillery of every description with the army of the Vizir, consisted of five bad 8-pounders,

8-pounders, and shot considerably too small for their calibre; and that there were not half enough of mules to convey even this park of artillery.

There certainly were some heavy guns at Jaffa, but a considerable time would have elapsed before they could be conveyed to El-Arish, where they must have continued, because, instead of the army having been supplied "with more than 15,000 camels," there were not, in consequence of a mortality amongst them, a tenth of the number indispensable to a successful march across the desert.

General Kleber, treating of the Turkish army, says, "I had received assurances that every thing was carried on in it in the most regular manner; the whole of that force was disciplined and directed by European officers."

That there were European officers competent to direct it, is as true as that it would not be directed by any officers: a point probably, and fortunately, unknown to the French General.

General Kleber, in the justification of his conduct, omitted to state the imperative cause of his entering into a convention: that his army, indignant at the treachery they conceived they had experienced from their former chiefs, and the continued neglect of their country, demanded with one voice, that their general should accede to the terms which had been offered by the Turks, and guaranteed by the English, previous and subsequent to the attack of Acre; *to give them safe conduct to France*; declaring, that on his refusal they would send deputies to the Grand Vizir; but that if he acceded to their wishes, and that the Turk declined to subscribe to

the terms he had proposed, they, to a man, would conquer or perish with their chief."

The capitulation which general Kleber saw himself under the necessity of concluding, was particularly forwarded by the capture of the fort of Saliche, which, like El-Arish, was carried by storm by the Turks, but not without suffering considerable loss.

The French troops will be conveyed from Egypt to Marseilles and Toulon, for which purpose sixty vessels are destined, viz. thirty from Constantinople, fifteen from Smyrna, five from the Islands in the Archipelago, five from Salonichi, and five from other ports of the Levant. The captains of the Russian merchant vessels refused to engage in that business, and of vessels under the Austrian flag there are not any in our harbour at present. If the number of vessels above-mentioned should not be sufficient, several more will be furnished to the Porte by the Greek subjects, and two ships of the line and four frigates will sail from our harbour, to serve as a convoy in transporting the French from Egypt.

The important subject of a legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, having occupied much of the attention of the commercial bodies of both kingdoms, we judge it will be highly acceptable to our Readers. It was introduced to the Irish House of Commons on the 5th of Feb. 1800, by the following message from his Majesty, delivered by lord Castlereagh.

"That his excellency the lord lieutenant had in command from his majesty to lay before them the resolutions of the British parliament upon the subject of a more intimate union of the two countries, and to express his
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majesty's earnest recommendation that his faithful commons would take those resolutions into their consideration, and to communicate the satisfaction his majesty felt in observing that sentiments in favour of such a measure prevailed so very generally amongst his faithful subjects of Ireland, and gave such hopes of an early completion of that measure, to which his majesty looks with the utmost earnestness, as the only means by which the interests of all his people can be indissolubly united; and that his majesty therefore relying upon the wisdom of his parliament, and the loyalty of his people for the completion of such a system as shall give to both countries a full and unreserved participation in their mutual advantages of commerce and constitution, doubts not that it will establish the freedom and power of the empire on such a foundation as will not be shaken by either foreign or domestic enemies.

The first article states, That on the first day of January, which shall be in the year 1801, and for ever after, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the royal style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown, and also the ensigns armorial, shall be such as his majesty shall be pleased to appoint.

The second article, That the succession to the Imperial crown of the said united kingdom, &c. shall continue limited and settled as it now stands.

Article 3. That the united kingdom shall be represented by the same parliament.

Article 4. Proposes, that of the peers of Ireland at the time of the

union, four spiritual lords by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight temporal peers for life, shall be the number to sit and vote in the house of lords; and one hundred commoners, viz. two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, and one for each of the thirty-two most considerable towns and boroughs, be the number of representatives of Ireland in the house of commons. That it shall be lawful for his majesty to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the peerage thereof after the union, provided the number of peers shall not by such creation at any time be increased beyond the number existing on the said first day of January 1801.

The fifth article states, That the churches of England and Ireland shall be united into one church, subject to the same regulations as at present by law established.

Article 6. States, that for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the first day of January 1801, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom respectively and generally, in respect of trade and navigation, in all parts and places of the united kingdom, and its dependencies. And that in all treaties made by his majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign power, his majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges and be on the same footing as his majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

2. That from the said first day of January

January 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

3. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, (not hereinafter enumerated as subject to specific duties) shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as is specified in the Schedule No. I, annexed to this article; and that the articles hereinafter enumerated shall be subject, for the period of twenty years from the union, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. II, annexed to this article, viz. Apparel—Brass, wrought—Cabinet ware—Coaches, Copper, wrought—Cotton—Glass—Haberdashery—Hats—Hardware—Lace, gold and silver—Millinery—Paper, stained—Pottery—Saddlery—Silk manufacture—Steel—Stockings—and that the Woollen Manufactures shall pay, on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and Hops, on importation into Ireland; and Coals, on importation, subject to the same burdens to which they are now subject.

4. That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are, or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and rea-

sonable in respect of such internal duty, or duty on the materials: and that for the said purposes, the articles specified in the said Schedule No. I. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty set forth herein, liable to be taken off, diminished or increased, in the manner herein specified; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given in equal amount to the countervailing duty payable on the articles herein before specified on the import into the same country from the other; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the united parliament, to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on the like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country; or if any new or additional duty on any materials of which such articles may be composed, or of any abatement of the same; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

5. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported through the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges, as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

6. That all duty charged on the import

port of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained, shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be exported, so long as the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions;—provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition, which exist with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time, as the united parliament shall deem expedient.

Article 7. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. That at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the interest and charges of the debt incurred before the union, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the united parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the follow-

ing articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz. Beer—Spirits—Sugar—Wine—Tea—Tobacco—Malt—Salt and Leather—or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both those considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period, of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed, on the same descriptions of income in both countries—and that the parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix said proportions, according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years, from each other, unless previous to any such period, but subsequent to the first of January 1821, the united parliament shall have declared, as hereinafter provided, that the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, imposed on the like articles in both countries.

That for the defraying the said expences according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund, upon which charges equal to the interest of her debt and sinking fund shall in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year.

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively as the parliament of the united kingdom shall, from time to time, deem fit: provided always, that in

in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article.

That if at the end of any year, any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the united parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or be invested by the commissioners of the national debt of Ireland, in the funds to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of her contribution in time of war, provided the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or in war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions: Provided, that if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom, the parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contribution in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country, than of that raised on account of the other

country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

If at any future day the separate debts of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such debt shall appear to be redeemable by such sinking fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one hundredth part of the said value; and if it shall appear to the united parliament that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand, that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future

future general expences according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein-before described; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each country.

Article 8. That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided that all writs of error and appeals which may at present finally be decided by the House of Lords of the united kingdom; and provided, that from and after the Union all Admiralty Jurisdictions be under the Lord High Admiral or Commissioners of the Admiralty of the united kingdom: and that all laws at present in force in either kingdom which shall be contrary to any of the provisions which may be enacted by any act not carrying these articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed.

SCHEDULE, No. 1.

Of the articles to be charged with countervailing duties upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the sixth article of union, to which this schedule is annexed.

Articles to be charged with a countervailing duty in Great Britain.

Beer, Bricks and Tiles, Candles, Soap, Cordage, Printed Cottons, Cyder, Glass, Leather, Paper, stained, Silk, Spirits, Starch, Sugar, refined, Sweets, Tobacco.

Articles to be charged with a countervailing duty in Ireland.

Beer, Glass, Leather, Paper, stained, Silk, Spirits, Sugar, refined, Sweets, Tobacco.

SCHEDULE, No. 2.

Of the articles to be charged, with the duties specified upon importation into Great Britain and Ireland respectively, according to the sixth article of Union, to which this schedule is annexed.—Apparel, Brass, wrought, Cabinet Ware, Coaches, Copper, wrought, Cotton, Glass, Haberdashery, Hats, Hardware, Lace, gold and silver, Millinery, Paper, stained, Pottery, Saddlery, and other manufactured Leather, Silk Manufactures, Steel, Stockings, ten per cent. on the true value.

The union, after much debate in both houses of parliament, was carried, with little or no material alteration in the above general heads.

On the 15th of May, a circumstance occurred in Hyde-park, which caused a considerable sensation through the town, in the course of the forenoon. His majesty was attending the field-exercises of the grenadier battalions of the guards, when, during one of the vollies, a ball cartridge was fired from the musquet of one of the soldiers, which struck Mr. Ongley, a clerk in the navy office, who was standing only twenty-three feet distance from the king.

king. The ball entered the fleshy part of the thigh in front, and passed straight through. Mr. Ongley was dressed on the ground, and we have the satisfaction to state, that there is no danger. Had the wound been an inch higher, it must have proved fatal. As soon as his majesty was acquainted with the accident, he sent lord Chesterfield to enquire who the gentleman was, and desired that a report might be made daily to him of the state of his health. The accident, as we hope it was, gave rise to a variety of reports in the course of the day, which we are unwilling to repeat. They shewed, however, the anxious solicitude which all descriptions of persons felt on the occasion. An investigation immediately took place into the circumstances of this extraordinary occurrence, but we have not yet been informed from any good authority, how a ball-cartridge could be fired from a musquet ignorantly, as its weight is so very different from that of a powder cartridge, and also because the cartouch-boxes of the soldiers had been inspected in the morning with the attention and vigilance which are usual before they go into the field.

An event which happened in the evening added very much to the anxiety felt from what had occurred in the morning. Their majesties having announced their intention of going to the Theatre at Drury-lane, the house was extremely crowded. The audience had risen to receive and greet the royal family, by clapping of hands, and other testimonies of affection; when at the instant his majesty entered, and was advancing to bow to the audience, an assassin, who had placed himself about the middle of the second front row of the pit, raised his arm,

and fired a pistol, which was levelled towards the box. The flash and the report caused an instant alarm through the house, but after an awful suspense of a few moments, the audience perceiving his majesty unhurt, a burst of the most enthusiastic joy succeeded, with loud acclamations of "seize the villain!—Shut all the doors." The curtain was by this time drawn up, and the stage was crowded by persons of all descriptions from behind the scenes. A gentleman who stood next the assassin immediately collared him; and, after some struggling, he was conveyed over into the orchestra, where the pistol was wrenched from him, and delivered to one of the performers on the stage, who held it up to public view. There was a general cry of "Shew the villain," who by this time was conveyed into the music-room, and given in charge of the Bow-street officers. The cry still continuing to see him, Mr. Kelly came forward to assure the audience that he was safe in custody. The band then struck up "God save the King," in which they were cordially joined in full chorus, by every person in the theatre, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs and huzzaing. His majesty was evidently affected by the passing scene; and the duke and duchess of York, who were in their private box below, hastened to the king, who was eagerly surrounded by his family. A more affectionate and interesting circumstance cannot be imagined.

Mr. Sheridan, assisted by Mr. Wigstead the magistrate, proceeded to examine the man in the room into which he had been conducted, and where he had been searched, to see if he had any other fire-arms or papers. He had none. Mr. Tamplin, a trumpeter in the

the band, who assisted in taking him over the orchestra, recognized the man to be a soldier, and, pulling open his coat, found that he had on a military waistcoat, with the button of the 15th light dragoons. It was an officer's old waistcoat. On being questioned by Mr. Sheridan, said, "He had no objection to tell who he was. It was not over yet; there was a great deal more and worse to be done. His name was James Hadfield; he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted in the 15th light dragoons, and had fought for his king and country." At this time the Prince of Wales and Duke of York entered the room, to be present at the examination. He immediately turned to the duke, and said, "I know your royal highness—God bless you. You are a good fellow. I have served with your highness, and (pointing to a deep cut over his eye, and another long scar on his cheek) said, I got these, and more than these, in fighting by your side. At Lincelles I was left three hours among the dead in a ditch, and was taken prisoner by the French. I had my arm broken by a shot, and eight sabre wounds in my head; but I recovered, and here I am." He then gave the following account of himself, and of his conduct.

He said, that having been discharged from the army on account of his wounds, he had returned to London, and now lived by working at his own trade. He made a great deal of money; he worked for Mr. Solomon Hougham. Being weary of life, he last week bought a pair of pistols from one Wm. Wakelin, a hair-dresser and broker, in St. John-street; (Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Wigstead immediately sent persons to bring Wakelin and his master to the

theatre.) He told him they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss in exchange. That he had borrowed a crown from his master that morning, with which he had bought some powder, and had gone to the house of Mrs. Mason, in Red-Lion-street, to have some beer; that he went backwards to the yard, and there he tried his pistols. He found one of them good for nothing, and left it behind him. In his own trade he used lead, and he cast himself two slugs, with which he loaded his pistol, and came to the theatre.

At this part of his narrative Sir William Addington, the magistrate, arrived, and took the chair; he went over the examination of the persons who had secured him, and who had seen the pistol levelled at his majesty. Sir William said, it was most material to ascertain the fact, whether the pistol was levelled at the person of his majesty, or fired at random, as the one case would be high treason, the other not. He asked Hadfield what induced him to attempt the life of the best of sovereigns? He answered, that "he had not attempted to kill the king. He had fired his pistol over the royal box. He was as good a shot as any in England; but he was himself weary of life, he wished for death, but not to die by his own hands. He was desirous to raise an alarm; and wished that the spectators might fall upon him; he hoped that his life was forfeited." Being asked if he had any accomplices, he solemnly declared that he had none, and with great energy took God to witness, and laid his hand on his heart. From this time he began to shew manifest signs of mental derangement.

William Wakelin, the person from whom

whom he had bought the pistols, being brought to the house, was examined. He said, it was true that he had bought a pair of pistols of him, and that he had said they were for his young master, who would give him a blunderbuss for them; but he had not yet got the blunderbuss. He knew very little of Hadfield, but he knew where he worked, and had heard a good character of him, but that the least drink affected his head. Several persons from the house of Mrs. Mason, his acquaintance, confirmed this fact; and they said they ascribed this to the very severe wounds he had received in the head.

Upon this evidence he was committed to Cold-bath-fields for re-examination, and their royal highnesses the Duke of Clarence, Duke of Cumberland, and Mr. Sheridan, conducted him thither. His majesty's privy council, however, desiring to examine him forthwith, to discover if he had any accomplices, he was taken to the Duke of Portland's office, where he underwent another examination.

He was taken to Newgate at one in the morning. The Duke of Clarence, Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Sheridan, and a number of officers, went back to the theatre, and, after their majesties had withdrawn, the most strict search was made for the slugs. A mark was discovered in the top of the canopy over the royal box, and in the orchestra below, a flattened and irregular piece of lead was found, supposed to have recoiled from the place where it struck. No other slug or ball was found. It was most providential that at this theatre the royal box is elevated more than 15 feet above the pit; so that, from the place where Hadfield levelled his pistol, he was

between 30 and 40 feet distant from his majesty's person.

On the 26th of June, came on in the Court of King's Bench, Westminster, the Trial of James Hadfield, for High Treason. The court and all the passages near it were excessively crowded at a very early hour. At nine o'clock the four Judges of the King's Bench arrived, and the prisoner was brought into court.

Mr. Abbot opened the pleadings on the part of the prosecution.

The Attorney General then rose and addressed the Jury:—The prisoner, as they had heard, was indicted for high treason, a crime of the utmost magnitude, and involving in its probable consequences every thing which was most sacred in the institutions of civil society. The overt acts charged in the indictment were all repeated against the person of the king. He was first charged with procuring the pistol, &c. He was next charged with going secretly armed to the playhouse; and lastly, he was charged with firing a pistol against the person of his majesty, all of them with the same intent, namely, that of killing the king. Upon this subject, of which the jury had probably heard much in private conversation, it was their duty to discharge every thing that they had so heard from their minds, and attend only to the evidence which they should that day hear upon oath. It was his intention, if he could, to state correctly what that evidence would be, he should endeavour to do it concisely and truly, for the purpose of giving them a correct view of the whole subject; and facilitating them in taking a view of the whole case, by concentrating the several parts under one distinct point. (The learned gentleman then described

the manner in which the shot was fired.) The crime charged was that of imagining and contriving the death of the king—The law made that imagining and compassing criminal, if it were manifested by any overt acts. The law made firing at *any* person a crime of a capital nature. The evidence would prove beyond a possibility of doubt the facts, and he would produce them evidence to shew the conduct of the prisoner both before and after he fired the pistol. He would trace him from the time of his getting the pistol, and procuring the powder. He would trace him from two o'clock that day, when they would find that he procured two pistols, but left one behind him for a reason which they would hear from the witnesses. He would trace him from thence to the time of his going to the theatre: he would shew the conversations which he held respecting his intention of going to the theatre: he would shew, that he concealed the arms, so that those near him did not suspect he had any, until the moment he used them; at that moment he was thrown over the orchestra, and he would also produce evidence to shew his conduct at that period.

From circumstances that had passed, he was led to suppose, that the answer to the case would be, that he was in the unfortunate situation of being afflicted with insanity. It would, therefore, become his duty to state to the jury what he considered to be the law of the case. He apprehended that by the law of this country, if a person was completely deranged in mind, so as not to know what were the consequences of his actions, and incapable of discriminating between good and evil, that such a person could not be

capable of committing any crime, because the will was wanting, a certain portion of which was necessary to the essence of every crime; but grievous indeed would be the situation of every man in this country, if those who had laboured under occasional fits of insanity were to be excused any crime that they might commit. In the case of idiocy, of complete privation of reason, the person stood excused, because he was not blessed with the faculty of judging between right and wrong; to an infant who had not obtained reason sufficient to enable him to judge between right and wrong; but when they were weighing the result of an act in the court of criminal jurisprudence, the jury would examine what degree of intelligence the persons committing the act possessed at the time of doing it. Thus persons of weak understandings have committed crimes, and have been punished for them, because they had sufficient knowledge to know the nature of the act, although their understandings were below the ordinary standard. Thus again, in the case of a child, they did not judge from his years but from his capacity. If he shewed that he had a knowledge sufficient to judge of the nature and consequences of the act, though not a complete view of it, yet that had been constantly held ground sufficient to find those guilty who were of a very tender age. He took the law to be the same with respect to insanity. He took it, that it had been so laid down by persons, to whom courts and juries had been used to pay the greatest veneration.—Lord Chief Justice Coke, in his Pleas of the Crown, says, “that a *non compos mentis* could not commit treason, but that it must be an absolute madness.”

—And

—And Lord Chief Justice Hale, in commenting upon this passage, says, “that the true way of judging was as in the case of an infant; and according to this doctrine was the decision in two memorable cases in the State Trials.”

The first to which he alluded was the case of Edward Arnold, who was indicted for shooting at lord Onslow. There was not a doubt but that that man was deranged; and as with respect to lord Onslow himself, what was the opinion of the court in that case? That the prisoner had a steady regular design, and took all proper means to accomplish his object; they had therefore discretion enough to make him an object of punishment. —The court, in summing up, stated that the fact was proved beyond doubt, but whether it was malicious, must be deduced from the nature of the insanity. That if the prisoner was under the visitation of God, and knew not what he did, he could not be guilty; but that, on the other hand, it was not every particular insanity would serve for excuse, but it must be one which deprived a man of reason, and left him in a state of not knowing more than a brute or an infant, the nature of the action he had committed. Therefore the jury would decide as to that fact. Such was the reasoning of Mr. Justice Tracy on that case. That law had never been contradicted, but adopted in succeeding cases. The other case, which probably the jury anticipated, was the case of lord Ferrers. He was visited with occasional insanity: of that fact there could be no doubt. He murdered a person deliberately in his own house, of the name of Johnson. The facts were clearly proved, and it was alledged in

defence, that the consequence of murder did not follow, because he had laboured under a state of mind which rendered him incapable of knowing what he did, and therefore not capable of judging the consequence of his actions. All the authorities relative to that point were produced by the then Solicitor General, and as every assistance was then had, what passed upon that trial must be considered as the law of the subject. The judges sat as assistants to the house, heard such stated to be the law, and adopted it. The lords, with one voice, found lord Ferrers guilty, judging from the capacity he had at the moment he committed the act, and not from any former period.

In this case, whatever the state of the prisoner's mind might be at former periods of time, yet at that precise moment he possessed understanding enough to know the nature and consequences of the action he was about to commit, and a competent recollection to warrant the inference of guilt, according to the law as laid down by lord Hale. It was true that he had been discharged from the military, and for cause of insanity, but that degree of sound mind, which was necessary for the discharge of a regular duty, was very different from that degree only necessary to distinguish the boundaries of good and evil. There are different degrees of insanity, which operate according to the nature of the act performed. If a contract was to be concluded, it was necessary that the party should be able to weigh all the consequences resulting from it. If a disposition by testament was the question, it was necessary that the party should have sufficient sanity of mind to understand the nature of the act; but

but it had been repeatedly held, that a person with a degree of furious insanity, yet shortly recovering sufficient understanding to know what he was doing, might legally make testamentary disposition. He conceived that it would be necessary to make out a case of much greater insanity to warrant a jury to pronounce not guilty upon a criminal act, because the traces of right and wrong were much harder to be erased from the mind, and remained as long as the mind retained any distinctions at all. When they heard the evidence, they would find the prisoner acting as other men did on such occasions—procuring pistols—leaving one for a reason which he assigned, purchasing gun-powder, stating his intention of going to the play, choosing a place best fitted for his purpose, waiting patiently for the proper moment until he discharged the pistol at the royal person. There was thought, mind, and contrivance in what he did. After he was hurried over the orchestra, they would find that by his confessions he knew what he had done, and what were the consequences, that his life was the forfeit for the deed. There could be no doubt but that the evidence would convince them that he had acted from a judgment which enabled him to form the plan, and to know the nature and consequences of the act he was about to commit, and had committed. Whatever the state of his mind was at other times, the law said he was responsible for those acts which he had understanding sufficient to know the nature of. This was the evidence, and such was the law as he understood it. We must all rejoice that the deed was not effected; but however providentially the life of his majesty was preserved, it was impor-

tant for the purpose of general safety and the security of justice, that it should be known that persons who had laboured under occasional insanity were not excused from the consequences of such crimes as they might commit, having sufficient understanding to judge of their evil tendency: so thought the jury, and so thought the court in a case which he had alluded to, and so thought the highest court in the kingdom when they condemned lord Ferrers (one of their own body) to die. He trusted, that he had not overstated the facts; he hoped he had not mistaken the law. The jury would correct him if he had done the first; and, with all submission, he submitted the latter to the court.

Here a number of witnesses for the prosecution were called, whose depositions corroborated what is briefly related above, touching what happened in the play-house.

Mr. Law, one of the counsel for the prosecution, desired that his Royal Highness the Duke of York might be called; upon hearing which, the prisoner, in a paroxysm of enthusiasm, cried out, "God bless the Duke, I love him."

The court seeing his agitation, immediately gave directions that he should be permitted to sit down; and Mr. Kirby the Keeper of Newgate, (who all the time sat next to him) told him he had permission of the court to sit down, which he did, and remained composed during the remainder of the trial.

The Duke of York sworn.—His Royal Highness said, in consequence of the tumult and the darkness of the place where the prisoner was seated in the pit, on that night, he could not discern the countenance of the prisoner,

soner, till he came into the room where he was confined, under the stage, and encircled by peace officers and others who had him in custody; that on his entrance the prisoner said, "God bless you, I love you;" that his Royal Highness remarked he was sure he knew the man's face, but at the instant he could not recollect, at length remembered that he was one of his orderly men; that the prisoner then said he was one of his orderly men; that it was customary for the commander in chief to have select persons near him, and as such he remembered the prisoner, who brought to his recollection his knowledge of him the day after the battle of Famars. His conversation and behaviour during the period of his examination in that room, was perfectly collected, and betrayed no symptoms of derangement. He said twice or thrice that he knew his life was forfeited; that he was tired of it, and had but to exist a few days longer; that the worst had not happened yet, and this last observation the prisoner repeated, adding, he was tired of life.—His Royal Highness was present on the occasion nearly three quarters of an hour, and the prisoner continued uniformly collected.

On his Royal Highness being cross-examined by Mr. Erskine, he said, that men who were selected for orderly were always the truest and most tried men. That the prisoner, on being asked why he committed such a crime, replied, he was tired of life, and made the attempt he did make for that purpose, as he was in expectation he should be killed for it.

Mr. Law again pressed the question, whether his Royal Highness thought the prisoner was collected at the time

he was giving these answers? and his Highness replied—certainly.

George Webb, examined.—He lives with Mr. Clarke, at No. 74, St. John-street, West Smithfield. On the 15th of May, the prisoner came to his master's shop, and asked for one ounce of superfine gun-powder. That he waited whilst the porter brought it from the warehouse, and then was served with it.

Here Webb was desired to point out the person, but not being able to discern him, the prisoner, of his own accord, rose up and shewed himself to Webb, who identified him.

The case being ended on the part of the crown,

Mr. Erskine then rose on behalf of the prisoner, and commenced with an eulogium on the constitution of this country, which, in a case of such apparent enormity as the present, with a magnanimity peculiar to itself, afforded the prisoner that legal aid which was then exerted in his support. He then proceeded to pay many well-directed compliments to the calm serenity of the monarch's mind on the occasion, and, in terms of splendid panegyric, applauded that magnanimity and composure with which he bore the shock. In direct conformity to his professional duty, he next went into his case, and said the insanity of his client was his defence.

He then replied in a very able manner to the cases mentioned by Mr. Attorney General, and contended that they did not apply to the present. He argued on the difference between incidental and continual insanity, and urged, that in lucid intervals of the former guilt might attach to a criminal charge like the present; but where,
(as

(as in his case) unremitting derangement appeared, no law, human or divine, could make him cognizable for any offence. He was precisely what lord Coke, judge Hale, and what the English law called *non compos mentis*, and what all its practitioners from time past to the present instant defined, "persons incapable of wrong." That he would prove to be the case of the unfortunate and unhappy man at the bar. That insanity would frequently assume the appearance of sanity, and deceive ingenuity itself, was well known, and therefore any shew of sanity in the prisoner, should be considered as working to that end, it was a cunning belonging to madmen, it was ingrafted on the malady, and instead of being adduced as an evidence to establish crime, it ought to go the whole length of acquitting him of crime; and all that supposed method he adopted should be considered but as a part of the system of madness which afflicted him.—An instance of that kind came to his knowledge in Greenwood's case, who though perfectly collected on every other topic, imagined his brother had poisoned him, and whenever he was touched on that subject, became directly furious, and actually made a will, which went to deprive him of his estate, though heir at law. But under the direction of the noble and learned judge, who now and then presided in that court, the morbid state of Greenwood's mind having in this particular continued till his death, that judge directed the will to be set aside.

Another instance occurred where he (Mr. E.) was for the defendant, that of a person who indicted the keeper of a mad-house at Hoxton, for unprovoked assaults and false imprisonment,

and who in that very court baffled all his scrutiny, and actually by his tale excited the sympathy of a crowded auditory in his behalf, who believed he was treated with uncommon cruelty and mischievous designing; when all of a sudden Doctor Simms coming into court, who visited him in his malady, he exclaimed, "Now I am God Almighty, and the Saviour of the world." That of course put an end to his claim for false imprisonment.

Another instance was, that of a person of the name of Wood, at Chester, who indicted Doctor Munro on a similar charge, and in like manner excited the auditory so much in his behalf, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained from expressing aloud their indignation, till another physician, who had also visited him whilst in the doctor's care, and knew the chord to touch upon to prove him, instructed him to ask him (Wood) whether he was not enamoured of a princess? when, with a degree of violence he never betrayed before, during a long examination, he vociferated that "he was, and corresponded with her from the top of a tower in a castle where he was confined, but having no ink, made use of cherry juice for the purpose." So ended his cause, and the court was fully satisfied of his madness; but, said Mr. Erskine, that the method of his madness did not end there, for when the doctor came to London, he indicted him again, and on the trial, all the wit which counsel could apply, and all their efforts to shake him had no effect; and he was even artful enough to conceal the mention of that which lost him his former cause, and was on the point of succeeding in this, till he was urged to say, whether the tale of the princess was

was not all false, and then the cunning of the madman over-reached itself, and to conceal his insanity he betrayed it, by saying, "it was false, false, false! but the cherry juice was true."—So ended the prosecution of Dr. Munro.

The evidence produced against the prisoner only proved a method in his insanity, that nothing but insanity could ever possess.

The learned gentleman then stated the evidence he should produce, and entered into a brief history of the prisoner's life down to the present day, wherein he shewed that he was bred a silversmith, that he was now twenty-nine years of age, and in the army since the year 1790; that he possessed all his faculties, till by gallant conduct, and unparalleled bravery he courted that danger in the field, in the service of his king and country, which caused that malady of the mind under which, at the moment of the deed done, he laboured. That in private life he was, when uncontaminated with the morbid sorrow that afflicted his reason, fond of his family, fond of his wife, delighted with his infant child, and in truth was all that a brave man was ever painted by the most flattering biographers: gallant in the field, and domestically affectionate at home: possessed of a nature that could melt at others' woes, yet brave the boldest dangers of a foreign foe, regardless of his own.

He then concluded by observing, that in case of a verdict of guilty, it would then remain with the royal mercy to interpose. But this, above all things, he deprecated. In a case of this kind, the royal mercy should not, ought not to interfere.—The prisoner must be judged by evidence, and by

law, and so he should leave it with the jury.

Major Ryan was the first witness called for the prisoner.

He said he was a captain in the 15th regiment of light dragoons in the year 1793, at which time that regiment went to the continent. That he knew the prisoner well; he was in every action the regiment was in, till he was dreadfully wounded. That at the battle of Druet he and the prisoner were both attacked by a large body of the enemy, and that they continued fighting until both were driven into a pond together, horses and all, and saw him no more till he found him at the hospital, at Croydon, in September 1796, where he exhibited manifest symptoms of derangement. That he was a chosen man, loyal, active, valiant and valuable.

Captain Magill was a captain in the 15th light dragoons, and served on the continent the whole time the regiment was there: knew the prisoner right well; he was often in battle with him, and particularly on the day he was wounded so severely as to be left for dead, he was his right hand man, he fought by his side, and in the action near Lisle, received a wound in the forehead with a thrust of a sword, his cheek almost separated from his face with a sabre, his arm from the shoulder bared to the wrist, a wound at the back of his neck, twice through the body, and the top of his head scalped; in this situation he never quitted his horse, though surrounded by French dragoons, till he [the witness] attempted to rescue him, but was wounded in two places, and the prisoner left for dead in a ditch by the side of the road. He never saw him after till September 1796, at Croydon barracks, in the hospital

hospital there; that when he went to see him he found him deranged, and that so furiously, that he snatched up a bayonet, and made a thrust at the witness, as if to stab him, but he seized his arm, and prevented him. He gave him the character of a most gallant and brave soldier, not to be surpassed in courage, or equalled in discipline, and that till the affair of Lisle, his mind was always correct, and his judgment cool, though courageous.

Mr. Cline was next called; he is a surgeon and anatomist. He described the effects of the wounds the prisoner received in a very minute manner, and was of opinion they were sufficient to produce not merely occasional but continual insanity. It was a common thing for deranged patients to appear sane, it was one of the tokens of loss of reason, when expressed as he perceived it in the prisoner, whom he visited yesterday for the purpose of ascertaining the point, and found himself justified in the sentiment he advanced. They often seem collected, till some exciting circumstance proves the instability of the intellect.

Doctor Creighton, a physician, also visited the prisoner, and on the topic of religion found his intellectual faculties gone.

Mr. Diddlerley is a surgeon of the 15th light dragoons, since July 1795. The prisoner was discharged from the regiment in 1796, when he joined it after an absence in France of several months: the cause of his discharge was insanity, in consequence of wounds received in service. He was of opinion he is insane still.

Captain Wilson, of the same regiment, said the prisoner had every qua-

lification of a soldier: and added, "if a man was to be selected for courage, dauntless bravery, and intrepid spirit, Hadfield was that man." The last time he saw him was at Croydon, bound down, mad, in a cart, in 1796.

David Hadfield, brother to the prisoner, stated, that from the time of his discharge from the regiment at Croydon, till the present day, he was afflicted with fits of insanity, and that every year it grew worse. He said he could not of his own knowledge speak of him as to the last few months, but from all he heard, he could say, that his disorder increased, and that those about him, his wife, and others, could ascertain its approach.

Mary Gower, sister to Hadfield, and who lived in the same house with him, gave a most circumstantial account of the state both of his body and mind. That warm weather affected the latter, as did the changes of the moon. She then shewed how he was affected, that a kind of religious mania possessed him, which she described in the terms he expressed himself, but so blasphemous that we cannot repeat them. She then gave a very accurate account of him, from Sunday, May 11th, until four o'clock of the evening of the day when he fired the pistol in the theatre, and that, during that particular period, he shewed evident signs of madness, insomuch, that on the Tuesday night preceding he made an attempt to murder his infant child, eight months old, and that when he went out she followed him at the instance of her sister, to watch him. That on his return home, each of these days, when she thought he was at work, he used to say he was to be God, and Mr. Truelock, a cobbler, with whom he was acquainted, was to be Satan, and that they were to

to possess a dwelling at White-conduit-house.

Catherine Harrison, George Harrison, husband of the last witness, and Elizabeth Roberts, the landlady of the house where the prisoner lodged, established all that the three last witnesses advanced.

Lord Kenyon then stopped the further progress of the cause, by saying, "Mr. Attorney, have you any witnesses to contradict these brought for the defence?—They state facts that bring conviction into my mind.—If we go nicely into the case the prisoner must be acquitted. I merely throw out this at present, to ascertain whether we must proceed, and that only can avail, if it can be established by you that this defence of insanity proceeds from management."

The Attorney General:—"My lord, I have no reason to think it a colour, these circumstances were unknown to me."

Lord Kenyon.—"Your conduct, sir, is proper, it was urgent to institute this enquiry."

Attorney General.—"Yes, my lord, and I therefore thought it was fit and necessary that I should wait the full extent of it."

Lord Kenyon.—"It was very necessary. This, however, is a case that requires, for the safety of the community, and for the safety of the individual, that the prisoner should not be set at large. It was with fear and trembling I stopped the cause, lest this man should enter again into society; and, gentlemen of the jury, as it appears this man was not under the guidance of reason when this act was committed, enormous and atrocious as

it is, he must be acquitted. He must be returned to his last place of confinement, till he is otherwise disposed of."

The jury then, at the instance of the court, brought in their verdict, "Not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the offence was committed."

The prisoner was then remanded, and conducted by Mr. Kirby, who attended him out of court. He walked very composedly through Westminster-hall, escorted by a prodigious crowd of constables and peace-officers, was put into a hackney coach, and conveyed to Newgate.

Hadfield, while on his trial, was dressed in a decent blue coat, lapelled, with yellow buttons, rather in the military cut; a yellow striped waistcoat, and black neck-handkerchief; his hair cropped pretty short. His looks would indicate him to be older than twenty-nine, as Mr. Erskine described him. In his person he is rather a smart, alert looking man, about five feet six inches. His eyes are blue, and his features small and regular.—His countenance is pale, and deeply interesting from the wounds inflicted on it. The skull is battered in over his left eye, and from the corner of it, straight across to the tip of his ear, on the same side, is another wound, above an inch in depth. Though thus disfigured his countenance is not unpleasing. He continued through the whole of his trial, except at the entrance of the Duke of York, perfectly tranquil and serene, had rather an air of melancholy, and seemed to regard the passing scene without interest. His acquittal produced no evident emotion either in the spectators or the prisoner.

The campaign in Italy opened by an important success on the side of the Austrians. On the 6th of April, general Melas attacked the several posts occupied by the French to the northward and westward of Savona and Vado, and drove them from the positions of Torre de la Buona, Monte Nattee, and several others; some of these posts were strongly entrenched, and one of them defended by three thousand men; but they were carried by the courage and conduct of the Austrian troops, who appear to have acquired much honour on this day. The enemy retired with precipitation on Vado and Savona, leaving their cannon and about three hundred prisoners, among whom is a chief de brigade, and several officers of distinction. In the night between the 6th and 7th, the troops evacuated Vado, having destroyed the stores and spiked the cannon, and retired by the sea towards Nice. Their number is supposed to have been between seven and eight hundred.

The Austrians took possession of the fort of Vado in the morning, and found 17 pieces of heavy artillery. General Melas immediately invested Savona.

It had been the intention of general Melas to move forward against Varagio on the 9th; but having learnt that the enemy, having received a reinforcement of three thousand men, intended to make a vigorous defence in this advantageous position, General Melas halted in consequence, and deferred the attack until the following day: the battle was bloody, a great number of men being killed on both sides; at length the perseverance of his imperial majesty's troops was successful; several officers and about 200

men were made prisoners: among the former were some belonging to the suite of general Massena, who had hastened in person to the scene of action, in the hope that his presence would inspire his troops with additional courage; he led them repeatedly to the charge; the enemy, flying in disorder, was pursued as far as Invrea. That part of them which took the road leading along the sea coast, suffered considerably by the fire of the squadron of his Britannic majesty. On another side, M. Le Comte de Hohenzollern attacked and carried the Bochetta on the 9th, making 200 prisoners, with 6 pieces of cannon.

In the night between the 7th and 8th, general Kaim surprized the enemy's posts at Mount Cenis, taking 200 prisoners, and 16 pieces of cannon, and established himself in that position.

Massena, having been beat a second time at Voltri on the 18th, was obliged to take refuge with the remainder of his army within the walls of Genoa; all the strong posts and forts without the city being in the hands of the combined powers, under the command of general Melas and admiral lord Keith.

On the 2d of May, the army of the Rhine marched from Donaueschingen, and arrived at Engen in the course of the afternoon, before the enemy had reached that place. Notwithstanding the great importance which was attached to the gaining the position of Stockach, yet it was not thought possible to proceed so far that day, without exposing to imminent danger the several corps of the archduke Ferdinand, (which covered the march on the side of Zollhaus) and those of generals Ginlay and Kienmayer, which had received orders to retire from Fribourg

An
 ACCURATE MAP
 of
 ITALY

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Friburg and Offenburg, and join the main army.

On the same day the enemy withdrew the army, which had till then occupied the north-east part of Switzerland, and was opposed to the Austrians on the side of the Grisons and the Voralberg, and brought the whole of it towards Constance and Schaffhausen in the course of the following night, leaving the eastern frontier of Switzerland entirely open.

On the 3d, in the morning, this force united to that which had passed the Rhine at Scaffhausen on the 1st, attacked and carried the Austrian position at Stockach, occupied by prince Joseph of Lorraine, with a force under his command quite inadequate to meet that which the enemy had brought against him. On this occasion the Austrians sustained a very considerable loss, both in men, cannon, and stores; though fortunately a part of the magazines, which had been formed at Stockach, had been carried away in the course of the two preceding days.

The prince having been obliged to fall back on Psullendorf and Moskirch, the left flank of general Kray's army was uncovered.

In this situation of things, and, before the archduke Ferdinand had effected his junction, general Kray was attacked at Engen, about two o'clock in the afternoon, by the main French army, commanded by general Moreau in person. This army had been reinforced by a detachment from the camp at Dijon, and consisted of five entire divisions. A separate force fell, at the same time, upon the archduke, and obliged him to fall back on Duttlingen.

The French attacked every where

with the utmost impetuosity, bringing up fresh columns in succession, and sacrificing immense numbers of men on every part of the Austrian line, where they had hoped to penetrate. They were, however, unable to make an impression on any one point, and, at nine in the evening, they gave up the attempt; at which time the Austrians remained masters of the whole position which they had occupied in the morning, and the archduke had joined the main army, after having defeated the corps opposed to him, and taken several prisoners and 3 pieces of cannon.

His royal highness, to whose personal exertions this success was chiefly owing, has, on this occasion, merited and gained the esteem and admiration of the whole army.

At this moment the spirit and confidence of the army was such, that general Kray would, in his turn, have attacked the enemy, but for the loss of Stockach, which rendered his retreat absolutely necessary. He remained, however, in the field of battle all night, and only began his march at day-break. The army arrived at Leiptingen at nine in the morning of the 4th, where it halted till three in the afternoon, and then marched forwards to Moskirch, where a junction was effected with prince Joseph of Lorraine, at nine in the evening. The archduke covered the march, in the course of which his royal highness was joined by general Ginlay, with the corps from Fribourg, and by the first division of the Bavarian subsidiary army from Baylingen. The whole of this march was made, and the junction with general Ginlay, prince Joseph of Lorraine, and the Bavarians, effected without any material interruption from the enemy.

In

In the afternoon of the 5th, the different corps of the enemy being concentrated in one great army, whilst general Kray had still between thirty and forty thousand men detached on different points, general Moreau attacked the Austrian position at Moskirch, with his whole force, but, owing to the steady bravery of the Austrian troops, and particularly to the decided superiority of their artillery, he was unable to make any material impression, and, at sun-set, each army retired to its respective quarters.

On the 6th the Austrians took a position behind the Danube, without any material opposition from the enemy, whose loss, in the battle of the 5th, appears to have been greater than was at first supposed. On the same day the junction was effected with lieutenant-general Kienmayer.

Few prisoners have been made on either side: but the Austrians were obliged to leave some of their wounded at Engen, for want of carriages to carry them away. No one corps of the Austrians has been broken or dispersed by the enemy, nor have they lost a single piece of cannon in the different actions between the main armies, though several fell into the hands of the enemy at Stockach. The archduke Ferdinand took three pieces from the enemy, at the time when his royal highness formed his junction with the commander in chief near Engen.

The army marched, in the course of the night of the 6th, to Langen Enslingen; the enemy sent only a detachment to observe the movement of the Austrians on the left of the Danube, and marched with the main body of his army in a direction which gave general Kray an apprehension for his communication with lieutenant-general

prince Reuss, in the Voralberg; to preserve which he hastened, by a forced march, re-crossing the Danube at Riedlingen to Biberach, which place he reached in the afternoon of the 8th. The army took a position behind the Riss. The enemy, however, still had the advance, and already occupied Waldsee. On the 9th, the Austrian advanced posts in front of the Riss were vigorously attacked and driven in. General Kray, wishing to avoid engaging in a general affair, fell back, at night, to Ochsenhausen. Every report of the enemy stated, that he was still marching by his right. On the morning of the 10th the army crossed the Iller, in two columns, at Illerdissen: and near that place the troops had scarcely reached their ground, when the enemy began a fresh attack on the left; at the same time a report was received, that a strong column was on its march to Kempten. Every thing announced, on the part of the enemy, the intention of an attack. General Kray, therefore, had determined to proceed to Ulm. The affair of this day determined in one of advanced posts.

General Kray having been attacked on the 11th, on his march from Memmingen to Ulm, repulsed the enemy, and drove them beyond Memmingen, where, in consequence of this success, he left a considerable corps under general Mertelde, who was charged to keep open the communication with prince Reuss in the Voralberg. The main army retired to Ulm, where it effected its junction with the second division of the Bavarian subsidiary army, and with general Stzarray.

On the 29th of April, General Ott communicated to vice admiral lord Keith his intention of making a general

neral attack on all sides of Genoa, and requested his co-operation, that the plan might be settled.

On the 30th, the attack began on the part of general Ott, by signal from St. Pierre d'Arena, on Quarto, St. Martino, and St. Christino, by general Gottesheim, who pressed the enemy up to the walls near the shore, under cover of the fire of the Phœnix, Mondovi, Entreprenante, Victoire tender, launches and boats of the squadron. The affair continued until night, when the Austrians retired, being unable to dislodge the enemy from the little fort of St. Martino, situated on a hill two miles from the sea. General Ott was most successful in seizing Dui Fratelli by escalade, and blocking up Diamonti: on the side of St. Martino the French durst not follow the Austrians, in consequence of the well directed fire of the squadron. It rained the whole day. Shells from the town fell amongst the ships. The French, however, on the same evening attacked and re-possest themselves of all their former posts. It is supposed they lost near 1500 men.

On the 2d of May, the enemy made a desperate sortie on lieutenant-general Ott's centre at Sestri. They kept advancing in column to the muzzles of the cannon repeatedly for an hour, and did not retire till they lost 1200 men, of whom 20 officers and 280 privates are prisoners.

On the 11th the French evacuated the Riviere of Genoa, and the county of Nice, under Souchet; and Nice, with its two castles, was occupied by the imperial troops, under the orders of general Knesevich.

Captain Salomon, of the regiment of Lattermann, who arrived at Vienna on the 26th of May, as courier,

brought an account, that general Count Melas had sent intelligence from Nizza, dated the 17th, that, according to the report of major-general Francis Count St. Julien, the enemy's general, Buget, who defended the citadel of Savona, finding himself under the necessity of capitulating, on the 15th, a capitulation had immediately been concluded.

Capitulation between the Imperial Royal General Count St. Julien, commander of the troops blockading Savona, and the French General of Brigade Buget, commander of the said citadel:

Article I. The French garrison shall march out of the citadel of Savona with all the honours of war, with arms and baggage, drums beating and colours flying, and shall march by the shortest way to France, without being made prisoners of war; they shall be escorted by the imperial royal troops to the first posts of the French, and during their march they shall be supplied with the necessary subsistence.

Answer. The French garrison is to march to-morrow afternoon, the 16th of May, at three o'clock, out of the citadel, with the usual honours of war, arms, baggage, drums beating and colours flying, but they shall lay down their arms upon the Glacis, and become prisoners of war; they will be conveyed to the interior of Italy, till the general in chief of the Imperial army in Italy takes other measures on this point.

Addition to Art. I. The officers of the garrison are to keep their swords or sabres as well as their horses and baggage; and the privates their knapsacks; all those who are not amongst the number of combatants shall have permission, the French to return to France,

France, and the Italians to their own country. The surgeons are excepted, and whoever else belong to the service of the sick, who are to remain to take care of the sick and wounded who may be unable to follow the garrison.

Art. II. The officers of the garrison shall be provided with the necessary means to convey their baggage and property with them.

Answer. Agreed.

Art. III. The sick and wounded shall be transported by sea, and those who cannot be removed shall remain in the hospitals of Savona, and shall be entitled to return to France after their recovery.

Answer. The sick and wounded shall be treated with every attention that humanity requires, but after their recovery they shall remain prisoners of war.

Art. IV. The troops of Liguria (Genoa) shall be at liberty to follow the garrison to France, or to return to their own country, without being molested in any way on that account.

Answer. Every one who belongs to the combatants of the garrison is included in the answer given to the first article.

Additional Article. The Austrian officers who might be prisoners of war in the citadel, are to be considered as exchanged as soon as the Imperial troops shall have taken possession of the place. Immediately after the capitulation is signed, the hostages shall be exchanged, and the gate of the castle shall be put in possession of the Imperial troops.

All plans and writings which have any relation to the place and its fortifications, as well as all cannon and am-

munition, are to be delivered faithfully to those who are sent on the part of the Imperialists for that purpose.

FRANZ, Count ST. JULIEN,
Imperial royal major general.
BUGET, French general.

Savona, May 15, 1800.

Additional Article. The garrison shall not be sent to Germany, but be allowed to stay in Italy, and shall be amongst the first offered to be exchanged.

Answer. The garrison of Savona shall only remain in Italy until a farther decision of the commander in chief on this head is received: concerning their early exchange I shall interest myself personally.

(Signed)

Count ST. JULIEN.

Much credit is due to the vigilance and activity of his Britannic majesty's officers, and those of the king of Naples, in reducing the above important fortress, whose boats had rowed guard during forty-one nights, with a perseverance highly creditable to them all, particularly captain Downman, of the Santa Dorotea, captain Settimoa, of the Neapolitan brig Strombolo, and lieutenant Jackson, acting captain of his Britannic majesty's sloop Camelion, to whose care the blockade of Savona had been more especially committed.

Savona is the second town, for grandeur and opulence, in the state of Genoa. Its strength consists in two castles, but principally in a citadel, of much importance, situated between the port and the city, upon an height, conveniently disposed to defend and protect both the one and the other.

The

The French army not receiving any succours at Genoa, either from France or Corsica; and not having any bread, but was served with a mixture, half bran, &c. and with an allowance of only three ounces of cocoa per day, they were obliged to eat many of their horses, and at length were under the necessity of surrendering to the Austrians and English on the 5th of June.

The following are the articles of negociation for the evacuation of Genoa by the French army, between vice-admiral lord Keith, commandant in chief of the English fleet, lieutenant general Ott, commandant of the blockade, and Massena, general in chief.

Art. I. The right wing of the French army, charged with the defence of Genoa, the general in chief, and his etat major, shall leave Genoa, with their arms and baggage, to rejoin the centre of the army.

Answer. The right wing of the French army, to the number of 8110 men, shall leave Genoa, and take the rout by land by way of Nice into France: the remainder shall be transported by sea to Antibes. Admiral Keith engages to furnish these troops with biscuit for their subsistence, upon the same footing as the English. On the other hand, all the Austrian prisoners made in the Riviere of Genoa, by the army of Massena, this year, shall be returned in a mass by way of compensation, those excepted who are exchanged down to the present time. In other respects the first article shall be executed entire.

Art. II. The artillery and ammunition of every kind, belonging to the right wing shall be transported by the English fleet to Antibes, or the Gulph of Jouan. Granted.

Art. III. The convalescents, and

those not able to march, shall be transported by sea to Antibes, and maintained by the English. Granted.

Art. IV. The French soldiers remaining in the hospitals of Genoa, shall be treated in the same manner as the Austrians, till they are fit to leave them; they shall then be transported according to Article III. Granted.

Art. V. The city and port of Genoa, shall be declared neutral, and the line determining its neutrality fixed by the contracting parties.

Answer. This article turning upon objects purely political, it is not in the power of the generals of the allied forces to give any assent whatever: notwithstanding, the undersigned are authorized to declare, that his majesty the Emperor is determined to grant to the Genoese inhabitants his august protection; and the city of Genoa may be assured, that all the provisional establishments which circumstances may require, shall have no other object but the public felicity and tranquillity.

Art. VI. The independence of the Ligurian people shall be respected: no power actually at war with the Ligurian republic shall be allowed to effect any change in its government. Answered as the article preceding.

Art. VII. Any Ligurian exercising, or having exercised any public function, shall not be molested for his political opinions.

Answer. No person shall be molested for his opinions, nor for taking part in the government previous to the present period.

Art. VIII. The French, Genoese, and Italians domiciliated, or having taken refuge in Genoa, shall be at liberty to retire with their property in money or merchandize, moveables or other effects by sea or land, as they may

may find it convenient. They shall receive passports for this purpose, which shall remain in force six months.—
Granted.

Art. IX. The inhabitants of Genoa shall be at liberty to communicate with the inhabitants of the two rivers, and continue their commerce without interruption. Granted, consistent with art. V.

Art. X. No armed peasants shall enter Genoa, as individuals, or in a mass. Granted.

Art. XI. The people of Genoa shall be supplied with provisions without delay. Granted.

Art. XII. The particulars of the evacuation, agreed to in the 1st. article, shall be regulated in the course of one day, between the chiefs of the *etat-major* of the respective armies. Granted.

Art. XIII. The Austrian general commanding at Genoa shall grant the necessary escorts for the safety of the embarkation of the effects belonging to the French army. Granted.

Art. XIV. A French commissary shall remain for the care of the sick and wounded, and to attend their departure; and another commissary of war nominated to verify and distribute subsistence to the French troops at Genoa, or upon their march. Granted.

Art. XV. Gen. Massena shall send an officer to gen. Buonaparte, in Piedmont, or elsewhere, to apprise him of the evacuation of Genoa;—this officer furnished with a passport and safe conduct. Granted.

Art. XVI. The officers of all ranks in gen. Massena's army, made prisoners since the commencement of hostilities, shall return to France upon their parole, and shall not serve till exchanged. Granted.

Additional Articles.

The port of the *Lauterne*, and the draw-bridge at the entry, shall be given up in charge of a detachment of Austrian troops, and two English ships of war, this day, June 5, at two in the afternoon.

Hostages shall be given by both parties, immediately after the signing of the convention.

The artillery, ammunition, plans, and other military effects belonging to the city of Genoa and its territory, shall be faithfully delivered up by the French commissaries to those of the allied armies.

Done by both parties upon the bridge of Cornegliano, June 5, 1800.

(Signed)

BARON D'OTT, Lieut. Gen.

KEITH, Vice-admiral.

Conformable to the copy.

MASSENA, General in Chief of the Army of Italy.

Genoa is about 10 miles in circumference, and built like an amphitheatre. The houses are five or six stories high and well built, and the palaces and public buildings are numerous. The harbour is large and good, and to preserve it, they have built a mole 560 paces in length, 13 in breadth, and 15 feet above the level of the water. It is populous, and one of the most commercial places in Italy. They have manufactures in velvet, plush, damask, and silk; and the banking business is carried on extensively. The ordinary revenue of this republic is 200,000*l.* a year. The government is purely aristocratic. There is a great council, consisting of 80 persons, chosen out of the old and new nobility, in whom the legislative authority resides, but the administration of affairs is vested in a senate, consisting of a doge, and 12 senators.

senators. The nobility are often engaged in trade, and generally keep two or three years' provision of corn, wine, and oil in their magazines, which they sell to the people in scarce times. The Genoese fleet, anciently celebrated for its victories over the Saracens, Pisanes, Venetians, Spaniards, and Turks, and a long time masters of Sardinia, Malta, Majorca, Minorca, Candia, Cyprus, the Crimea, and other places in the Archipelago, is now reduced to six galleys. Genoa was bombarded by the French in 1684, and taken by the Austrians in 1746; the oppression of these last, however, was such, that the inhabitants suddenly rose and expelled their conquerors, who again besieged the city the next year, but without effect.

No sooner had the Emperor determined to grant to the Genoese inhabitants his august protection, than the French, on the other hand, were charged to gain possession of Milan, to operate a junction with a division of general Moncey, to cut off the rear of the enemy at Brescia, Orsi-Novì, Marcana, Placentia; to seize their immense magazines, to cut off their communications, to carry their depots, their sick, and their parks of artillery. Such were the objects with which different parties had been charged, while our army (says general Berthier,) observed that of the Austrians, harassed them on the Po, and effected the passage of that river near Stradella. The activity of our movements began these operations, and the genius of Bonaparte knew how to improve their advantages.

"The enemy, beaten at Montebello, were about to be successively reinforced by the troops under the command of M. M. generals Elsnitz and Bellegarde.

I had on the other hand been informed that M. de Melas had assembled all his forces at Alessandria. It was of importance to anticipate his future movements, and every thing was prepared for that purpose.

"The enemy could either proceed to Genoa, and from thence penetrate into Tuscany, or pass the Po and the Tesino to reach Mantua, or make their way along the right bank of the Po, by giving battle to our army, or, lastly, shut themselves up in Turin.

"The division of Chabran and Lapoype received orders to guard the Po. The detachment left at Ivrea observed Oveo. The corps of general Moncey occupied Placentia, observed Bobbio, guarded the Tesino, and Sesia, and the Oglio, from the conflux of these rivers to the Po, and pushed reconnoitring parties towards Peschiera and Mantua. The Italian legion occupied Brescia. The rest of the army, with Bonaparte at their head, marched to meet the enemy.

"On the 13th of June, at day-break, the army directed its march towards Tortona and Castel Nuovo di Scrivia. The corps of general Victor, which formed the advanced guard, passed the Scrivia at Dora; that of general Lannes carried Castel Nuovo, where the enemy abandoned 1500 sick, among whom were 600 convalescents ready to join their army. The corps under the command of general Dessaix took post in front of Ponte-Curone. The same day the army marched towards San Juliano, which the advanced guard of the enemy had evacuated, in order to take post at Marengo. They were there attacked by the division of Gardanne, supported by the 24th light infantry, and were obliged to retreat

as far as their bridge over the Bormida, after losing two pieces of cannon and 180 prisoners.

The enemy refused battle in the plain situated between San Juliano and Marengo, where they could greatly avail themselves of their numerous cavalry. Every thing gave reason to presume that they would not attack us after having allowed us to become acquainted with their ground and their position, and that they had the design either to pass the Po and the Tesino, or to march towards Genoa and Bobbio. Measures were taken to oppose forces to their progress on the road from Alessandria and Genoa, and on the left bank of the Po, the passage of which they might attempt at Cassel or Valenza; a division of the corps of general Dessaix marched towards Rivalia, by turning Tortona. Flying bridges were established near Castel Nuovo, in order to pass the Po with rapidity, and by a flank movement join the corps of observation on the left bank of that river. But on the 14th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the division of Gardanne, which formed our advanced guard, was attacked. The enemy, by the developement of their forces, disclosed their design. The troops under the command of general Victor were immediately drawn up in battle order; the one part formed the centre, which occupied the village of Marengo; the other formed the left wing, which extended as far as the Bormida. The corps of general Lannes formed the right wing. The army formed in two lines, and its wings supported by a strong body of cavalry.

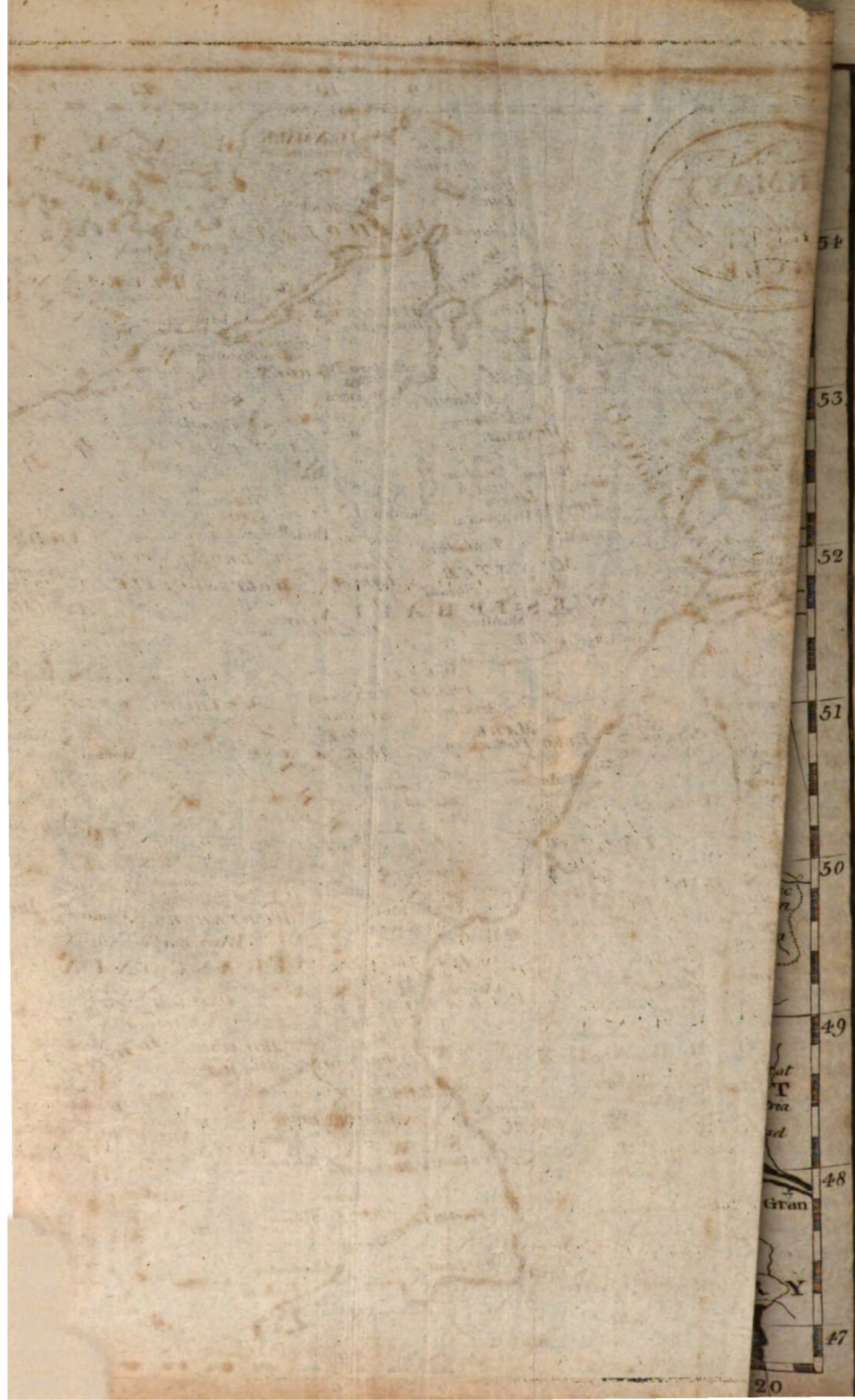
The enemy displayed themselves successively, and debouched in three columns: that of the right debouched by Figarolo, ascending the Bormida;

that of the centre, on Marengo, by the great road; lastly, that of the left on Castel Ceriolo. General Victor informed me, that he was attacked by all the enemy's forces. I immediately sent up to him the reserve of cavalry; and the corps of general Dessaix, whose division, which was marching towards Seravalle, I recalled.

The chief consul proceeded rapidly to the field of battle; arriving there, we found the action begun on every point; both sides fought with equal obstinacy; general Gardanne, for two hours, sustained the attack of the right and centre of the enemy, without losing an inch of ground, notwithstanding his inferiority in artillery. The brigade under the command of general Kellerman, consisting of the 2d and 10th regiments of cavalry, and the 28th dragoons, supported the left of general Victor; the 44th and 101st of the line maintained their reputation.

General Victor sent orders to the brigade of cavalry under general Duvigneau, but the latter had quitted without authority the command of his brigade, which retarded the execution of the movement; 200 men of that corps were ordered to ascend the Bormida, and observe the motions of the enemy's right. The rest received orders to support the left of the army, and conducted themselves with valour. General Gardanne, obliged to quit his position in the advanced guard, retreated gradually, and took an oblique position; the right was at the village of Marengo; the left on the banks of the Bormida. In this new position he took the column marching on Marengo in flank, and kept up a terrible fire. The ranks of this corps were swept down; it hesitated for a moment; already several parts began to give way, but it received

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ceived new reinforcements, and continued its march. General Victor stationed successively the 24th light, the 43d and 96th of the line, to defend the village of Marengo.

While these movements were going on, the brigade of general Kellerman supported the left; the 8th dragoons charged and routed a column of the enemy's cavalry, but it was charged in its turn by superior forces; it was supported by the 2d and 20th cavalry, who made more than 100 prisoners.

The left of the enemy advanced towards Castel Ceriolo. The centre always receiving new reinforcements, succeeded in carrying the village of Marengo, where they made prisoners 400 men, who shut themselves up in a house.

Some of our sharp shooters having expended their cartridges, quitted the field of battle in disorder; and the enemy, encouraged by this success, charged with additional impetuosity. General Lannes engaged them with success. Their line uncovered in the plain, resisted the artillery, and supported the charge of the enemy's cavalry; but they durst not pursue the enemy, without being turned on the left. General Lannes sent the 40th Demi-brigade and the 22d, to reinforce the division of Chambarlhac, which lost ground. The enemy frequently repulsed on the centre, always returned to the charge, and at length carried the village of Marengo. General Victor ordered the reserve to make a retrograde movement.

General Lannes then found himself attacked by forces infinitely superior; two lines of infantry marching against him with a formidable artillery. The division of Watrin and the 28th, were immovable. On the point of being

turned by a considerable body, they were supported by the brigade of dragoons, under the command of general Champeaux. The change of position of general Victor obliged gen. Lannes to follow the same course.

The chief consul informed that the reserve of general Dessaix was not yet ready, repaired in person to the division of Lannes, in order to slacken its retreat. Nevertheless the enemy advanced. He ordered the 72d demi-brigade to execute various movements; he even wished to take the enemy in flank, and charge at the head of this demi-brigade. But a cry arose from the ranks—"We cannot allow the chief consul to expose himself." An interesting struggle then arose among the soldiers, who forgetting their own danger, thought only of that of their chief. Nevertheless some time was gained. The retreat was at length effected under a fire of eighty pieces of cannon, which preceded the march of the Austrian columns, and poured out among our ranks grape-shot and bombshells. Nothing could shake our battalions. They drew close ranks, and manœuvred with the same precision as if they had been on the parade. The ranks swept away were immediately filled by other heroes.—Never was seen a more regular and imposing movement.

The enemy then thought themselves sure of victory. A numerous cavalry, supported by several squadrons of light artillery, attacked our right, and threatened to turn the army.

The grenadiers of the consular guard marched to support the right. They advanced and sustained three successive charges. At this moment arrived the division of Monnier, which made part of the reserve. I sent two demi-brigades

gades to the village of Castel Ceriolo, with orders to charge the battalions which supported the enemy's cavalry. These corps crossed the plain, and carried Castel Ceriolo, after repulsing a charge of cavalry, but our centre and our left continued their retrograde movement. They were soon obliged to evacuate this village, following the course of the army, and surrounded by the enemy's cavalry, which they kept in check.

The army arrived in the plain of San Juliano, where the reserve, under the command of general Dessaix, was formed in two lines, flanked on the right by 12 pieces of artillery, commanded by general Marmont, and supported on the left by the cavalry under the command of general Kellerman. The chief consul, exposed to the hottest fire, flew through the ranks to encourage the soldiers, and put a stop to the retrograde movement. It was now four in the afternoon.

General Dessaix, at the head of the brave 9th light, threw himself with impetuosity in the midst of the enemy's battalions, and charged them with the bayonet. The rest of the division of Boudet followed this movement on the right, all the army in two lines advanced on the *Pas de Charge*. The enemy confounded, made their artillery retreat; their infantry began to give way. General Dessaix was struck by a ball mortally. The death of this distinguished officer, whose loss will long be wept by France, inflamed the brave men he commanded with new ardour. Burning to avenge him, they precipitated themselves with fury on the first line of the enemy's infantry, which, after falling back on the second, continued to resist. Both sides prepared to charge with the bayonet. Our

battalions were stopped for a moment, but general Kellerman ordered a charge with 800 horse, who routed the enemy and made 6000 prisoners; among whom general Zach, chief of the staff, general St. Julien, and several other generals, and almost all the officers of the staff.

The enemy had still a third one of infantry, supported by the rest of the artillery and all the cavalry.

General Lannes, with the foot grenadiers of the consular guard, and the division of Boudet, marched against this line, and were supported in their charge by the artillery commanded by general Marmont. The cavalry, under the command of general Murat, the horse grenadiers, commanded by the chief of brigade Bessieres, charged the enemy's cavalry, compelled them to fall back with precipitation, and put them to route. Their rear-guard was cut in pieces.

The enemy in disorder had arrived at their brigade over the Bormida. The battle was continued an hour after it was dark. Night alone saved the wrecks of the Austrian army.

This battle cost the enemy 12 standards, 62 pieces of cannon, and 15,000 men, of whom 3,000 were killed, 5,000 wounded, and 7,000 taken prisoners. Seven of their generals, and more than 400 of their officers, were wounded.

We have to regret from 7 to 800 killed, 2000 wounded, and 1100 made prisoners. Among the wounded were generals of Brigade Rivaud, Champeau, Maller, and Malhom.

Never was battle more obstinate, never was victory disputed with more keenness. Austrians and French respectively admired the courage of their enemies. The two armies were engaged within musquet-shot for 14 hours.

The

The following is a copy of the convention between the generals in chief of the French and Imperial armies in Italy.

"1st. There shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities till an answer shall be received from the court of Vienna—2nd. The Imperial army shall occupy all the country between the Mincio, Fosca-Mestre, and the Po; which includes Mantua, Peschiera, Borgo-Forte, &c. Ferrara is the only fortress on the right bank which the Austrians are to retain.—3. The Imperial army shall in like manner hold Tuscany and Ancona.—4th. The French army shall occupy the countries comprehended between the Chiusa, the Oglio, and the Po.—5th. The country between the Chiusa and the Mincio shall not be occupied by either army.—The Imperial army may procure provisions from a part of the Duchy of Mantua. The French army may procure provisions from a part of the province of Brescia.—6th. The citadels of Tortona, Alessandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzhigitone, Arona, and Placentia, shall be delivered up to the French army between the 16th and 20th of June.—7th. The citadels of Coni, Seva, and Savona, and the city of Genoa, between the 20th and 23d. Fort Urbino shall be restored between the 23d and 25th.—8th. The artillery of the garrison shall be classed in the following manner: All the Austrian heavy artillery and foundaries shall appertain to the Austrian army. The ammunition shall be divided, one-half to be at the disposal of the commissary of ordnance of the Austrian army, and one-half, to that of the French.—9th. The garrisons shall march out with military honours, and shall repair, with their arms and baggage, by the shortest

road to Mantua.—10th. The Austrian army shall direct its march to Mantua in three columns by Placentia: The first between the 16th and 20th; the second between the 20th and 23d; and the third between the 23d and 25th.—11th. No individual shall be ill treated on account of having rendered any services to the Austrian army, or for his political opinions. The Austrian commander shall release every individual who shall have been arrested in the Cisalpine Republic for his political opinions.—12th. Whatever may be the answer of the court of Vienna, neither of the two armies can renew the attack without giving ten days notice.

"Done at Alessandria, the 16th of June, 1800.

(Signed)

"ALEX. BERTHIER.
"MELAS."

Previous to the battle of Marengo, the French army on the Rhine had encircled Ulm, in hopes of being able to carry it by storm; but it renounced that plan, as that city afforded to the Austrians one of the strongest and most advantageous posts in Germany.—"On the 2d of June, (says the French general Desolles) the army kept the same positions; on the 3d the enemy sent out strong reconnoitring parties on the left of the Iller, where a brisk cannonade took place. The commander in chief gave orders to lieutenant-general Lecourbe, who was extending his division on the right towards Landsberg and Augsburg, to support himself on the left, that he might approach the army. He collected the bulk of his corps on the Vertach, keeping Augsburg and Landsberg by detachments. On the 4th, the army kept the same positions. General Grenier, to whom the commander in chief had given a provisional

provisional commission of lieutenant-general, assumed the command of the corps under general St. Cyr, who on account of his ill health had been obliged to go and drink the mineral waters. General Richepanse took the command of the division on the left bank of the Iller. In the night between the 4th and 5th, the commander in chief having learnt by the report of spies, that the Austrians had collected a great force beyond the Danube, between Illerberg and Weissenholm, and that a division was passing the Iller, informed general Richepanse, and gave orders to lieutenant-general Lecourbe to take a position between the Guntz and the Ramlack, on the road to Babenhausen, in such a manner as to cover the debouches from Burgau and Augsburg, and consequently to occupy Mindelheim. The body of reserve, on its part took a position on the left, and general Delmas passed the Guntz at Babenhausen, and marched to support the corps of lieutenant-general Grenier, while the division of general Decaen should fall back from Oberhausen on Babenhausen. On the 5th our army was extended, as I have had the honour to inform you, from the Iller to the Lech; having a body on the left of the Iller, general Moreau, presuming, from the movements of the enemy, that they still wished to try the fate of the battle, gave orders to lieutenant-general Lecourbe to support his left and to unite between the Guntz and the Ramlack. Lieutenant-general Lecourbe was making this movement when general Kray attacked, with about 40,000 men, the corps on the left of the Iller, commanded by general Richepanse. This general obeyed perfectly the instructions of the commander in chief, which

were to decline engaging with his left, to support strongly his left, in order to defend the bridges, and to make but little resistance before superior forces until he should receive assistance. At the commencement of the attack his division was cut into three parts, merely by the march of the enemy, who advanced in five columns, and it acquired all the boldness of our troops to resist forces so disproportioned. While the centre of the division was thus engaged, the brigade on the right, commanded by general Sahue, was vigorously attacked in its positions, and had to defend it only the eighth demi-brigade, the first regiment of Chasseurs, and the seventh of cavalry. The commander in chief then ordered lieutenant-general Grenier, whose corps occupied a position from Illereheim to Oberkott, to proceed to his support.

“In consequence of these orders general Ney debouched by the bridge of Kilmentz, and forming a junction with the troops of general Sahue, repulsed the enemy as far as Dictenheim.—Scarcely had we got into this village, when a strong column debouched with eight pieces of cannon towards Kirberg, where two battalions of the 76th, making part of the brigade of general Ney, were not able to maintain themselves; he was anxiously desirous to repulse the enemy, who were opposite the bridge of Kilmentz; lieutenant-general Grenier ordered general Ney to make a counter-march, and to attack Kirkberg. This general marched with the brigade of general Bonnet, and displayed that activity by which he is distinguished. A battalion of the 48th, which formed the head of the column, mounted the plateau with fixed bayonets, and answered only with one discharge to the violent fire of musquetry and

and cannon made by the enemy. This impetuous attack, supported by the 8th regiment of chasseurs and the 54th demi-brigade, defeated the enemy, who confined in a route scarcely opened, in the midst of a wood, left in that point in our hands 1200 prisoners, their artillery and caissons. General Richepanse, who had always defended with obstinacy the positions of Guttzell and Beuren, with two battalions of the 7th, one of the 48th, the 5th hussars, the 10th cavalry, and part of the 13th dragoons, then resumed the offensive. He charged the Austrians, and, on his side, took about 7 or 800 prisoners, among whom were lieutenant-general Count de Sporck, who was taken by some hussars at the distance of thirty paces from his column. The result of this day, in which two divisions alone of the French army fought and repulsed the whole Austrian army, was about 2000 prisoners, and eight pieces of cannon, with their caissons and equipage. The enemy during the night effected their retreat across the Danube, with such precipitation, that they cut down several of the bridges established on that river.

"After the battle of the 5th (continues Desolles) when general Kray failed in his attack on our left, the commander in chief determined to cause general Lecourbe to march again towards the Lech. This general began his march on the 11th, and took a position on the Westrach, where he learned that the enemy had cut down all the bridges on the Lech, and that on account of the height of the water, it was no longer possible to cross that river by fording it. He, however, marched on the 11th towards Kaufringen, where he found the enemy in a position, as if they meant to defend

the passage with their infantry and artillery. Our soldiers threw themselves into the river, crossed it by swimming, and the enemy were defeated. The bridge was soon after re-established. The passage between Zolhaus and Lechausen was also forced: two pieces of cannon were employed in firing grape shot. Of the wreck of the bridge there remained only one beam on the piers: it was sufficient for the carabinieri of the 10th light infantry to force a passage to repulse the enemy, and to take from them two pieces of cannon; some prisoners remained in our hands, among whom are a captain and 20 hussars of Granitz. I shall send you the names of the intrepid carabinieri, and of a trumpeter of the light artillery, who having passed the fourth, mounted on horseback the pieces taken, and pursued the enemy, sounding the charge.

"On the 11th, general Molitor, who commanded the flanks of general Lecourbe's right, learned that the prince of Reuss, who covered the debouches of the Tyrol, had assembled the Immenstadt and Nesselvanger nine battalions, and that he proposed marching to Kempten.

"On the 12th, general Molitor marched with 200 infantry and 150 hussars, and proceeded to Nesselvanger, where he met a battalion of the 60th regiment of Kaunitz, several squadrons of Waldec, and the hussars of Gruntz. He did not hesitate to attack with his feeble detachment the first line of that corps posted behind the Wertach, whom he put to flight, bringing back 150 prisoners, among whom were three officers, one of them the son of general Tollei. The commander in chief the same day caused to advance the flankers of the left, commanded

commanded by general Richepanse: the right wing commanded by lieutenant-general Grenier, and the corps of reserve. This movement was connected with the operations of lieutenant-general Lecourbe. General Richepanse forced the enemy in every point, who made little resistance but in the village of Burgrieden, defended by prince Ferdinand. The village was several times taken and retaken, but remained in the hands of our troops about seven in the evening. The general then caused his division to take a position on the right at Rikelswer, extending by Burgrieden and Lauffen, as far as Stuftlaugen. The corps of lieutenant-general Grenier had put itself in motion at ten in the evening on the right bank of the Iller, to execute orders it had received to quit its positions of Illerchicheim and Oberott, in order to advance towards Walingen, Weissenhorn, and Ravensburg. The division of general Baraguay d'Hilliers debouched in two columns; that on the right by Bottlishausen and Belingberg, to Iller-Berg; and that on the left by the valley of the Iller, towards Illersheim, Woeringen, and Wullenstadt. The latter column, having to manœuvre in a pretty extensive plain, was supported by a reserve under the command of general Fauconet. The enemy, consisting of five battalions, ten squadrons, and six pieces of cannon, were every where repulsed with the loss of 200 men killed and wounded, and 150 prisoners. The division of general Ney advanced from Ostberg to Babenhausen. This division found the enemy above Gunnershauffen. General Ney formed his columns of attack, and the route of the Austrians was complete as far as Weissenhorn. The 8th regiment of chasseurs greatly dis-

tinguished themselves on this occasion: they cut down the enemy's cavalry with the utmost vigour.

"The village of Stellen, defended by an Austrian battalion, artillery and some squadrons of cavalry, was carried by the brigade of general Bonnet, in concert with a battalion of the 15th of the line, of the division of Baraguay, who were marching towards the same point. We took from the enemy in this attack at Ganerzhausen, about 250 prisoners. The division of Legrand took a position at Ravensburg, and found on its march only a few posts to drive back.

"The division of general Leclerc, who the evening before had taken from the enemy 60 horsemen during one reconnoitring excursion, advanced without opposition to Brethenthal. The division of Decaen took up a position at Crumbach; it sustained no other combat than a brisk fire of artillery and some charges of infantry; the result of which was the capture of about twenty prisoners. General Molitor bestows great praise on the conduct of citizen Very, who commands the 7th hussars. This officer has distinguished himself on all occasions since the passage of the Rhine. The result of this affair is about 5 or 600 prisoners. It cost the enemy 400 wounded.

The French general Moreau, writing to the minister at war, says, "Observing that the Austrian army held by its camp at Ulm, which enabled it to debouche by the two branches of the Danube, and of course prevent us from making any progress of any consequence in Germany, not being willing to give us battle at Blauberan, and fearing the enemy would avail himself of my movements to make an attack upon

upon Mimmengen, and open a communication with Tyrol, and detach a corps to Italy, which would have embarrassed you considerably, I determined upon ordering general Lecourbe to manœuvre upon the Lech, hoping to oblige general Kray to come and cover Bavaria, instead of which, he manœuvred upon our rear, and the battle which he lost upon the 12th compelled him to repass the Danube.

“I then resolved to pass the Danube, below Ulm, and by that means separate the enemy from his magazines at Donawert and Ratisbon, to force him to a battle, or to leave the place. This determination was dangerous and difficult: we had neither bridges nor boats; the enemy had destroyed all their bridges, and sunk the boats.

“I had reinforced general Lecourbe with five battalions, and five regiments of cavalry, and he was charged to seize on the bridges over the Danube, between Dillingen and Donawert.

“This movement was executed by this general, with a boldness meriting the greatest eulogium.—After making sure of the posts of Landberg and Augsburg, and leaving a sufficient number of troops to secure his rear against Prince Reuso, stationed in the Tyrol, and whom the generals Molitor and Nansoute had beaten every time he offered to debouche, general Lecourbe approached Dillengen, Blenheim, and Hochstadt.

“The corps of general Grenier I had posted with their right to the Danube and Gunsbourg, and their left at Kisindorf. General Richepanse posted upon the two shores of the Iller, covered the road from Ulm to Memmingen, and kept open our communication with Helvetia, though much annoyed by the enemy's parties. The three divisions

of reserve under my orders were between Kamlac and Mindel, appointed to support the attack made by general Lecourbe in case he succeeded, or the attack of general Grenier upon Gunsbourg, in case the first should fail.

“Such was the situation of the army on the 18th.—After several attempts they forced the enemy to fall back upon Ulm.—General Lecourbe made several feint attacks this day upon the bridge of Dillengen; but in consequence of the reports brought him by his reconnoitring parties, he determined to make serious attacks next day upon the bridges of Grensheim, Blenheim, and Hochstadt.

“Eighty-four naked swimmers, armed only with their fusils and cartouch boxes, which they towed after them in very small boats, seized upon the villages of Grensheim and Blenheim, and took several pieces from the Austrians, afterwards served by our gunners that passed the river upon ladders, from the broken extremity of the bridge.

“Here both our parties maintained themselves with extraordinary courage, while the sappers and pontonniers, were at work under the enemy's fire, in repairing the other bridges, over which the reinforcements were to pass, to oppose the reinforcements the enemy were pouring upon every point where the object of our attack was evident; the 94th demi-brigade, passed next in order to the swimmers, and courageously kept possession of the villages of Grensheim, Blenheim, Langernau, and Schavingen, where general Marigni was slightly wounded.—This half brigade, however, found much difficulty to support themselves in spite of their utmost exertions, till a vigorous charge was made in their favour by citizen

Grimblot, with the 1st regiment of cavalry; and being joined by a platoon of the 8th hussars, belonging to general Lecourbe's escort, they overthrew a body of the enemy's cavalry, three times their number, took 6 pieces of cannon, 250 horses, and several standards. Four pieces of artillery, sent as a reserve, were also taken. Almost all the enemy's corps, from Donawert, were destroyed.—General Laval's brigade went in pursuit; still a corps from Hochstadt and Dillingen made a stand, till repeated charges were made by the carabiniers, the curassiers, and hussars, who also made about 2000 prisoners, some cannon, and standards.

“The enemy's forces now began to augment considerably—troops arrived from Ulm, but the bridges of Dillingen and Lavingen being quite repaired, it admitted the divisions of Grandjean and Decean to join with their cavalry in uniting in the last charge upon the enemy, with about 4000 horse; the Imperialists being defeated and driven beyond the Drentz, we made ourselves masters of the post of Gundelfingen.—The 6th chasseurs, 13th cavalry, 4th hussars, and 11th chasseurs, distinguished themselves in this affair.—The rest of the divisions and that of Le Clerc, passed rapidly the Danube, and immediately formed in such a manner as to repulse the efforts we expected the enemy would make the next day.—General Grenier was equally well prepared to pass the Danube, at Gunzburg; but the enemy, who had previously cut the arches of the bridge, substituting pitch, straw, and other combustibles, set fire to the same as soon as they saw the swimmers throw themselves into the water.—Some of the latter had the temerity to go and attempt to quench the flames,

under the fire of the enemy's cannon, but this was impossible. On the following day, general Grenier's division approached Lavingen, and general Richepanse prepared to invest Ulm, as soon as the enemy should have abandoned that place, leaving only a small garrison.

“These battles have been fought upon the too famous theatre of Hochstadt or Blenheim.

“The loss of the enemy, without including the killed and wounded, was about 5000 prisoners, 20 pieces of cannon, and five standards. The next day, the 6th regiment of chasseurs took a convoy of 300 carriages loaded with grain.”

General Moreau, in a second letter to the minister at war, writes that “the enemy wished to prevent us from debouching by the Rhine, and had united his army at Neubourg. As in his retreat he had gained a march on us, and we had three defiles to pass—Vernitz, the Danube, and the Lech, where the repairing of the bridge required nearly twelve hours, the general movement was retarded: the corps, however, of general Lecourbe was able to pass on the evening of the 27th. On the 28th he advanced into Bavaria; the division of general Gudin to Poetmest; and that of general Montrichard to Neubourg.

“The latter found at Oberhausen a considerable body of the enemy commanded by general Kray in person, and began an obstinate combat. General Lecourbe hastened thither at the moment when our troops were forced to yield to triple forces, and maintained the combat till the arrival of the brigade of general Grandjean, who passed the Lech, and advanced, with great rapidity, to support the division of Montrichard,

Montrichard, who was still maintaining himself by his great valour.

"A battalion of the 14th light, two of the 46th of the line, and two of the 57th, attacked the enemy with an intrepidity of which there have been few instances. The enemy was defeated notwithstanding his great forces, and during the night effected his retreat to Ingolstadt, along both banks of the Danube, after burning the bridge of Neubourg.—The brave chief of the 36th, Forti, and the first grenadier of the republic, Latour d'Auvergne, who combated in the ranks of the first company of that corps, were killed, as well as two other captains. All the troops performed prodigies.—The 84th, the 37th, the 109th, and a battalion of the 10th light, forming the division of Montrichard, withstood the effort of almost the whole Austrian army, till the arrival of reinforcements. The Austrian general said at Neubourg, when they retired, "This army is invincible: the French never fought so well."

The unparalleled victories of the French over the Austrian arms, were such as terminated in a convention for an armistice between the two powers, which was signed on the 15th of July, of which the following is a copy.

Victor F. Lahorie, general of brigade in the army of the Rhine, and Count de Dietrichtein, major-general in the Imperial army in Germany, equally invested with full powers by the commanders in chief of their respective armies, to sign conventions relative to an armistice between them, have agreed as follows:

I. There shall be an armistice and suspension of hostilities, between his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and his allies in the German Empire, in Ger-

many, Switzerland, Tyrol, and the Grisons, and the Army of the Republic in those countries;—the renewal of hostilities is to be preceded by twelve days notice, from the hour when the ratification shall arrive at the headquarters of the opposite army.

II. The French army shall occupy all the country comprised within a line of demarkation, proceeding from the right bank of the Rhine to Balzers, along the territory of the Grisons to the source of the Ill, from whence it is to include all the valley up to the source of the Lech, and following the rock of Arlberg, descend to Renti by the left bank of the Lech, so that the right shore in those points only where the road passes from one bank to the other, is to leave the Austrians in possession of the defiles, then leading to the right bank of the Lech, includes Renti, passes the Seepach to Breetenwang, follows the northern bank of the Lake which supplies Seepach, and remounts the left of the Enthal to the source of the Ammer, and then re-descends upon the frontiers of the Count de Werdenfels, near Loissack, upon the left shore of which it again extends to Cocksee, which it continues to traverse as far as Walkensee, where it again passes from the lake of this name, along the north shore from Jacknay to its confluence with the Iser, which it passes by the way of Weisach to Retten, turns the Tegensee, traverses the Manqualdt to Gemendt, the left shore of which it follows to Fallay, where it takes the direction from Oblans, passes to Munster, Graiss, Glan, Zenenberg, Ostrendorff, Mosach, Alxing Telgling, Koffen, Graffing, Effing, Ebersberg, Malskirch, Hohenlenden, Kramacher, Watting, Teting, Haidberg; from thence

to Ising Penzing Sieplenbach, and following the Isen to Fustern, goes from thence to Landorf, and towards the source of the Wills, the left bank of which it follows to Vilsbibourg, where it passes the river, taking the route of Binabibourg, from thence by Aina to Burnaich, where it passes on to Semenhäusen, as far as the source of the Kelpach, when it descends the left shore down to its confluence with the Wills, and the left of the Wills to its fall into the Danube, the right bank of which it runs up again as far as Kelsheim, where it passes to extend along the right bank from Athmuth to Pappenheim, where it takes the route of Weissembourg, as far as Reidnitz: from whence it follows the left shore to its confluence in the Mein, which it also follows upon its left bank to its embouchment.

The line of demarkation upon the right of the Mein, between this river and Dusseldorf, cannot extend beyond Mentz, or be brought nearer to this place than the Nidda; but in case the French troops should have made movements in this part, they shall return them, or repossess the positions which they occupy this day, July 15th, 1800.

III. The Imperial army shall occupy the Upper and Lower Engadine, that is to say, that part of the Grisons the waters of which empty themselves into the Inn, and the valley of St. Marie, the waters of which flow into the Adige.

The line of demarkation for the French army shall pass the Babzers to the Lake of Como, by way of Coire, Tüsis, Lesplagen, and Chiavera.—The fortress of Luciensteg is comprised within this line.

That part of the Grison territory, between the line and the Engradine,

shall be evacuated, and remain neuter between both armies.—This country shall also retain its present form of government.

IV. The places within the line of demarkation still occupied by the Imperial troops, shall remain in every respect in the same condition, which shall be verified by delegates, nominated for this purpose by the commandants in chief of the two armies.—Nothing shall be added to their means of defence; nor shall there be any restraint upon their commerce in the navigation of the rivers, and the communications which pass between their governors, which shall be limited to two thousand toises. The provisioning of these places cannot be repeated above once in ten days, and in proportion to the regular consumption, nor shall these provisions be taken out of the districts occupied by the French armies, which on their side shall oppose no obstacles to their arrival or transport.

V. The general in chief of the Imperial army, may send an officer into each of these places with instructions relative to the conduct they are to observe in respect to the article above mentioned.

VI. There shall be no bridges upon the two rivers which separate the armies, except when they are traversed for demarkation, and then only in the rear of that line, with this reserve, that some particular arrangements being made, it may then be deemed necessary for the reciprocal convenience of both armies, or for commerce, when these objects shall be regulated by the generals in chief.

VII. The navigable rivers between the armies, as also the causeways on the banks, shall be free to both armies for

for mutual accommodation during the armistice.

VIII. The territory of the Empire, and the estates of his Imperial majesty comprised within the line of demarkation, is put under the safeguard of their loyalty for the preservation of the property, public and private.—The inhabitants shall not be molested on account of their political opinions, nor for any active part they may have taken during the war.

IX. This convention shall be sent with dispatch to the commandants of all the troops of both armies, in order that hostilities shall not only be discontinued, but that the distances of position may be defined without delay.

X. There shall be no communication between the advanced posts of the two armies.

Done by duplicate at Lansdorff, July 15th, 1800.

(Signed)

V. F. LAHORE.

COUNT DIETRICHTEIN.

L. S. DESOLLES.

Soon after the signing of the above convention, count St. Julien appeared at Paris, to treat in the name of the Emperor, with the French republic, on the means of a peace, of which the following are the preliminary articles :

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his majesty the Emperor and king and the French republic.

Art. II. Until the conclusion of a definitive treaty, the armies, both in Italy and Germany, shall respectively remain in the position in which they are, without extending their positions more to the south of Italy. On his side, his Imperial majesty engages to concentrate all the forces he may have in the states of the Pope, in the fortress

of Ancona, to put an end to the extraordinary levy which is making in Tuscany, and to prevent all debarkation of the enemies of the French republic at Leghorn, or any other point of the coasts.

Art. III. The treaty of Campo Formio shall be taken as the basis of the definitive pacification, excepting, however, the changes become necessary.

Art. IV. His Imperial majesty does not oppose the French republic keeping the limits of the Rhine, such as they were agreed upon at Rastadt, i. e. the left bank of the Rhine from the spot where the Rhine leaves the territory of Switzerland, to the point where it enters the territory of the Batavian republic, and engages moreover to cede to the French republic, the sovereignty and property of Frickthal, and all that belongs to the house of Austria between Zurich and Basle.

Art. V. The French republic is not understood to keep Cassel, Kehl, Ehrenbreitstein and Dusseldorff. These places shall be razed, on condition that there shall not be raised, on the right bank of the Rhine, and for the distance of three miles, any fortifications, either in stone-work, or in earth.

Art. VI. The indemnities which his Imperial majesty the emperor and king is to have in Germany, in virtue of the secret articles of the treaty of Campo Formio, shall be taken in Italy; and therefore it shall be reserved until the definitive Treaty, to agree on the position and the quota of the said indemnities; nevertheless it shall be established as the basis that his Imperial majesty the emperor and king shall possess, besides the country, which had been granted to him in Italy by the treaty of Campo Formio, an equivalent

to the possession of the archbishoprick of Salzbourg, the river of the Inn and the Sabra, and the Tyrol, comprising the town of Wasserbourg, on the left bank of the Inn, within the circuit of 3000 toises, and the Frickthal, which he cedes to the French republic.

VII. The ratifications of the present preliminary articles shall be exchanged at Vienna before the 15th of August.

VIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the negotiations for a definitive peace shall continue, both sides shall agree upon a place for negociation; the plenipotentiaries shall be there in twenty days at the latest after the exchange.

IX. His majesty the emperor and king, and the first consul of the French republic, reciprocally engage on their word of honour to keep the present articles secret till ratified.

X The powers of M. de St. Julien being contained in a letter from the emperor to the first consul, the full powers invested with the usual formalities shall be exchanged with the ratification of the present preliminaries, which shall not bind the respective governments, till after the ratification.

We the undersigned have agreed upon and signed the present preliminaries at Paris, this 28th day of July, 1800.

(Signed)

COMTE DE ST. JULIEN.

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

The above treaty the Emperor refused to ratify, but on the intimation that hostilities were to be resumed, proposed to open another negociation, to which the French consented; but suspecting that the court of Vienna only wished time to repair their losses, demanded the possession of some places of

surety which might serve as a guarantee of their good faith. In consequence of which a convention, relative to a prolongation of the suspension of arms, was determined as follows:

I. His majesty the emperor and king, upon the request of the first consul of the French republic, and with a view of giving a proof of his desire to put a stop to the calamities of war, consents that the places of Philipshourg, Ulm, and the forts belonging thereto, as well as Ingolstadt, which are comprised within the line of demarkation fixed by the convention of July 15, 1800, shall be given up to the disposal of the French army, as the guarantee of his intentions.

II. The garrisons in these places shall march out without obstruction, with all their effects, and join the Imperial army in Germany.

III. The evacuation of these places, viz. as far as relates to the garrison, or ammunition of all kinds, must take place within ten days at farthest. For this purpose they shall be furnished by the French army with every thing in their power necessary to facilitate the means of transport of all kinds, at the expence of the emperor. As to the occupation of these places by the French, one of the gates upon the great road shall be delivered up to their disposal in the course of five days; the choice of which shall be determined by delegates, who shall be immediately dispatched to take cognizance of the situation of these places.

IV. The magazines of provisions, and the military chests shall be equally evacuated; the same shall be done with the artillery, that of the empire excepted, an inventory of which shall be taken and certified by delegates nominated for that purpose.

V. A par-

V. A particular convention shall determine without delay upon the means of transporting and evacuating these places, as well as the subsistences, together with the disposal of the sick, who cannot be removed with the garrisons.

VI. By the means of these dispositions there shall be a prolongation of the armistice and a suspension of hostilities between the army of his Imperial majesty and his allies, and the army of the French republic of the Rhine for a term of 45 days, to commence from to-morrow, including within the same period 15 days, for the advertisement of a recommencement of hostilities, should there be any necessity for the same.

VII. The general in chief of the army of the Rhine shall engage to cause an immediate cessation of hostilities on the part of the French republic, in Italy, in case they should have already commenced.

VIII. The line of demarkation fixed by the convention of July 15th, is to be preserved in all its details, under the modification comprised in the articles I. II. III. IV. V. as above mentioned, and according to those that follow.

IX. The French army of the Rhine shall recede, and take a station upon the two banks of the Iser, and the Imperial army of Germany upon the two shores of the Inn, each of them keeping a distance from each other of 3000 toises, either from those rivers, or the places in their course. A chain of advanced posts shall alone be stationed upon the line of demarkation determined by the convention of July 15.

X. The articles of the above convention shall be executed in every particu-

lar which shall not be found contrary to the present instrument.

The eighth article of that convention is not only applicable to the inhabitants of the places here mentioned in every particular; but the general in chief is at the same time requested to take into his consideration the situation in which these inhabitants have been placed by the calamities of war.

XI. The present convention shall be dispatched with all possible speed by couriers to all the commandants of the different corps of the respective armies both in Germany and Italy, to the end that hostilities shall not only be and remain suspended, but that the dispositions relative to the distances to be observed by the armies, shall be immediately put in execution, and completed by the term, absolutely necessary in this particular.

XII. Delegates shall be nominated by the generals in chief of the two armies for the execution of those articles of the present convention which may require such agency.

Done by duplicate at Hohenlinden,
Sept. 20, 1800.

(Signed)

COUNT DE LEHBRACH.

LAUER, General of Artillery, and
VICTOR F. LAHORIE.

Conformable to copy.

The General in Chief MOREAU.

About this time a proposal was made for a naval armistice, by which it appears, that the desire of the British government to treat conjointly with its Imperial ally, having been communicated to the French government, through the medium of the court of Vienna, the consulate authorized their agent in this country, M. Otto, to demand upon the subject some further explanations

explanations from his majesty's ministers, proposing at the same time a general armistice between the fleets and armies of the two states, in order that while England took a share in the negotiation, France should not find herself under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a continuation of hostilities with Great Britain; and also, that with respect to the places besieged and blockaded, by no means analogous to those which had taken place in Germany, relative to Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt, should be adopted.

These preliminary conditions the enemy conceived themselves entitled to, upon the principle that the naval armistice would be to them a pledge of the zeal which would be employed by England in promoting the re-establishment of peace, in the same manner as the continental armistice was a pledge to the British government of the sincerity of the efforts of France.

Of the projet delivered in by M. Otto on this subject, the following is an exact copy;

Translation.—Projet.

1. There shall be a suspension of hostilities between the fleets and armies of the French republic and those of Great Britain.

2. The ships of war and merchant vessels of each nation shall enjoy a free navigation without being subject to any search, and shall observe the usage established previous to the war.

3. All vessels of either nation, captured after the of Fructidor, shall be restored.

4. The places of Malta, Alexandria, Belleisle, shall be assimilated to the places of Ulm, Philipsburg, and of Ingolstadt: that is to say, all neutral or French vessels shall have permission

freely to enter them, in order to furnish them with provisions.

5. The squadrons which blockade Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, shall return into their own harbours, or at least shall keep out of sight of the coast.

6. Three English officers shall be dispatched, one directly to the admiral commanding in the Mediterranean, another to the commander of the squadron before Malta, the third to the commander of the blockade of Alexandria, to notify to them the present armistice, and to convey to them orders to conform themselves thereunto. The said officers shall pass through France, in order the more expeditiously to arrive at their destination.

7. His Catholic majesty and the Batavian republic are included in the present armistice.

These proposals lord Grenville very properly considered as affording but little appearance of a conciliatory disposition on the part of the French government, observing, at the same time, "that if it were really practicable at the present moment to restore permanent tranquillity to Europe, that object must be effected by very different means than those of such a controversy as the *projet* in question was calculated to produce."

The discussion of the subject, however, did not terminate here. His majesty's ministers resolved to make considerable concessions on the occasion, in order to obtain the pacific object they seem most seriously to have had in view. A *counter projet* was presented by them, of which the following is a copy:—

Counter Projet.

It having been agreed that negotiations for a general peace shall be immediately

mediately set on foot between the emperor of Germany, his Britannic majesty, and the French republic, and an armistice having already been concluded between the forces of his Imperial majesty and those of the French republic, it is agreed that an armistice shall also take place between the forces of his Britannic majesty and those of the French republic, on the terms and in the manner following: That is to say—

Art. I. All hostilities, both by sea and land, between the forces of the two contracting parties, shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after fourteen days notice given of the determination of the armistice. This notice, in so far as relates to the parts of Europe north of Cape St. Vincent, must be given by one of the two governments to the other, and is to be reckoned from the day in which the same shall be received by the government to whom it is given. In the Mediterranean, or other parts of the world, the notice must be given by the respective commanding officers. But in case of the renewal of hostilities between Austria and France, the armistice between Great Britain and France is likewise to be considered as terminated, as soon as such renewal of hostilities shall be known to the officer commanding the British forces; except only in so far as relates to prizes of merchant vessels, which shall be regulated by the third article of this convention.

2. Orders shall immediately be sent by the two governments to their officers in the different parts of the world, to conform themselves to this agreement; sea-passes shall be given to the ships which are to carry these orders; and his Britannic majesty's officers to

be sent for that purpose through France shall be furnished with the necessary passports and facilities to expedite their journey.

3. All prizes made in any part of the world during the continuance and operation of the armistice, by any officers having actually received due notice of this agreement, shall be restored; and generally, whether such notice shall have been received or not, all prizes made in the Channel, or in the North Seas, after twelve days (to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of this convention) shall be restored; and the same periods shall be allowed in this respect to the other parts of the world, as were stipulated by the 22d article of the preliminaries of the last peace.

4. Malta, and the maritime towns and ports of Egypt, shall be placed on the same footing as those places which, though comprised within the demarcation of the French army in Germany, are occupied by the Austrian troops; consequently, nothing shall be admitted by sea which can give additional means of defence; and provisions only for fourteen days at a time, in proportion to the consumption, as it shall be ascertained by commissaries to be named for that purpose, who shall have power to establish the necessary regulations for giving effect to this stipulation, conformably to the principles of the 4th article of the convention concluded between the Austrian and French generals in Germany.

5. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and any other of the ports of France by his majesty's fleets, shall be discontinued; and all British ships shall be instructed not to interrupt or obstruct the trade or navigation of any ships sailing to or from the coasts of France,

except in the article of naval or military stores, which are not to be brought thither by sea during the present armistice. None of the ships of war now stationed in the said ports respectively shall, before the renewal of hostilities, be removed to any other station.

6. The allies of the two parties shall severally be at liberty to accede to this armistice, if they so think fit: provided that they also engage to observe a like armistice, on conditions similar to those here specified, towards such of the allies on the other side as shall also accede to it.

The periods or terms to be fixed for the commencement of the armistice in the different quarters of the world, as with respect to each of the said allies, are to be regulated in conformity to the stipulations contained in the third article of this convention, as between Great Britain and France; and the said periods or terms are to be reckoned from the day on which the accession of such power to the armistice shall have been duly notified by such power to the party with whom it is at war. Such notification, duly authenticated by the government on whose part it is made, may either be transmitted directly by couriers or flags of truce, or through the channel of the two contracting parties, to each other reciprocally. The naval ports and arsenals of the allies of France are, during such armistice, to be placed on the same footing with those of France; and the notices which are to precede the renewal of hostilities, as well as all other matters relating to such armistice, are to be regulated according to the terms of such convention.

7. This convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged

within the term of ten days, or sooner, if the same be practicable.

To these liberal propositions, the French were not disposed to accede, as will appear from the following second projet.

Translation.—Projet.

In consideration of its having been agreed that negotiations for a general peace shall be immediately opened between the French republic and its allies on one side, and his Imperial majesty, his Britannic majesty, and their allies, on the other side: and that the armistice which has already been concluded between the armies of the French republic and those of his Imperial majesty may be prolonged, if an equivalent armistice should be concluded between the forces of the French republic and those of his Britannic majesty, the two governments have agreed to conclude the said armistice upon the following conditions:

Article 1. All hostilities, both by sea and land, between the two nations, shall be suspended, and shall not be renewed until after a month's notification prior to the end of the armistice. In all parts of the world the armistice shall not be broken without the express order of the contracting governments; and hostilities shall not be renewed until a month after the notification which may have been given by the general or commanding officer of one of the two nations to that of the other nation.

2. Orders shall be immediately transmitted by the two governments to the commanding officers in the several parts of the world, directing them to act in conformity with this convention. Passports shall be given to the persons who shall carry out these orders; and the

the officers of his Britannic majesty who shall travel through France for this purpose shall receive safe conducts, and the necessary facilities for accelerating their journey.

3. All prizes made in any part of the world, during the continuance of the armistice, by any officer having actually received the notification of this convention, shall be restored. And generally (whether this notification shall have been made or not) all prizes made in the Channel, or in the North Seas, after twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, shall be restored; and, in regard to this object, the terms shall be fixed for the other parts of the world conformably to the stipulations of the 22d article of the preliminaries of the last peace; whence it results, that, computing from the day of the said exchange, all trading vessels of either nation shall have the power of putting out to sea, and of navigating freely as before the war.

4. Malta and Egypt shall be assimilated to the places in Germany, which, although blockaded by the French army, have been permitted to enjoy the benefit of the continental armistice. Malta shall be furnished with provisions for fifteen days at a time, at the rate of ten thousand rations *per diem*. With regard to Egypt, six French frigates shall have the liberty of sailing from Toulon, of unlading at Alexandria, and of returning without being searched, and without suffering any opposition during their passage, either from English ships, or from those of the allies of Great Britain. An English officer of rank shall for this purpose embark on board one of the frigates, and shall travel through France on his way to Toulon.

5. The blockade of Brest, of Toulon, and of every other French port, shall be raised; and all British captains shall receive instructions not to interrupt the trade of any vessel either entering therein, or going out thereof. No ship of the line, however, of two or three decks, actually at anchor in the said ports, shall be at liberty to go out before the renewal of hostilities, for the purpose of changing its situation; but frigates, sloops, and other small ships of war, may freely go out and navigate, and, in the event of their meeting at sea with ships belonging to his Britannic majesty, they shall observe the customs established before the war.

6. The land forces in the pay of his Britannic majesty shall not have the power of disembarking in any port of Italy during the continuance of the present armistice.

7. The allies of France, namely, Spain, the Batavian republic, and Genoa, shall participate in the benefit of the present armistice.—(If his Britannic majesty insist upon including his allies in the armistice, they shall enjoy the same advantages with those of France.)

8. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten days, or sooner, if it should be possible.

In this paper of the French government, there will, we think, be discovered but little progress towards an accommodation. Some ingenious discussions took place respecting its various parts, but it was soon found that the enemy were intractable in their demands, to which, without committing the honour of the kingdom altogether, it was found impossible to listen.

During the armistice agreed upon between the emperor and the French republic,

public, the French made a descent upon Tuscany. The French journals have explained the motives, and given the authority for the occupation of that state by the republican troops. It was urged by the breach of the agreement to disarm the levy *en masse*; by a transgression made by Austria of the convention of Marengo, by which they were bound not to occupy the town and citadel of Ferrara; by the *junction* of the Neapolitan troops with the levy *en masse* in the pay of England, and under the orders of Wilcott; and by the appearance of an English fleet off Leghorn with 12,000 troops, intended to land at that place. This proceeding was therefore adopted, for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the English and the Neapolitans, with whom the republic had not concluded any armistice.

But the motives which had influenced the French on this occasion, were, no doubt, the desire of shutting the port of Leghorn against our troops, in the event of the renewal of the war; that of preventing by these means the formation of a powerful army of English, Neapolitans, and Russians, in the south of Italy, assisted by the inhabitants of the country, that of depriving our ships of a port, and our merchants of a market; and lastly, that of getting possession of some plunder, and of giving up to their troops a more abundant, and a less exhausted country than those which lie on the banks of the Po.

There was reason to suppose, that, from the length of time agreed upon by three armistices, a general peace would have been concluded upon; but, on the contrary, we find that on the 24th of November, hostilities again recommenced near Aschaffembourg,

where the French gained some partial advantages. On the 3d of Dec. general Moreau, in a letter to the minister of war, gives the following account of the battle near Hohenlinden.

Yesterday the corps under general Grenier collected between Hohenlinden and Hartopsen, while general Grouchy extended his left to the village of Hohenlinden, and the divisions of Richepanse and Decaen to Ebersberg.

Expecting to be attacked by the enemy at Hohenlinden, I gave orders to generals Richepanse and Decaen to advance by St. Christopher upon Matenpoet, and to fall upon the rear of the enemy. This movement was executed with the greatest intrepidity and talent.

The enemy commenced this attack upon Hohenlinden, at half past seven in the morning. It was at this moment I adjudged it expedient, that the attack should be commenced by general Richepanse.

I ordered General Grenier to commence at the same time. General Ney rushed vigorously into the defiles, and, half way to Matenpoet, formed a junction with general Richepanse. All those who were in the forests, comprizing about a league and a half, were killed, taken, or dispersed.

The attack of general Ney was well supported by the division of general Grouchy, which fell upon the reserve of the enemy's grenadiers, who had attempted to flank us on the right. Those attacks were directed by generals Granjean and Boyer. The movements of general Richepanse and Decaen met with the greatest obstacles. Obligated to march by roads surrounded with the enemy, general Richepanse, with

with five or six battalions of infantry and one regiment of chasseurs, found himself separated from the other divisions, and, without regarding those he had left behind him, marched up in the centre of the enemy, not at all discomposed, with only a few troops with him, and united himself with the head of the division, which was conducted with equal intrepidity by the commandant Ruffin.

General Valler was dangerously wounded; general Decaen was prevented from supporting general Richepanse.

During these complete successes in the centre, a column, advancing from Vasserburg upon Ebersburg, obliged general Decaen to change his position from the van to the right to arrest their progress. He charged and routed them with the greatest disorder.

The battle appeared completely decided by three o'clock; but another corps coming from the Lower Inn attempted to penetrate by Burttrain Le Hohenlinden, with the intention of making a diversion upon the left. The enemy having a number of troops stationed in the valley of the Iser, lieutenant-general Grenier left his position. The divisions of Le Grand, Bastout, and the reserve of cavalry, which were about to act on the offensive, were now attacked; a number of troops from Ney's and other divisions on the right, were sent to support them.

Generals Legrand and Bastout, after having repulsed these attacks, charged with the greatest vigour. The Austrians, after a number of efforts, were routed with the loss of a great part of their artillery. General Bastout being wounded, was replaced by general Bonnet.

This was a general battle, as there was not a corps in the French army which was not engaged, and the same with the Austrians.

There was much snow during the battle. We have taken 80 pieces of cannon, 200 caissons, 10,000 prisoners, a great number of officers, among whom are three generals. The pursuit continued till night. Our loss consists in 1000 men killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of the enemy is incalculable.

The corps of general Lecourbe, which had taken possession of Rosenheim, was ordered to cover the Inn, and to defend all the passes of the Tyrol.

Our army is elated with its success, and hopes that it will contribute to accelerate a peace.

General Desolles further states, that "after the passage of the Inn at Neupeuzen, the French army advanced between the Inn and the Salzach, the right wing commanded by general Lecourbe upon Secbruck, Traunstain, Teiffindorff, and the banks of the Saal, with a division belonging to the centre to support it, under the command of general Grouchy. The two other divisions of the centre, commanded by generals Decaen and Richepanse, marched on the grand route of Wasserburg, for the purpose of forcing the enemy to evacuate the country between the Inn and the Salzach, and thence they made a movement on their right, with a view of forming themselves in a line on the banks of the latter river, towards Lauffen. After having re-established the bridge, two divisions of the corps of general Grenier passed the Inn, at Wafferburg, and marched by Altenmark, towards Lauffen, throwing in the

the mean time a detachment on Ditmaining while the division of Ney crossed at Muldorff, and traversed the Alra to observe and cover Burghausen. The greatest part of the enemy's army was concentrated between Lauffen and Salzbouurg; and general Lecourbe found, on the 12th instant, an advanced guard in front of the Saal, which he routed so vigorously, as to leave him in possession of four pieces of cannon and four hundred prisoners.

"The general in chief had made his dispositions for effecting the passage of Salzach, between Lauffen and Salzbouurg, and in pursuance of them he ordered general Lecourbe to advance to the right bank of the Saal, and general Decaen to proceed to Lauffen; while the generals Richepanse and Grouchy were kept in reserve, ready to co-operate with either of the former.

"On the 13th general Lecourbe passed the river Saal, notwithstanding every attempt of the enemy, and made himself master of the village of Waal.

"General Decaen having reached Lauffen, found the bridge broken down, and the heights which commanded the town in the enemy's possession. Three chasseurs of the 14th light infantry swam across, notwithstanding the extreme coldness of the season, to procure some boats on the other side, while some others advanced skirmishing on the ruins of the bridge. About 80 men, who passed over in the boats which were procured, were alone competent to defeat the enemy, and took 200 prisoners, among whom were several officers.

"The general in chief directed general Grenier to move forward with his

two divisions against Lauffen, and a similar order was given to the divisions of Grouchy and Richepanse. The corps of pontoneers was ordered to advance to the same point, in order to construct a new bridge, while that which had been broken down by the enemy was repairing. These works were executed during the night, and 500 men had already crossed over to the right bank, while general Decaen was promoting this operation, when at eight o'clock in the morning on the 14th, a very obstinate action took place in front of the right wing. General Lecourbe sustained the enemy's attack with vigour, without losing the village of Waal, until two o'clock at noon, when general Decaen, who had passed the river with the whole of his division, pushed forward, with a strong fire of artillery directed against the forces opposed to him. This movement at once disengaged general Lecourbe, and favoured the passage of Richepanse's division, which began to form itself on the right bank.

"In the night of the 14th, the enemy effected his retreat with precipitation, and we entered Salzburg at eight o'clock in the morning.

"Our losses in the affairs of the 14th are estimated at 300 wounded. The chief of brigade Ducheyron, commander of the 9th regiment of hussars, an officer of the greatest distinction, was killed. General Scherer had a finger carried off by a cannon, and received a musket ball in the thigh. Adjutant commandant Mangean had his arm shattered with a petard. The loss of the enemy consisted of 800 wounded, a part of whom remained at Salzburg. We have also taken 400 prisoners and one piece of cannon."

On the 18th, the French general Richepanse, came up to the Austrians in a strong position near Voncklaupuck; his troops charged them with so much vigour, that more than 1000 prisoners, among whom were at least 600 cavalry, fell into his hands; general Lopez, who commanded them, was among the number.

On the 19th, the Austrians changed the troops that formed their rear guard, and composed it of red mantles, hulans, and the hussars of Mezurot, who had not been before engaged since the opening of the campaign. With these fresh troops they endeavoured to defend their positions before Lambach. General Richepanse and his brave troops redoubled their vigour and intrepidity; the hulans and the mezurots, pursued by the cavalry, found that the infantry had got in their front in the defile of Lambach, where they made a dreadful slaughter. The colonel of the hussars was wounded and fell into their hands. The prince of Lichtenstein, colonel of the hulans, was obliged to surrender, with the chief of his officers. General Mezarey, who succeeded general Lopez in the command of the rear guard, experienced the same fate, and was also a prisoner of war. This battle, by which the Austrians left in their hands 7 or 800 prisoners, and three pieces of cannon, occasioned to them a prodigious loss in killed and wounded.

On the 20th, general Richepanse took the road from Lambach to Kremsmunster, being supported by general Grouchy. General Decaen, who pursued the enemy on the road to Lintz, took from them near 400 prisoners.—The left wing, commanded by lieutenant-general Grenier, had passed the Salza partly at Lauffen and partly at

Burghausen. It gained the road to Ricca, after having blockaded Braunau, and drove the garrison into the place, with the loss of one piece of cannon and 200 prisoners. From Ricca it gained the road to Scharding, and entered Wetz, after long marches.—General Legrand, who commanded the advanced guard, made more than 300 prisoners.

The Austrians have lost, since the passage of the Salza, from 3 to 4000 prisoners, and 8 pieces of cannon.—This makes 120 since the opening of the campaign.

The Austrians did not defend the Trann, which was crossed by the centre of the French army, at Lambach and at Wels.

The left wing marched on the road to Lintz, and then shaped its route towards Enns.

The right wing, which had got as far as Guninder, crossed the Alben, and received orders to fall upon Krunsmünster, in order to surprize the Austrians as they were marching to Steyer. All those movements succeeded completely. General Lecourbe took 4 or 500 prisoners. General Richepanse entered Steyer, where the Austrians had abandoned 17 pieces of cannon, and near 4000 prisoners.

They every where found immense magazines; and the loss of the Austrians in men, horses, ammunition, and baggage, was prodigious.

At Lintz they took 10,000 barrels of flour, and 25,000 sacks of oats, and at St. Peter's a great quantity of provisions.

They repaired the bridge of l'Auters and passed the Ips, which the Austrians did not attempt to defend.

In consequence of the amazing success attending the French arms, the archduke

archduke Charles proposed a cessation of hostilities to the commander in chief, announcing to him, that the emperor had dispatched a messenger to M. de Coblenzel, with an order to sign a peace.

The commander in chief, considering that the line of the Trann and of the Inns was forced; that they found themselves 100 leagues before the other armies, and already hanging on the rear of the Austrian army in Italy, that, consequently, M. de Bellegarde, having the two grand *debouches* of Salzburg and of Inspruck to march through, he might join the troops left in the Tyrolese, fall upon the rear, and impede their communications with France, he judged it expedient to accede to the demands of an armistice, which, putting them in possession of great advantages, enabled them to wait for the operations of the army of Italy, relative to which they had not as yet received any information. The character of the archduke, and the well-known integrity of his principles, were so many pledges to them of the Emperor's desire of terminating the war.

The emperor was moreover compelled to it by the deplorable situation of his army; which having lost, in the space of 20 days, 70 leagues of ground, 25,000 prisoners, 12 or 15,000 killed or wounded, 140 pieces of cannon, and immense magazines; he was no longer able (nor could not be so in three months) to prevent the French army from making the conquest of Austria, and dictating to him in his capital; but in order to effect all this without danger, it became necessary that the army of Italy should have the command of the Gorges of Carinthia.

The commander in chief moreover conceived, that to pause in the midst

of the most brilliant victories, was acting in unison with the character of moderation.

Articles of the Armistice.

His majesty the Emperor and King willing immediately to treat for peace with the French republic, whatever may be the determination of his allies; the generals in chief of the French army, and of the Imperial army in Germany, wishing, as much as in their power, to put a stop to the calamities inseparable from war, have agreed to treat for an armistice and suspension of hostilities; and have to that effect granted respectively, special powers, viz. to the general in chief Moreau, the general of brigade Victor Franeau Lahoire, and his royal highness the archduke Charles, major count de Grime, and colonel Wairoter, of the staff, who have resolved as follow:

Art. I. The line of demarcation between the part of the Gallo Battavian army, in Germany, under the command of general Angereau, in the circles of Westphalia, of the Upper Rhine, and of Franconia, as far as Bayardorf, will be fixed by that general and the officer commanding the Imperial army, which is opposed to him.

From Bayardorf, the line passes on to Herland, to Nuremberg, Neumark, Parsberg Lever, Stadem-Prof, and Ratisbon, where it crosses the Danube, along the right bank as far as the Erlaph, which it ascends up to its source, passes at Mark-gamingen, Kogelbach, Goulingen, Hammer, Mendling, Leobolstein, Heissenach, Verderunberg, and Leoben, follows the left bank of the Muhr, to the point, where that river cuts the road from Salbourg to Clagenfurt, which it pursues as far as Spital, goes up the high road from Veronne, by

by Linez and Brixen, as far as Botzen, thence passes on to Mahan, Glurens, and Sainte Marie, and comes by Bormio into the Valteline, where the line joins the army of Italy.

Art. II. The map of Germany, by Chauchard, to be the standard by which to decide whatever discussions may take place relative to the line of demarcation above delineated.

Art. III. On the rivers which shall divide the two armies, the demolition or the preservation of the bridges, to be regulated as may respectively be found most expedient, whether for the use of the armies, or for advantage of the natives.—The inland navigation to continue uninterrupted, both for the army and the inhabitants of the country.

Art. IV. The French army shall not only occupy, exclusively, all the points of the line of demarcation above mentioned, but also in order to put a continued space between the two armies, the line of the out-posts of the Imperial and royal army shall be, in its whole extent, excepting the Danube, at a German mile at least from that of the French army.

Art. V. Excepting the safe-guards, or the police guards, which shall be left, or sent into the Tyrol by the respective armies, and in equal numbers, but which shall be as few as possible, (to be adjusted by a separate convention) no other troops of his Imperial majesty can remain within the line of demarcation. Those at present in the Grison country, in the Tyrol, and in Carinthia, shall fall back immediately, by the road of Clagenfurt, on Pruck, in order to join the Imperial army of Germany, without at all inclining towards Italy.

They shall march from their present position, as soon as this convention shall

be made known to them; their march to be regulated at the rate of a German post and a half per day.

The general in chief of the French army of the Rhine is authorised, by the means of delegates, commissioned to follow the march of the Imperial troops as far as Pruck, to see that this article be duly executed.

The Imperial troops who are to retreat from the upper Palatinate, from Suabia or Franconia, shall take the shortest route beyond the line of demarcation.

The execution of this article shall not be postponed, on any account, beyond the necessary time, taking into consideration the distance, &c.

Art. VI. The fortresses of Kustein, Shoernitz, the other permanent fortifications in the Tyrol, shall be left as a deposit in the hands of the French, and by them to be restored *in statu quo*, on the conclusion and ratification of peace, should a peace, without a renewal of hostilities, be the consequence of this armistice. The Gorget of Fienstermunz, Noudess, and other fortified situations in the Tyrol, shall be surrendered to the French army.

Art. VII. The magazines in that country, belonging to the Imperialists, shall also be given up.

Art. VIII. The fortress of Wurtzbourg, in Franconia, and that of Brannau, in the circle of Bavaria, shall also be surrendered to the French army, on the above conditions.

Art. IX. The troops both of his Imperial and royal majesty, and of the empire, which are now in those places, shall evacuate them, viz. the garrison of Wurtzbourg the 6th of Jan. 1801; that of Brannau the 4th of Jan.; and those of the forts in the Tyrol on the 8th of Jan.

Art. X. All the garrisons shall march out with military honours, and proceed, with arms and baggage, by the shortest road to the Imperial army. They shall not take away any part of the artillery, warlike stores, nor provisions of any kind, excepting the subsistence necessary for their march.

Art. XI. Commissaries shall be respectively appointed, to ascertain the evacuation in due time.

Art. XII. The extraordinary levies ordered in the Tyrol shall be immediately disbanded, and the inhabitants sent home. This article to be complied with without delay.

Art. XIII. The commander in chief of the army of the Rhine, willing, on his part, to give his royal highness the Archduke an unequivocal proof of the motives which determined him to require the evacuation of the Tyrol, declares, that (except the fortresses of Kufstein, Schoernitz, and the Sienstermuntz,) he will limit himself in having, in the Tyrol, the safe guards, and police guards, mentioned in Article V. for the purpose of securing the communication. He will, at the same time, grant to the inhabitants of the Tyrol every advantage in his power for procuring their subsistence, and the French army shall not interfere with the internal government of that country.

Art. XIV. The portion of the territory belonging to the empire, and to the dominion of his Imperial majesty in the Tyrol, is also under the safe guard of the French army, for the preservation of harmony among the people.—The inhabitants of those countries shall not be molested for having proved serviceable to the Imperial army, nor for their political opinions, &c.

Art. XV. In virtue of the above

there shall be, between the Gallo-Batavian army in Germany, that of the Rhine, and the army of his Imperial majesty, and of his allies in the German empire, an armistice and suspension of arms, which cannot be for less than thirty days, at the expiration of which, hostilities cannot commence without 15 days previous notice, to be reckoned from the hour on which the notification of the renewal of hostile operations shall have reached the respective generals, and the armistice shall be prolonged indefinitely, until the notification of such renewal of hostilities shall be made known.

Art. XVI. No corps nor detachments either of the army of the Rhine, or of that of his Imperial majesty in Germany, can be sent to the respective armies in Italy, while no armistice is concluded between the French and Imperial armies in that country. If this article be not executed, the armistice shall be at an end.

Art. XVII. The general in chief of the army of the Rhine shall cause to be transmitted, as speedily as possible, the present convention to the generals in chief of the Gallo-Batavian army, of the Grisons, and of the army of Italy, with the most pressing invitation; particularly to the general in chief of the army in Italy, to conclude, each on his part, a suspension of arms.

Done at Steyer, the 25th of December, 1801.

(Signed)

DESOLLES.

Previous to the signing of the above articles, various were the successes of the French arms in Italy.

In the night between the 25th and 26th, lieutenant-general Delmas, commanding the advanced guard of the French army, had received orders to pass the Mincio at break of day, on the 26th,

26th, by two bridges, which were to be constructed before Monzaubano.— At five in the morning, 40 pieces of cannon were placed on batteries on the right bank, by the care of general Marmont, commanding the artillery, in order to cover the construction of the bridges. At seven, six companies of carbineers, commanded by C. Devil- lers, chief of the 25th light battalion, passed the Mincio in boats, and covered the construction of the bridges. At nine one of the bridges was completed and the advanced guard effected its passage. A general charge of infantry and cavalry was immediately executed by the orders of lieutenant-general Delmas: it was effected without firing a single cannon, while exposed to a brisk fire of musquetry and grape shot from the Austrians against the front of all the columns; at the same time that they were strongly cannonaded in flank from redoubts constructed on the heights of Salionza. The Austrians soon gave way to an attack so impetuous, and fled with precipitation; all those who remained were either killed or made prisoners. The brigades of generals Cassagne and Bisson pursued them more than three miles, as far as the heights of Vallegio. The brigade of general Lapisse, and that of the dragoons commanded by general Beaumont, advanced to the left to keep in check the forces which the Austrians had under their redoubts. The brigade of dragoons, composed of the 1st and 9th, made a successful charge. Four pieces of light artillery were placed on a battery, near enough for grape-shot to counteract the fire of the redoubts, which very much galled the brigades of Lapisse and Beaumont; the horse artillery and soldiers of the train performed prodigies of valour; they ma-

nœuvred during more than an hour against the grape-shot of the Austrians, which disabled many of the men as well as the horses; the chief of Battalion, Aubry, constantly directed this battery. The Austrians were at length driven from their positions by the brigade of Lapisse, who carried them by the bayonet, received with firmness the different charges of cavalry, waited for them within pistol shot, and compelled the Austrians to make a precipitate retreat. In the mean time, generals Cassagne and Bisson had taken a position on the heights towards Vallegio, where they were soon attacked by the reserve of the Austrians, composed of the Hungarian grenadiers, to the number of 12,000. Nothing but the bravery of the French troops could have supported, for more than two hours, the repeated attacks of forces so superior.—The issue of this contest might have proved unfavourable to the French troops; but the division on the right of lieutenant general Moncey, near which he himself was in person, commanded by general Boudet, came up; the charge being beat along the whole line, hurried on the troops. The route became complete, the French took from them four pieces of cannon, one caisson, and about 2000 prisoners. This movement carried a part of the advanced guard towards Vallegio, where it had still to encounter a most obstinate resistance; three times was the village taken and retaken. The grenadiers joined to the division of Boudet, and led on by the adjutants Dalton and Devaux, came up very opportunely to second the efforts of the 52d demi-brigade, and at last occupied Vallegio, after taking two pieces of cannon. Adjutant Dalton was severely wounded by a ball at the head of the grenadiers. On the first cannon shot fired

fired against Vallegio, general of brigade Leisuire, forming part of the central corps, at the head of the brave 72d, marched along with its chief. Freatier, against the palisaded redoubts of Borghetto. The courage of these men was at first not able to triumph over the obstacles they experienced. Several of them fell below the entrenchments, but soon rallying, they hurried to a new attack; when the Austrian commandant, unwilling to incur further danger, beat a retreat, and offered to capitulate: 2000 prisoners, 29 of whom were officers, 5 pieces of cannon, 2 howitzers, 900 muskets, and 80 horses, were the result of this capitulation.

In consequence of these memorable actions, the centre of the army under the command of general Suchet, the reserve under general Michaud, and the cavalry commanded by the general of division Davoust, effected their passage and took their positions; the reserve of artillery followed.

In the night the Austrians, who had remained masters of the castle of Vallegio, evacuated the place. The day of the 26th was still more glorious for all the troops who had occasion to be engaged: the route of the Austrians was complete. They lost 14 pieces of cannon, and about 3500 prisoners.

The French general Rochambeau, having captured Storo, moved on towards Riva di Garda, general Lechi pushed on his reconnoitring parties towards Cindino and Pieve di Buona, where the Austrians had thrown up entrenchments. This general had been instructed to harass the Austrians, but not to come to a close engagement before the arrival of the divisions under Pulley and Rey, who advanced by forced marches to join and support

him. As soon as they approached him, the Cisalpines commenced a warm attack, but were unable to carry Pieve di Buona, when the Austrians evacuated on that very night. Being pursued, and closely pushed, the Austrians formed again on a second line of entrenchments that have long been constructed in the excellent position of San Alforto. While this movement was taking place on the right wing, general Baraguay d'Hilliers, who commanded the left, advanced into the Engadine.—Schutz was carried as soon as attacked by the 45th of the line, the 3d company of Orient, and the 2d battalion of dismounted hussars. Apprized of this first success, general Baraguay was ordered to penetrate farther on, and to force the passage between the Uin and Saint Martriss Bruk, that he might proceed against Glarens, where the general wished to keep up the attention of the Austrian troops, whom he knew to be watching the movement of his right. The numerous and strong fortresses of Cassa Nova, which covered the bridge, opposed no delay to his troops, and after a vigorous defence, the Austrians were finally obliged to yield, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

The numerous victories obtained by the French in different parts of Italy, occasioned a suspension of arms between the generals Brune, commanding the French army, and M. de Bellegarde, commander in chief of the Austrian army.

The generals in chief of the French and Imperial and Royal Armies in Italy, wishing to put a stop to the effusion of blood, at the moment that both governments are employed in concluding a peace, have nominated and furnished with their plenary powers, citizens

citizens Marmont, general of division and counsellor of state, and Sebastiani, chief of brigade of dragoons, and Count de Hohenzollern, lieutenant-general, and Baron de Zag, major-general, to treat on the subject of an armistice, which was concluded on the following conditions:—

Art. I. There shall be an armistice between the armies of the French republic, and those of his majesty the Emperor and King, in Italy, up to the 25th of January, the period at which the armistice of the armies in Germany is to expire.—Hostilities, however, shall not be renewed until fifteen days shall have expired after notice from the respective generals in Italy.

Art. II. In this armistice shall be included all the corps comprising the French armies in Italy, and of the Grisons, and those of the Imperial armies in the Tyrol.

Art. III. The French armies shall begin their march after to-morrow, 18th of January, for the purpose of occupying their new line.

This line is to follow the left bank of the Livenza, from the sea up to its source, near the gulph of Senigo; thence it ascends to the very summit of the mountains which separate Pivia from Zeline, crosses mounts Maure, Cromplt, and Ramplalspich, thence descends into the valley of Lukang by Aigge, re-ascends the mountain for the purpose of going down again to Dranthack, at Metterland, the Drave as far as Lintz, at which place he meets the line of demarcation, established by the convention of Germany.

Art. IV. The Imperial and Royal Army shall take, for its line of demarcation, the right bank of the Tagliamento, from the sea up to its source,

near mount Maure: that line shall proceed on the said point, and follow thence the line marked out in the foregoing article, which is to be in common to both armies.

Art. V. The territory, included between the two lines of demarcation, is declared neutral; no troops shall be there cantoned; posts and pickets shall be stationed for the purpose of guarding the avenues, and such posts are not to be more than half a mile distant from the rivers.

Art. VI. A line shall be drawn which shall divide the neutral territory into two distinct parts, for the purpose of thence deriving provisions for the armies; that line shall be marked by the rivulet Zelina, as far as Burca, shall pass by Villatta, Porto-Gruano, and follow on along the Liurena, as far as the sea.

Art. VII. The following places shall be ceded to the French (on the conditions hereunto annexed) namely,—Peschiera and Sermione, the castles of Verona and Legnano, the city and citadel of Ferrara, the town and forts of Ancona.

First Condition.—The garrisons to march out freely, and with military honours, carrying with them their arms, their baggage, and their property, and then to join the Imperial army.

2d. All the pieces of ordnance originally belonging to the Imperialists, with their ammunition, as well as every other kind of Imperial property, not excepted in the following articles, shall march out freely, and the Austrian army shall be allowed six weeks to execute this evacuation.

3d. All the pieces of ordnance, not originally the property of the Imperialists, shall be delivered up to the French

French army, together with their ammunition; as for transferring the effects of the fortresses and places of Verona, Legnano, and Ferrara, as far as the sea, the French will provide boats, which are to be carefully returned to them.

The French army will also provide the means necessary for transporting from Verona, the effects of the fortresses and places of Sermione and Peschiera, which are to be embarked on the Adige.

That part of the flotilla, actually in being on the lake of Guarda, and which was taken from the French at the surrender of Peschiera, shall alone be restored to them, and that which belongs to the Austrians shall only be evacuated by the Mincio and the Po, and at their expence; should it, however, happen, that in the space of six weeks, allotted for the purpose, the total evacuation of Austrian property should not take place, the Austrians are to surrender to the French that part of the flotilla which now belongs to the former.

4th. The provisions of the fortresses, &c. shall be divided into equal parts; the garrisons to carry off one half, and the remaining half to be given up to the French; the whole of the cattle to follow the garrisons.

5th. Those places shall be given up to the French, as a deposit, until peace be concluded, they promising to keep them in their present state.

Art. VIII. Orders shall immediately be issued for the evacuation of the fortresses, &c. which are to be ceded to the French, and the officers commanding there shall march out with all possible speed, and are allowed at most but three days for that purpose.

The commissioners appointed to

superintend the evacuation of the fortresses and places shall remain there until the whole operation shall be gone through, together with the Austrian guard necessary for the police of the magazines.

Art. IX. The commissioners destined to receive the arsenals and the magazines, have alone the privilege of going into the fortresses before their evacuation by the Austrians:—the French shall only occupy one of the gates twelve hours before they take possession of the places.

Art. X. The sick remaining in the fortresses shall not be considered as prisoners of war; the French will have them well taken care of, and sent to the Imperial army, which is to pay the expences of their route, &c.

Art. XI. In case that one or more places should have surrendered to the French armies previous to the arrival of the couriers dispatched by general Bellegarde, no alteration shall take place in the articles of the capitulation, which shall in all respects remain entire.

Art. XII. The fortress of Mantua shall remain in a state of blockade by the French, posted 800 toises from the glacis; it will be allowed to send provisions to the garrison every ten days, viz. 15,000 rations of flour, and 1500 of forage; other provisions in like proportion.

The inhabitants will be occasionally allowed the liberty of procuring such provisions as they may deem requisite, but it will be in the power of the French to adopt such measures as they may judge expedient, to prevent the quantity of such provisions from exceeding the daily consumption, which shall be estimated on the ratio of the population.

The

The communications for victualling Mantua shall be established by the Po, as far as Governolo, and thence by the Mincio.

Art. XIII. Individuals attached to the Austrian government shall be respected, and no person is to be molested for his political opinions.

Art. XIV. Dalbe's map to serve as a standard for any discussions which may take place, relative to the line of demarcation before mentioned.

Art. XV. The necessary passports for the couriers shall be granted.

Given at Trevisa the 16th of January, 1801.

This suspension of arms was immediately succeeded by a treaty of peace, between his Imperial and royal majesty and the French republic, of which the following are the particulars.

His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, and the first consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, having equally at heart to cause the evils of war to subside, have resolved to proceed to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace and amity.

His said Imperial and royal majesty, not less alive to the interests of the Germanic empire, relative to a continental peace, and the present circumstances not affording him sufficient time to consult the empire on an object so desirable, in order that the states should send their deputies for the purpose of acceding to the negociation; his said majesty having, moreover, attended to what had been agreed upon, pending the congress of Rastadt; has resolved, as has been done under similar circumstances, to stipulate in the name of the Germanic body.

In consequence of which the con-

tracting parties have named for their plenipotentiaries, namely;—His Imperial and royal majesty, sieur Louis, count of the holy Roman empire, de Cobentzel, knight of the golden fleece, &c. &c.

And the first consul of the French republic in the name of the French people, citizen Joseph Bounaparte, counsellor of state.

They having previously exchanged their respective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be henceforth, and for ever, peace, amity, and good understanding between his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and of Bohemia, stipulating in his own and in the name of the Germanic empire, and the French republic; his aforesaid majesty promising to obtain from the said empire a full ratification in due form, of the present treaty.

The utmost attention shall be paid on both sides, to the maintenance of perfect harmony, and every care taken to prevent acts of hostility by land or by sea, on any account or pretext whatever, carefully fostering the union so happily restored; no assistance nor protection, either directly or indirectly, shall be afforded to those who would wish to injure the interests of either of the contracting parties.

Art. II. The surrender of the late Belgic provinces to the French republic, stipulated by the third article of the treaty of Campo Formio, is herein renewed in the most positive manner; so that his Imperial and royal majesty, for himself and his successors, both in his own, and in the name of the Germanic empire, renounces all of his rights and titles to the aforesaid provinces, which are for ever to be possessed, in full

sovereignty, by the French republic, with all the property and territory thereunto belonging.

There shall also be ceded to the French republic, by his imperial and royal majesty, and with the expressed consent of the empire—

1st. The county of Falkenstein, with its dependencies.

2dly. The Frictal, and all that appertains to the house of Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurich and Basil; the French republic reserving to herself to cede that last country to the Helvetic republic.

Art. III. Also, as a renewal and a confirmation of the 6th article of the treaty of Campo Formio, his majesty the emperor and king shall possess, in full sovereignty, the countries hereunder mentioned, viz.

Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands formerly called Venetian, of the Adriatic thereon depending; the defiles of Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagunes, and the countries comprised between the hereditary states of his majesty the emperor, the Adriatic Sea and the Adige, where that river leaves the Tyrol, to the spot where it falls into the said sea, the Thalweg of the Adige to serve as the limit; and as by that line the cities of Verona and of Porto-Legnago are separated, draw bridges shall be established in the centre of the bridges of the aforesaid cities, for the purpose of ascertaining the boundaries.

Art. IV. The 18th article of the treaty of Campo Formio is equally renewed, inasmuch as his majesty the emperor and king is to give up to the duke of Modena (to indemnify him for the countries which this prince possessed in Italy) the Brisgaw, which he shall hold on the same conditions as he did the territory of Modena.

Art. V. It is moreover agreed upon, that his royal highness the grand duke of Tuscany, do renounce, for himself, his heirs, and successors, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and that part of the isle of Elbe dependent thereon, as well as all other rights and titles to those states, which henceforth shall be possessed, in full sovereignty, by his royal highness the infant duke of Parma; the grand duke shall obtain in Germany a full and entire indemnity for the same in Germany. The grand duke shall dispose, at will, of the goods and property he possesses, particularly in Tuscany, whether obtained by personal acquisition, or by inheritance of the late emperor Leopold, his father, or the late emperor Francis I. his grandfather.

Art. VI. His Imperial majesty in his own, and in the name of the Germanic body, consents that the French republic do possess henceforth, in full sovereignty, the countries and domains situated on the left bank of the Rhine; so that the Thalweg of the Rhine be henceforward the boundary between the republic and the Germanic empire, viz. from the place where the Rhine quits the Helvetic territory, to the place where it enters the Batavian territory.

In consequence of which, the French republic formally renounces all claims to the right bank of the Rhine, and consent to restore, to whom it may concern, Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsbourg, the fort of Cassel, and other fortifications opposite to Mentz on the right bank, the fort of Kehl and Old Brisac, under the express condition of remaining as they now stand.

Art. VII. And as, in consequence of the cession made by the empire to the French republic, several German princes

princes are deprived of their territory, it is agreed upon, conformable to the principles established at the congress of Rastadt, that the empire do indemnify the princes so deprived of their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine.

Art. VIII. In all the countries ceded, or exchanged by the present treaty, the French republic takes upon herself no other debts, but such as were formerly consented to by the states of the ceded countries.

Art. IX. Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty of peace, the inhabitants shall be delivered from all sequestration, &c. which took place in consequence of the war.

Art. X. The contracting parties will also cause all sequestrations occasioned by the war, &c. to be taken off in favour of the subjects of the Germanic empire, and of the French people.

Art. XI. The present treaty (particularly the 8th, 9th, and 15th article) is declared common to the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, leaving to them the liberty to establish what form of government they may think proper to adopt.

Art. XII. His Imperial majesty renounces, in his own and in the name of his successors, all claims, in favour of the Cisalpine republic, to the countries which she possessed before the war.

Art. XIII. His imperial and royal majesty, in his own and in the name of the Germanic empire, confirms the union of the imperial possessions to the Ligurian republic, and renounces all right and title to the same.

Art. XIV. The navigation of the Adige to serve as a boundary between the states of his imperial and royal majesty, and those of the Cisalpine republic.

Art. XV. All the prisoners of war on both sides, as well as the hostages forcibly taken away, to be released within 40 days after the signing of the present treaty.

Art. XVI. The hereditary and personal property, not alienated, of his royal highness the archduke Charles, and of the heirs of her late royal highness the archduchess Christiana, situate in the provinces ceded to the French republic, shall be restored to them, on condition of their being sold within three years; the same shall be observed with respect to the property of their royal highnesses the archduke Ferdinand, and the archduchess Beatrix, his consort, in the territory of the Cisalpine republic.

Art. XVII. The 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 23d articles of the treaty of Campo-Formio are here particularly renewed.

Art. XVIII. All contracts, &c. for the army, &c. to cease on both sides.

Art. XIX. The present treaty to be reciprocally ratified, by his majesty the emperor and king, &c. and by the French republic, in the space of 30 days, or sooner if possible.

Given at Luneville, Feb. 9, 1801.

LOUIS COUNT COBENTZEL.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

The preliminaries of peace having been finally settled between the emperor of Germany and the French republic, we shall now proceed to give an account of the commencement of hostilities between the English and the northern powers. The emperor of Russia, in consequence of the disappointment which he experienced in not having the island of Malta ceded to him by the English, laid an embargo on all British vessels in his several ports, and ordered all property be-
 4 X 2 longing

longing to this country in his dominions to be sequestered. The sailors belonging to the ships were all immediately marched into the interior of the empire.

It will be necessary to observe here, "that as soon as the English troops had taken possession of Malta, his Britannic majesty announced the event to his Russian majesty, through the medium of a foreign power, reminding him at the same time, that it had been stipulated that Malta should be attacked by the united forces of Naples, of England, and of Russia.—Each power was to have furnished its contingent, in an equal proportion; but Paul did not fulfil his engagement in sending his.—Malta has since fallen into the hands of Great-Britain, and was exclusively in her possession. His Britannic majesty still, however, anxious to furnish to all Europe, and particularly to his allies, the most unequivocal proof of the sentiments by which he was uniformly influenced throughout the whole course of the war, resolved, first, to give a formal notification to the emperor Paul of the surrender of Malta: second, to offer to his Russian majesty, notwithstanding he had failed to fulfil his agreement, and that the conquest of Malta was solely due to British arms, the punctual execution of the former mutual convention. In that hypothesis, Malta would have been conjointly garrisoned by an equal number of English, Russian, and Neapolitan troops, until peace should have been concluded, when the fate of that island should be ultimately decided on.

"Had the proposition of the English government been acceded to, his Britannic majesty would only have had to require explanations from his Imperial majesty relative to the three points:—

1st. Respecting the embargo to which the English shipping had been more than once exposed in the Russian ports. 2d. Respecting the unusual station of a Russian fleet in the Bosphorus, the object of which could not easily be regarded as friendly. 3d. Respecting the very frequent communications which had notoriously taken place between Russia and the enemies of his Britannic majesty, and of all Europe."

On the 16th of August 1800, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias invited Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to concert respecting the convention of neutrality, of which the following is the declaration:

"Europe has made known the unanimous approbation it gave to the measures taken by the greater part of the maritime powers, for establishing the principles of a wise and impartial neutrality, when, in 1780, a maritime war between two great powers imposed on the rest the duty of watching over the safety of the commerce and navigation of their subjects. This act, founded on justice, must have been generally approved: and it was then only that the basis of the rights of nations was re-established.—Russia at this time had the valuable advantage of bringing to a conclusion this salutary work, and of becoming, as it were, the regulator of the different measures to be pursued in order to conciliate universal respect. Each of the powers which wished to accede to it, found in it innumerable advantages; and Russia took this arrangement as the basis of all future treaties of commerce—universal suffrage had made it a sort of code for nations, as it was also the code of humanity: general

neral interest secured the maintenance and execution of it.

“ But at the epoch of the dissolution of a great power, when the fatal influence of that event made itself be felt by all others, when all political ties were broken, or received a new direction in the war which was the result of it; a war so different from all others, so fertile in variegated and extraordinary events, which destroyed all the preceding combinations, too little care was taken to give a new sanction to these principles; when the public attention was, as it were, absorbed by events of such high interest, it could not be directed with sufficient constancy towards the means of enforcing a strict observation of these salutary stipulations. Besides, the equity of the Belligerent powers must have offered means of preservation, and neutral nations thought they were assured of a sufficient guarantee, which would ensure respect to their commerce, and to their navigation at least, on the part of the regular powers, when a new event shewed them how much the independence of crowns might be endangered, if they neglected to re-establish the principles and maxims, on which the protection and safety of the neutral powers, rest in the course of this war.

“ On the 13th and 25th of July, some English frigates fell in with, in the channel, a Danish frigate convoying some Danish vessels bound for different ports. Though the Danish captain declared that his convoy had no contraband merchandize on board, and though he refused to suffer them to be searched, he was attacked and obliged to yield to superior forces. He was immediately conducted into an English port.

“ The first care of his Danish majesty, a friend and ally of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, was to inform this sovereign of that event, and to ask, under what point of view so manifest an infraction of the rights of nations, and the principles of neutrality, the basis of the treaty of commerce between Russia and Denmark, was to be viewed.

“ Though his Imperial majesty was then persuaded that this infraction on the part of his Britannic majesty could be only the effect of a mistake, that he would be as ready to disavow it as inclined to give to the court of Copenhagen a just satisfaction for the insult offered to his flag; his Imperial majesty then foresaw, for the purpose of preventing such acts in future, the necessity of re-establishing the principles of the neutrality, under the protection of which his own subjects, as well as those of all the neutral powers, might enjoy the fruits of their industry, and the advantages of neutral nations in all the seas, without being afterwards exposed to arbitrary measures, which none of the Belligerent powers are permitted to exercise against them with impunity.

“ As the manifest interest of his Imperial majesty, both in regard to the navigation of his own subjects and that of his ports bordering on other nations, requires that the seas which wash the coasts of the Russian empire should be sheltered from such acts of violence, he invites the powers who possess ports in these districts, and particularly his majesty the king of Prussia, his majesty the king of Denmark, and his majesty the king of Sweden, to concert with his Imperial majesty respecting measures which will be successively communicated to them for

for re-establishing in their full force the principles of an armed neutrality, to secure the liberty of the seas. He makes known by the present declaration, that he is disposed to employ all the forces of his crown to maintain the honour of his flag, and that of his allies; to secure his subjects from every infraction of those rights under the protection of their respective governments, the advantages of the liberty of commerce and navigation.

“His Imperial majesty declares, with the same spirit of candour and impartiality, that in forming a rule for the exact observation of the rights of neutrality, he has no intention of infringing any one; and that the measures he will in his wisdom pursue, and the conduct of his officers and commanders, will be guided by such views of rigorous justice, that the belligerent powers shall not be able to deny the necessity, as well as the beneficence, of the intentions by which they have been dictated.

“By the express order of his Imperial majesty, his minister addresses the present declaration to his excellency Baron de Stedink, the ambassador extraordinary of his majesty the king of Sweden, with a request that it may be immediately communicated to his court.

(Signed) “COUNT ROSTOPSHIN.

“COUNT PANIN.

The following is the convention for the re-establishment of an armed Neutrality, between his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

In order that the freedom of navigation, and the security of the merchandize of the neutral powers, may be established, and the principles of the laws of nations be fully ascer-

tained, during the continuance of the present maritime war, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, actuated by their love of justice, and by a reciprocal desire to promote whatever may be for the public advantage of their respective states, have to that effect determined to give a new sanction to those principles of their neutrality, which are in their nature indissoluble, and require that it may be respected by all the powers interested in their preservation.—With this view their majesties have, by their declaration of the 15th of August, to the northern courts, who are equally concerned in the maintenance of those general regulations anciently recognized, given them to understand how sincerely it is the object of their hearts to restore, in its full independence, the rights of all nations to convoy their ships and merchandize freely, and without being subject to the controul of the powers at war. His Swedish majesty imparted his wishes and his sentiments to his great allies, and a happy conformity of their mutual interests has induced them to adopt the resolution of re-establishing that system of an armed neutrality which was attended with such advantages during the American war, and to renew its beneficial principles in a convention adapted to the present circumstances.

“Art. I. His majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias declare, that they will strictly enforce the prohibition they have issued against any contraband trade being carried on by their subjects with any power already engaged in war, or that may hereafter be engaged in it.

“Art. II. To prevent any doubt or misunderstanding

misunderstanding relative to what shall be considered as contraband, his Swedish majesty, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declare, that they will only consider the following articles as contraband, viz. cannons, mortars, muskets, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, flints, matches, gunpowder, salt-petre, brimstone, cuirasses, pikes, swords, sword-belts, cartridge-boxes, saddles and bridles, excepting such quantities of certain of the above articles as may be necessary for the defence of the ship and the crew. All others which are not mentioned shall not be esteemed as warlike stores or ammunition, and shall therefore pass free and without difficulty.—It is also agreed, that the present article shall not prejudice any particular stipulations of former treaties with the belligerent powers, according to which articles of a similar kind may be reserved, prohibited, or allowed.

“Art. III. As every thing which can be contraband shall be excluded from the commerce of neutral nations, it is the intention of his Swedish majesty and his Imperial majesty of all the Russias, that all other trade shall be and remain free; and in order to give a sufficient protection to the general principles of the law of nations, of which the freedom of trade and navigation, and the rights of neutral nations, are an immediate consequence, they have resolved that the same shall no longer be subject to an arbitrary and uncertain interpretation, given under the influence of partial and temporary interests—They therefore have agreed—

“1. That every ship may navigate freely from one port to another, and

along the coasts of the belligerent powers.

“2. That the effects which belong to the subjects of the belligerent powers, with the exception of those deemed contraband, are free.

“3. That, as it is necessary to define what constitutes a blockaded port, that port shall only receive this appellation which is attacked by a sufficient number of the enemy's ships, and sufficiently near to render it evidently dangerous to attempt to enter it; and every ship which shall enter such a port shall be considered as acting against the present convention; as also when, having received proper notice from the commandant of the blockade, it shall endeavour to enter it by force or craft.

“4. That neutral ships shall only be detained for a sufficient cause, and on evident grounds; that their sentence shall follow without delay; that the proceedings shall be uniform, prompt, and according to laws; and that as often as indemnifications are decreed for damages sustained, when no offence has been committed, a *full satisfaction* shall be made for the insult offered to the flags of their majesties.

“5. That the declaration of the officer who commands the ship or ships of war of the Royal or Imperial navy which may escort one or more merchantmen—that *his convoy has no contraband goods on board*—shall be sufficient to prevent any search from being made on board his ship, or any of the ships of his convoy.

“To secure still more the respect due to these principles, which arise from the unalterable rights of neutral nations, and to give a proof of their sincerity and love of justice, the high contracting parties solemnly engage

to renew the strictest prohibition to their commanders and captains, as well for merchants' ships as ships of war, from taking on board openly or secretly, any articles admitted to be contraband by the present convention, under the heaviest penalties, and to publish such notifications, that none may plead ignorance.

Art. IV. In order to support and defend the common trade of their subjects on the basis of the principles established by this convention, his Swedish majesty, and his Imperial majesty of all the Russias, have judged it expedient that each shall fit out a certain number of ships of war and frigates:—and the squadrons of each power shall take such stations, and be employed in such manner for convoys, as their trade and navigation require, and as shall be suitable to the nature and circumstances of the trade of each nation.

Art. V. To prevent any deception which may be practised by the flag of a nation being falsely assumed, it shall be established as an invariable rule, that every vessel to be considered as appertaining to the country, whose flag it bears, shall have the captain, and at least one half of the crew, natives of that country, and provided with passes of a proper form. Every vessel which shall not conform to this regulation, and offend against the stipulations of this convention, shall forfeit all right to the protection of the contracting powers, and the government to which it shall belong shall alone bear all the loss, damage, and injurious consequences which may ensue.

Art. VI. Should it happen that the merchants of one of the contracting powers be in a situation, at sea, where

there are no ships of war belonging to their own nation, and where they therefore cannot have the benefit of a convoy of their own, then shall the commanders of the ships of any of the other powers, if within the reach of their application, grant them such protection and assistance as may be necessary; it being always understood that the merchants asking this protection, are to be engaged in no sort of traffic not consistent with the principles which form the basis of this treaty of armed neutrality.

Art. VII. This convention shall have no retro-active effect, and takes, therefore, no account of differences subsisting before it was concluded. Its object is solely to explode an imperious, oppressive system, at war with the rights and privileges of all the neutral powers in Europe.

Art. VIII. If it so happen, that in spite of all the care that can be taken by the two powers, and notwithstanding the strictest neutrality maintained on their part, merchants, subjects of his majesty the king of Sweden, or of his Imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, shall be insulted, plundered, or otherwise injured by the privateers or other armed ships of the powers at war, then shall the minister of the nation, to which the injured party belongs, make his complaint to the government by whose privateers or other ships the injury has been done, and demand redress for the injuries of the merchants, as well as reparation for the insult offered to his sovereign's flag. The minister of the other contracting party shall join in the remonstrance, and shall, by all reasonable means, co-operate with him to procure fit satisfaction. If redress be denied, evaded, or deferred, then shall their majesties

majesties order reprisals on the power by which they are thus injuriously treated; and they shall agree between themselves in regard to the most suitable manner of rendering those reprisals effectual to the end proposed.

“Art. IX. Should either of these contracting powers be, in consequence of the present convention, in any way disturbed, molested, or attacked, then shall the two powers make common cause, and faithfully and steadily act in common by every feasible means, till they obtain full satisfaction for the affronts offered to their flags, and for the injuries which may be otherwise done to them and their subjects.

“Art. X. The present acts shall be considered as fixed principles and rules to be observed and maintained in all future naval wars, by which the tranquillity of Europe shall unfortunately happen to be disturbed. These stipulations shall be in all time coming, observed; and shall be received at all times, legitimately defining the just naval rights of neutral nations.

“Art. XI. As the primary object and end of this convention are to give full security to trade and navigation, their majesties the king of Sweden, and the emperor of all the Russias, therefore consent, that any other neutral powers may accede to it, who shall be willing to adopt its principles, and subject themselves to its obligations.

“Art. XII. That the powers now at war may not, through ignorance of the engagements now entered into between their said majesties, do any thing in undesigned violation of the principles here laid down, it is further agreed between the contracting powers, that this convention shall be communicated to those powers, in testimony that it

has no other intention, save only to protect trade, and give freedom and security to navigation.

“Art. XIII. The present convention shall be ratified by both the contracting parties, and the ratification shall be, in proper form, exchanged within six weeks, or as much sooner as possible, from the day of the signing of this convention.

“Done at St. Petersburg, Dec. 4th and 16th, 1800.”

In consequence of the above convention, the following note was transmitted by Mr. Drummond to the Danish minister for foreign affairs, Dated 27th Dec. 1800.

The court of London, informed that Denmark is carrying on with activity, negotiations very hostile to the interests of the British empire, thinks that it cannot better fulfil the duties which such a circumstance prescribes, than by addressing itself directly to the minister of his Danish majesty, to demand from him a frank and satisfactory explanation.

In all the courts of Europe they speak openly of a confederacy between Denmark and some other powers, to oppose by force the exercise of those principles of maritime law on which the naval power of the British empire in a great measure rests, and which in all wars have been followed by the maritime states, and acknowledged by their tribunals.

His Britannic majesty, relying with confidence upon the loyalty of his Danish majesty, and upon the faith of the engagements recently contracted between the two courts, has not demanded from him any explanation on this head. It was his wish to wait for the moment when the court of Denmark should think it its duty to con-

tradict

tradicts those reports, so injurious to its good faith, and so little compatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which had been re-established between the two countries.

At present the conduct and the public declaration of one of the powers, which it is pretended have entered into this confederacy, do not permit his majesty to preserve any longer towards the rest the same silence which he has hitherto observed.

The undersigned therefore finds himself bound to demand from his excellency count de Bernstorff, a plain, open, and satisfactory answer on the nature, object, and extent of the obligations which his Danish majesty may have contracted, or the negotiations which he is carrying on with respect to a matter which so nearly concerns the dignity of his Britannic majesty, and the interests of his people.

His Britannic majesty, always ready to return all the marks of friendship which he may receive on the part of his Danish majesty, hopes to find, in the answer of the Court of Copenhagen to this request, only a new occasion of manifesting these dispositions.

In transmitting this note to M. the secretary of state, the undersigned avails himself, with pleasure, of this opportunity, to assure him of the high consideration with which he has the honour to be,

His very humble,

and very obedient servant,

W. DRUMMOND.

NOTE IN ANSWER.

The undersigned, secretary of state for foreign affairs, having given an account to the king his master, of the contents of the note which Mr. Drummond has done him the honour to

transmit to him on the 27th instant, is authorized to return the answer which follows:

The court of London must have received very incorrect information, to have been able for a moment to presume that Denmark had conceived projects hostile against it, or incompatible with the maintenance of the good understanding which subsists between the two crowns; and the king is very much obliged to his Britannic majesty, for having furnished him with the opportunity of contradicting, in the most positive manner, reports as ill founded, as contrary to his most decided sentiments.

The negociation which is carrying on at St. Petersburg between Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, has no other object than the renewal of the engagements, which in the years 1780 and 1781, were contracted by the same powers for the safety of their navigation, and of which a communication was at that time made to all the courts of Europe.

His majesty the emperor of Russia, having proposed to the powers of the north to re-establish these engagements in their original form, Denmark has so much the less hesitated to consent to it, as, far from having ever abandoned the principles professed in 1780, she has thought it her duty to maintain them, and claim them upon all occasions, and not allow herself to admit in respect of them any other modifications than those which result from her treaties with the belligerent powers.

Very far from wishing to interrupt those powers in the exercise of rights which the war gives them, Denmark introduces into the negociation with her allies, none but views absolutely defensive, pacific, and incapable of giving

giving offence or provocation to any one. The engagements she will make will be founded upon the strictest fulfilments to the duties of neutrality, and of the obligations which her treaties impose upon her: and if she wishes to shelter her innocent navigation from the manifest abuses and violence which a maritime war produces but too easily, she thinks she pays respect to the belligerent powers by supposing, that, far from wishing to authorize or tolerate those abuses, they would, on their side, adopt measures best calculated to prevent or repress them.

Denmark has not made a mystery to any one of the object of her negotiation, upon the nature of which some suspicion has been infused into the court of London: but she has not thought that she departed from the usual forms, in wishing to wait the definitive result of it, in order to communicate an official account of it to the powers at war.

The undersigned, not knowing that any of the powers engaged in this negotiation has made a declaration, or adopted measures relative to its object, at which Great-Britain might take offence or umbrage, cannot without ulterior explanation reply to this point of Mr. Drummond's note.

Much less does he conceive in what respect the engagement taken by the previous convention of the 29th of August last, can be considered as contrary to those which Denmark is about to enter into with the neutral and united powers of the north; and in all cases in which he shall find himself called upon to combat or remove the doubts that shall have been conceived with respect to the good faith of the king, he shall consider his task to be

very easy, as long as this good faith shall be introduced into the approaches or suspicions advanced against his majesty. He flatters himself that the English government, after having received the required explanations, will have the frankness to allow that the provisional and momentary abandonment, not of a principle, the question with respect to which remained undecided, but of a measure, whose right has never been, nor ever can be, contested, cannot be found at all in opposition to the general and permanent principles, relative to which the powers of the north are upon the point of establishing a co-operation, which, so far from being calculated to compromise their neutrality, is destined only to strengthen it.

The undersigned would fain believe that these explanations will appear satisfactory to the court of London; and that the latter will do justice to the intentions and sentiments of the king, and particularly to his majesty's invariable desire to maintain and cement, by all the means in his power, the friendship and good understanding which subsist between Denmark and Great-Britain.

He has the honour to offer to Mr. Drummond the assurance of his most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) BERNSTORFF.

Copenhagen, Dec. 31, 1800.

His Britannic majesty having received count Bernstorff's note in answer to Mr. Drummond's of the 27th of December 1800, issued his royal proclamation on the 14th of January following, in which an embargo was laid on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish ships and vessels whatsoever which were and should hereafter come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within

within the united kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said ships and vessels, but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships and vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained.

Note from the English ambassador at Berlin, lord Carysfort, to the Prussian state and cabinet minister, count Von Haugwitz.

“As the undersigned, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, has been directed by his court to communicate to the Prussian ministry his majesty's note, which, by command of his majesty, the king of Great Britain and Ireland, was presented to the ministers of Denmark and Sweden, he cannot discharge this commission without likewise expressing his sincere satisfaction in being authorised to declare how thoroughly his majesty is convinced that Prussia can never have sanctioned the measures which have given rise to the above recited note. Those measures openly disclose an intention to prescribe rules to the British empire on a subject of the greatest importance; to force those rules upon Great-Britain, and for that end, before any of the powers who have concurred in it have given the smallest intimation to his majesty, to enter into a league, the object of which is to renew pretensions which Great-Britain at every time has considered hostile to its rights and interests, and so declared whenever an opportunity presented—pretensions which the Russian court has abandoned, not only in fact, but which, by a treaty actually in force, Russia is bound to oppose, and

the execution of which treaty his majesty is entitled to insist upon.

“When a ship of war belonging to his Danish majesty resisted by force the execution of a right, which the king of Great-Britain and Ireland, by virtue of the clearest and most express stipulations of his treaties with the court of Denmark, had demanded, his majesty, on that occasion, confined himself to the adoption of such measures as the protection of the trade of his subjects required to be given against that measure of hostility, which this conduct on the part of an officer bearing his majesty's commission, seemed to show. An amicable arrangement put an end to this dispute, and the king flattered himself, not only that all misunderstanding on that subject was removed, but amity between the two courts was strengthened anew and confirmed. In this situation of affairs his Majesty must have learnt, with no less astonishment than concern, that the court of Copenhagen was employed in negotiations to renew the hostile confederacy against Great-Britain which took place in 1780, and that also great preparations were going on in the ports of Denmark. Under these circumstances the king must have been compelled to call for explanations from the court of Denmark. At this moment he received information that a confederacy was signed at Petersburg, and the answer of the Danish minister left no doubt respecting the nature and object of this convention, as he declared, in the most express manner, “that these negotiations had in view the renewal of those relations which had been entered into between the same powers in the years 1780 and 1781,” adding “that his majesty the emperor of Russia

sia had proposed to the northern powers the renewal of their connection in its original form." The engagements alluded to had for their object principles of maritime law, which never had been recognized by the tribunals of Europe, and the contracting parties mutually engaged to maintain them by force, and to compel by force other nations to adopt them. They are still more repugnant to the express stipulations of the treaties which subsist between the courts of Stockholm and Denmark, and the British empire.

"The convention which these engagements were to renew was negotiated at a time when the court of Petersburg had adopted hostile measures against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, and when nothing but the extraordinary moderation of the king could have authorized other powers not to consider him as at open war with that court. In such a state of things nothing certainly could be more inconsistent with the idea of neutrality, and nothing more distinctly indicate a hostile disposition, than those engagements were not postponed till it was ascertained whether Russia was not to be considered as a belligerent power. Such forbearance was the more to be expected, and particularly from the court of Copenhagen, as by an express article of the league of 1780, the Danish ports and havens in Norway were placed at the disposal of Russia for the purpose of facilitating the prosecution of hostilities out of the Baltic. When therefore the king was informed by one of the contracting parties, that the object of the negotiations which had been begun at Petersburg, without giving the least intimation, and which at last, according to the information received by the king,

had terminated in the conclusion of a convention, was no other than to renew the former confederacy to press upon his majesty a new code of law, to which he had already refused his assent; and when moreover he had the most certain intelligence, and could no longer doubt that the powers of the Baltic, engaged in this transaction, were pursuing warlike preparations with the utmost activity; when one of those powers had placed itself in a state of actual hostilities with his majesty, no other alternative remained but either to submit, or to adopt measures which were calculated to put an effectual stop to the hostile operation of a league, which, by the declaration of the Danish court itself, was openly directed against his majesty. Meanwhile his majesty has not omitted on this occasion to display his wonted justice and good-will. Although he felt it necessary, for the maintenance of his rights, to secure some pledge against the hostile attacks which were meditated against his rights, yet he has taken the utmost care to guard against loss and injury to individuals. Firmly convinced that his conduct towards neutral states has been conformable to the recognised principles of laws, whose basis and sanction is to be found not in passing interests and momentary convenience, but in the general principles of justice; of laws which have been received and observed by the admiralty courts of all the maritime powers of Europe; his majesty does not yet forego the hope that the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen will not take upon them the responsibility that will fall upon the authors of the war; that particularly they will not expose themselves to that responsibility for the introduction of innovations, the notorious injustice of which

which has induced those powers by which they were first broached to oppose, when they found themselves at war; innovations besides, which are expressly repugnant to those treaties which have been concluded with his majesty. The step on which his majesty has resolved must have long been foreseen. The British government has never concealed that it considered the league of 1780 as hostile, and had never ceased that attention with which it watches over the rights of the nation.

It immediately resisted the attempt to renew the principles which, at the above-mentioned period, had been agitated, and the undersigned declared to count Haugwitz, at the first conference he had with him on his arrival at Berlin, "that his majesty would never to submit pretensions which were irreconcilable to the true principles of public law, and which strike at the foundations of the greatness and maritime power of his kingdoms." Still later in the beginning of November, the undersigned had the honour to represent to his excellency, to the minister of a power connected with his majesty by the most intimate friendship, what disagreeable consequences must follow from the attempt of the Northern powers to press forward those pretensions. He has never ceased to renew this declaration when, by the command of his majesty, he has been the interpreter of that satisfaction given to the king by the repeated assurances of the friendship of his majesty the King of Prussia, and of those constant sentiments of perfect justice of which his majesty has never for a moment entertained a doubt.—His excellency count Haugwitz will likewise easily recollect the time when the undersigned, ultimately convinced of the friendly intentions of the Prussian

government, communicated to him, by the command of his Britannic majesty, the king's resolution to allow of no measures which had for their object to introduce innovations in the maritime law now in force, but, on the contrary, to defend that system in every event, and to maintain its entire execution, as it had subsisted in all the courts of Europe prior to the year 1780.

If the court of Denmark had announced in the most unequivocal manner, the real objects and contents of the engagements into which it had entered, the declaration of that court, that Prussia was one of the powers concerned in the negotiation, would have been sufficient to satisfy the king, and to prove to him that it could have no hostile views against his government; and even still his majesty is convinced that he may implicitly rely on the friendship of his Prussian majesty. It is true that, in relation to Great-Britain and Ireland, there can be no similarity between the Northern powers and Prussia. Those powers are connected with his majesty by the stipulations of mutual treaties, which are less favourable to their interests, and which more or less modify and soften the rigour of the general law; whereas between his majesty the king of Great-Britain and Prussia, no treaty of commerce exists, and all intercourse between them is regulated by the general principles of the law of nations, and established usages.—If, however, his majesty were to consider his own sentiments, and the incessant wish he has shewn to preserve the friendship of a monarch with whom he is connected by so many ties, he could not at all anticipate the possibility of a difference which might not easily and speedily be terminated by an amicable discussion. The repeated assurances

surances of such sentiments on the part of his Prussian majesty, which the undersigned has been empowered to transmit to his court, confirm this agreeable anticipation, and the known principles which have constantly directed his majesty the king of Prussia, do not tend to countenance the supposition that the latter has entered into a confederacy, or can enter into the confederacy, to support by force principles in common with other powers, whose hostile views against his Britannic majesty have been openly proved. Whatever sentiments the Prussian government may entertain in regard to the new principles themselves, yet it is too just, and knows too well what sovereigns owe to their people, and to one another, as to favour for a moment the design to employ force in order to induce his Britannic majesty to acknowledge a code which the latter deems inconsistent with the honour and security of his crown.

(Signed) "CARYSFORT."
 "Berlin, Jan. 27, 1801."

[The above was followed by another note from lord Carysfort, dated the 1st of February, which merely intimates to the court of Berlin the indecorous and hostile conduct of Russia towards Great-Britain.]

ANSWER.

The undersigned, state and cabinet minister, has laid before his Prussian majesty the two notes which lord Carysfort, envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary from his majesty the king of Great Britain and Ireland, has done him the honour to transmit to him on the 27th of January, and 1st of February last.

The undersigned having it in commission to return an explicit and circumstantial answer, is under the necessity

of informing lord Carysfort, that his majesty cannot see, without the utmost grief and concern, the violent and hasty measures to which the court of London has proceeded against the northern naval powers. Error alone can have given occasion to these measures, as the assertions in the note of the 27th sufficiently shew. In that it is said, that the maritime alliance "has for its object, to annul the treaties formerly concluded with England, and to prescribe laws to her, with respect to the principles of them, that the neutrality is only a pretext to impose these laws on her by force, and to establish a hostile alliance against her."

Nothing, however, is farther from the above-mentioned negotiation, than the principles here supposed. It is founded in justice and moderation, and the communication of a copy of the convention to such of the belligerent powers as had the justice and patience to wait for the same, will prove this beyond the possibility of a denial.

When in the beginning of January the minister of his Britannic majesty officially proposed to the undersigned the question, "whether the northern courts had actually concluded the confederation which had been reported; and whether Prussia had acceded to it?"—the king conceived that the respect which sovereigns owe to each other, and the liberty possessed by every independent state to consult its own interests, without rendering an account to any other power, authorized him to withhold any communications relative to himself and his allies; and contented himself with answering, that as he had seen, without interfering, the connections which England has entered into without consulting

consulting him, he considered himself entitled to the same confidence; and that if the king of Great-Britain thought it his duty to support the rights and interests of his kingdom, his Prussian majesty considered it as not less his duty to employ every means in the defence of the rights and interests of his subjects.

This answer might have sufficed a few weeks since, but in the situation in which affairs now are, the king thinks himself called upon to make an explicit declaration to the court of London, relative to the spirit of the treaty, which has probably been attacked because it was not known, and which is far from having the offensive views of which the contracting powers have been arbitrarily accused. They have expressly agreed, that their measures shall be neither hostile, nor tend to the detriment of any country, but only have for their object the security of the trade and navigation of their subjects. They have been attentive to adopt their new connexions to present circumstances.—The strict justice of his majesty the emperor of Russia has, even in the detail, proposed modifications, which alone might be sufficient to indicate the spirit of the whole. It has since been determined, that the treaty shall not be prejudicial to those which had before been concluded with any of the belligerent powers. It was also resolved, that this determination should be candidly communicated to those powers, to prove the purity of the motives and views of the contracting parties.—But England would not allow time for this. Had she waited this confidential communication, she might have avoided these intemperate measures which

threaten to spread the flames of war still wider.

Besides, it only depended on England, previously, to draw satisfactory information from the correspondence with Denmark, if instead of taking hold of two insulated passages, which lord Carysfort, in his first note, extracted from count Bernstorff's note of the 31st of December, the court of London had listened to the solemn declaration which it contained:—"That it could never have been supposed for a moment that Denmark had formed hostile projects against England, or plans that could not subsist together with the maintenance of harmony between the two crowns, and that the court of Copenhagen congratulated itself on finding an opportunity for contradicting, in the most positive manner, such unfounded reports." This plain and precise declaration agrees with the language which the undersigned had used more than once to lord Carysfort, when speaking on that subject, and it can scarcely be conceived how the English court, after that declaration had been received, could conclude from the note of the minister of Denmark, "That the engagement of the contracting powers had for their object the introduction of principles of naval rights, which had never been acknowledged by the tribunals of Europe, and which were of a hostile tendency against England." The conclusion is totally false, and is not authorised even more by the contents of the answer of the Danish court, than the other unmerited reproach made to it, "of having renewed an alliance of a hostile tendency against England, and of being actively employed in armaments with that view." Never were measures more evidently

evidently defensive, than the measures of the court of Copenhagen, and their spirit will be misconceived still less, when it is considered what menacing demonstration that court had experienced from the British government, on occasion of the affair with the Freya frigate, before the above measures were resorted to. England's arbitrary conduct on this occasion is naturally explained by the pretensions which it had made for some time past, and which it has repeatedly renewed in the notes of lord Carysfort, at the expence of every commercial and naval power. The British government has, in the present, more than in any former war, usurped the *sovereignty of the seas*, and by arbitrarily framing a naval code, which it would be difficult to unite with the true principles of the law of nations, it exercises, over the other friendly and neutral powers, an usurped jurisdiction, the legality of which it maintains, and which it considers as an imprescriptable right, sanctioned by all the tribunals of Europe. The sovereigns have never conceded to England the privilege of calling their subjects before its tribunals, and of subjecting them to its laws, in cases where the abuse of power has got the better of equity, and which, alas! are but too frequent. The neutral powers have always had the precaution of addressing to it the most energetic reclamations and protests, but experience has ever proved their remonstrances fruitless; and it is not surprising that, after so many repeated acts of oppression, they have resolved to find a remedy against it, and for that purpose to establish a well-arranged convention, which fixes their rights, and which places them on a proper level even with the powers at war.

The naval alliance in the manner as it has just been consolidated, was intended to lead to this salutary end, and the king hesitates not to declare to his Britannic majesty, that he has again found in his own principles, that he is fully convinced of its necessity and utility, and that he has formally acceded to the convention, which has been concluded on the 16th of December last year, between the courts of Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. His majesty is, therefore, among the number of the contracting parties, and has bound himself, in that quality, not only to take a direct share in all the events which interest the cause of the neutral powers, but also, in virtue of his engagements, to maintain that connection, by such powerful measures as the impulse of circumstances may require. The note of lord Carysfort mentions a subject, to which his majesty believes himself neither obliged to answer, nor even to have a right of entertaining an opinion with respect to it.—There exist discussions between the courts of Petersburg and London, which have by no means any thing to do with the business which the latter has interwoven with it. But in the same measure in which the conduct of Prussia has hitherto been directed by the most blameless impartiality, the king's conduct will henceforth be directed by his regard for engagements, which are in themselves a proof of it. To stipulations which contain nothing hostile, and which the safety of his subjects required, he owes all the means which providence has laid in his power. Unpleasant as the extremes may be to which England has proceeded, yet his majesty doubts not the possibility of a speedy return to conciliating and peaceable dispositions, and he relies

on the sentiments of equity which, on former occasions, he has had the advantage of meeting with in his Britannic majesty.

It is only by revoking, and by entirely taking off the embargo, that affairs can be brought to their former situation; and it is for England to judge, whether it ought to come to that resolution, in order to offer means to the neutral powers for proceeding to those communications which they intended to make.

But while those measures exist, which have been resorted to from hatred against a common principle, and against an alliance which can no longer be shaken, the hostile resolution, which must be the consequence, will be the necessary result of the treaty, and the undersigned is ordered to declare to the minister of his Britannic majesty, that the king, while he expresses his concern at events of which he has not been the cause, will sacredly fulfil the engagements prescribed to him by treaties. The undersigned, thus executing his orders, has the honour of assuring lord Carysfort of his high esteem.

(Signed)

HAUGWITZ.

On the 4th of March, the following note was transmitted by Baron Von Ehrenswart, the imperial Swedish minister at London, to lord Hawkesbury, the English secretary of state:

The undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty, has the honour to transmit to his excellency lord Hawkesbury, first secretary of state of his Britannic majesty, a printed copy of the naval convention, concluded on the 16th of December, 1800, between his Swedish majesty, and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as well

as a printed copy of the naval regulations which the king has recently ordered to be drawn up.

The undersigned, who, at the command of his court, has the honour to make this communication to the minister of his Britannic majesty, has it likewise in commission expressly to declare, that their majesties, by the said naval convention, have reciprocally determined and settled those rights, which, as neutral powers, they believe themselves entitled to; and by the naval regulations, have ascertained those duties, for the performance and observance of which, on the part of their subjects, they, as neutral powers, make themselves answerable. The objects of their majesties is to confirm and strengthen their rights of neutrality, and to promote the repose of their respective states, by the naval convention they have entered into; and nothing is farther from their intention, than by such a step to provoke hostilities. The respect which is due to the rights of nations and to treaties—the consciousness that their own interests are inseparably united with the interests and the love of justice and peace, are the only motives by which their majesties have been actuated; they have therefore learnt, with the greatest astonishment, that the first news of the conclusion of this convention in England, has been the occasion of so violent a measure, as that of laying an embargo on the Swedish ships.

So far from desiring to introduce any innovations with respect to the maritime state of Europe, by the assertion of their rights of neutrality, their majesties are sensible that it gives no power whatever where those rights were not acknowledged by former treaties. England has seen those

treaties executed; they were officially communicated to her, and she did not protest against them. In like manner it was with regard to the convention of 1780 and 1781, and the ministry, who now proceed with so much violence, know that the partial renewal of that convention between Sweden and Denmark in 1794, and the armament that followed, operated, during a period of three years, without ever being considered as grounds for hostilities, yet a similar convention is now deemed an hostile confederacy against England.— A line of conduct so contradictory proceeds not from the circumstance of the principles and claims of neutral rights having been now enforced, but it seems to have its foundation in that maritime system which England has established in the course of the present war. It appears also, that that government, which Europe, from its pacific sentiments, has so often endeavoured to convince of the injustice of its pretensions, has now determined to commence a war for the subjection of the sea, after it has rendered itself so renowned in the war undertaken for the freedom of Europe.

If the British minister will refer to the conduct of England against Sweden, and the neutral powers in general, during this war, he will find the real cause why his Swedish majesty has been induced to believe that the formal alliance of several powers, acting upon the same principles, would more effectually tend to convince the court of London of the validity of those principles, than by any one power renewing the reclamations which have hitherto been made in vain; at the same time his majesty never supposed that such an alliance would be considered as an act of hostility. The

British minister complains that the court of London was not before instructed of the intention of the respective courts to renew the convention of 1780; but in the same note he states, that England had entered into engagements this war with its allies respecting neutrals; thus the avowal of the British minister is an answer to his own charge.

If his majesty was not fully convinced of the innocence of his intentions, and if he was desirous of deviating from that line of moderation he has ever observed, he might make an invidious and censurable enumeration of the conduct of England: of the unpunished offences of the commanders of English ships of war, even in Swedish harbours; of the inquisitorial examinations to which the captains and crews of the ships detained, as well in the West Indies as in England, have been subjected; of the detention of the convoy in 1798; of the deceitful chicanery with which the proceedings of the courts of Admiralty were accompanied; of the absolute denial of justice in many instances; and lastly, by the insult offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona. His Swedish majesty must, doubtless, state among the offences of which he has cause to complain, that after one of his ministers had been sent to the British court, its aggressions, instead of being admitted and remedied, were justified. But he has sought no revenge; his majesty wishes only to procure that security to his flag to which it is entitled. In consequence of this sentiment, the undersigned is empowered to declare, that the British court shall acknowledge the rights of Sweden; that it shall do justice with regard to the convoys detained in 1798, as well as respecting the

the violence offered to the Swedish flag at Barcelona ; and above all, that it shall take off the embargo which has been so unjustly laid on the Swedish ships. His majesty will, with the greatest pleasure, see his ports again opened to the trade of England, and the ancient good understanding between the two courts renewed. His majesty impressed with that dignity due to his empire, has, in consequence of the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships, placed a similar embargo on all English vessels in the harbours of Sweden.

As the pacific tendency of the present convention has been proved to a demonstration, his majesty therefore hopes that no consideration, respecting any accidental occurrence which may have taken place between the ally of his majesty the emperor of Russia and the court of London, will be introduced. The act of the convention itself proves, that its basis are the rights of neutrality, and that it is in its nature unconnected with every other subject of dispute.

While the undersigned, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty, recommends the contents of this present note to the earnest consideration of the minister of his Britannic majesty, he has the honour to intreat his excellency lord Hawkesbury will transmit him an answer, which he hopes will speak the sentiments of the king his master.

His majesty has commanded the undersigned to present this to his excellency. Should the conciliatory views with which it is dictated prove fruitless, it is his majesty's opinion, that the presence of the undersigned, at the court of London, will no longer be of any advantage.

The undersigned has the honour to

assure his excellency lord Hawkesbury of his highest esteem.

BARON VON EHRENSWARD.

London, 4th March, 1801.

ANSWER.

The undersigned, his majesty's first secretary of state for foreign affairs, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of the 4th instant of baron Ehrensward, minister plenipotentiary of his Swedish majesty. His majesty has already repeated his determined and unalterable resolution to insist upon the acknowledgment of the principles of those maritime rights, which have stood the test of ages, and have been considered the best security for the just rights and privileges, as well of neutral as of belligerent powers.

The explanations which have been endeavoured to be made respecting the present convention, have not, in the slightest degree, weakened the impression which was produced by its first perusal, namely, that the intentions and motives of the contracting powers were hostile to the rights of his majesty ; and this impression is fully confirmed by observing that the northern courts have adopted the principles of the convention of 1780, which was entered into at a period when the circumstances of the war, and the proportional strength of the navies of the belligerent powers, altered what was before a general rule of equity to all nations, and rendered it a means of exclusive offence on the part of Great-Britain.

Under these circumstances, the embargo laid upon the Swedish ships can only be considered as an act of legitimate and necessary prudence, and cannot be otherwise denominated, while the court of Stockholm continues a party to a convention, the object of which

which is to impose upon his majesty a new maritime system, incompatible with the dignity of his throne, and the rights and interests of his people.

The undersigned requests the baron von Ehrenswart to receive the assurances of his high esteem.

(Signed) *Hawkesbury.*

Downing-street, March 6, 1801.

The king of Prussia having made preparations for taking possession of Hamburgh, his highness prince Charles of Hesse, in the mean time, had received orders from his Danish majesty, to occupy that city with the troops under his command, then posted in the neighbourhood, which he accordingly did on the 28th of March.—About the same time, the king of Prussia's troops took possession of Hanover. In consequence of which he issued his declaration to the royal and electoral council of Hanover, and to the officers commanding the army, of which the following are the most prominent parts of the contents:

“His majesty the king of Prussia demands, requires, and expects from the electoral college of the privy counsellors of Hanover, and from the generality, that they do submit *without delay, and without a murmur*; and that all the injunctions relative to the occupancy of the electoral states by the Prussian troops, be strictly obeyed.

His majesty requires in a more particular manner, that the Hanoverian corps hitherto posted to the army of demarkation be disbanded, with a proportionable part of the other troops.

His majesty moreover requires, that the generals and other officers do promise in writing, that they will not serve against his majesty the king of Prussia; that, on the contrary, they will implicitly obey his orders till the

whole affair shall be terminated.—The troops shall go into quarters on the right bank of the Seine, and on the left of the Aller, behind the Luhe as far as the Elbe, where they are to remain separate, in the cities of Hanover, Gifhorn, Welgen, Lunebourg and other small places. All the other towns, with the fortress of Hamelin, shall be possessed by the Prussian troops, under the command of lieut. general de Kleist.

His majesty announces moreover, that the Prussian troops are to be maintained by the subjects of the electorate, from the end of April. Thus all intercourse between the electoral college and the king of England shall cease, and the constituted authorities are bound to account to the king of Prussia for all monies, &c.

His majesty promises to the nobility and others the full enjoyment of tranquillity and security, at the same time threatening them with all the rigour of his displeasure, should they offend against the tenor of this act.”

On the 28th, admiral Parker sent a flag of truce to colonel Stricker, commandant of the fortress of Cronenberg, with a dispatch, importing, that the hostile conduct of Denmark, and the sending away of the English charge d'affairs, Mr. Drummond, from Copenhagen, rendered it necessary for him to demand whether his fleet would be permitted to sail by Cronenberg, declaring, at the same time, that he should consider the first cannon shot as a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. Colonel Stricker replied, that as he knew not with what view so large a fleet was sent to pass the Sound, he could not permit it to pass Cronenberg; but that he would, however, send to Copenhagen for further orders.

Colonel

Colonel Stricker immediately sent to Copenhagen, and in the night between the 28th and 29th, received the most positive orders not to suffer the English fleet to pass. This answer he directly communicated to admiral Parker, who replied, that he considered this as a declaration of war, and that he should immediately commence hostilities.

Accordingly, on the 29th in the afternoon, the English fleet weighed anchor, and the next morning, about seven o'clock, sailed into the entrance of the Sound with a north wind, which at first was not very strong. A cannonade immediately commenced from the fortress of Cronenberg, while a battery of eight guns on the Swedish side likewise began to fire upon the English fleet.

The English, on their part, threw bombs into Cronenberg and Elsineur as they passed, but did little damage, as on the side of the Danes only two men were killed and some wounded. Five of the foremost of the English ships were much damaged in their passage, by the heavy fire from the fortress of Cronenberg; but this did not prevent the passage of the rest of the fleet, and in two hours, that is, between seven and nine in the morning of the 30th, the whole fleet had got through the Sound, and about twelve they anchored at the distance of about a German mile from Copenhagen. They sent out two small vessels to take soundings, but on the outermost battery firing on them they retired.

The following are the particulars relating to the battle after passing the Sound, as stated by admiral Nelson in the London Gazette.

In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the squadron, which you did me the honour to place

under my command: I beg leave to inform you, that having by the assistance of that able officer captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of captain Brisbane, and the masters of the Amazon and Cruizer in particular, buoyed the channel of the outer deep, and the position of the middle ground, the squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco the evening of the first; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, mounting from twenty-six 24-pounders, to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels.

These were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the Island of Amak.

The bomb ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape, the other seventeen sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, after a battle of four hours.

From the very intricate navigation, the Bellona and Russel unfortunately grounded, but although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The Agamemnon could not weather the shoal of the middle, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame can be attached to captain Fancourt; it was an event to which all the ships were liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three ships before-mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown Islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and prevented the heavy loss in the Defiance and Monarch,

narch, and which unhappily threw the gallant and good captain Riou under a very heavy fire; the consequence has been the death of captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops.

The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast of the Elephant, and threw some shells in the arsenal.

Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did every thing that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to captain Rose, and, I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions.

The boats of those ships of the fleet which were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation.

The Desiree took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship of the line, and performed the greatest service.

The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by captain George Murray, of the Edgar, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was as well followed up by every captain, officer, and man in the squadron.

It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of rear admiral Graves.

To captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the Elephant, I feel under the greatest obligations; his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle.

I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The honourable colonel Stewart did me the

favour to be on board the Elephant, and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day.

The loss in such a battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many other brave officers and men who were killed, I have with sorrow to place the name of captain Mosse; of the Monarch, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and, among the wounded, that of captain sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the Bellona.

(Signed) *Nelson.*

As soon as the fire of the Danes was silenced, the hero of Aboukir, with that humanity which is so congenial to true heroism, sent a flag of truce on shore with a letter to the following purport:—

The brave English to their brethren the brave Danes.

I am now in possession of the batteries; and wishing to stop any farther effusion of blood, I consent to a suspension of hostilities.

Nelson.

The prince royal's adjutant-general being sent on board his lordship's fleet to learn the conditions of a truce, the admiral informed him, that he would deem that day one of the happiest of his life on which he should see the good understanding between Great-Britain and Denmark restored; but that all farther negotiations must be carried on with sir Hyde Parker, as chief-commanding admiral. A flag of truce being sent to sir Hyde Parker, he delivered his terms, adding, that since it was rather late in the evening, it would be time enough to send an answer in the morning. The adjutant asked, 'By what time?' Sir Hyde replied 'Any time you like.'

The

The council of state sat till past one o'clock in the morning of the 31st, and met again at half past five A. M. In this latter sitting, the Danish ministers had a long conference with the Russian and Prussian ministers. The adjutant-general Lindholm returned with a preliminary answer to sir Hyde Parker, who said, that it would be better to continue the negotiations verbally; and as he was not well himself, he would send admiral lord Nelson on shore for the purpose of conferring with the Prince Royal only. His lordship came on shore accordingly in the afternoon, and opened negotiations, from which great hopes of success were entertained. Nelson, on landing, said to general Lindholm, that the French had fought bravely, but that they could not have sustained more than one hour such a fire as the Danes sustained for four hours. "I have," added he, "in the course of my life, been in 105 engagements; but that of to-day was the most terrible of all."

The Danish government on one part, and admiral sir Hyde Parker, knt. commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's naval force in the road of Copenhagen, on the other, equally induced by sentiments of humanity to put a stop to the effusion of blood, and preserve the city of Copenhagen from the calamitous consequences of a continuation of hostilities, have mutually agreed to a cessation of arms.

With this view his majesty the king of Denmark has appointed major-general Ernestus Frederick Waltersdorff, chamberlain to his Danish majesty and colonel of a regiment, and adjutant-general Hans Lindholm, as commissioners to conclude this armistice; and admiral sir Hyde Parker has, on his part, appointed lord Horatio

Nelson, knight of the order of the Bath, duke of Bronte in Sicily, Grand Cross of the orders of Ferdinand and Merit, and knight of the Austrian order of the Crescent, vice-admiral of the fleet of his Britannic majesty; and also lieutenant colonel William Stewart, commander of a detachment of land troops on board the fleet; which commissioners have this day met together, and, after exchanging their full powers, agreed to the following conditions:—

Art. I. From the moment of the signing of this armistice all hostilities shall cease between the fleet under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker and the city of Copenhagen, and all armed ships and vessels belonging to his Danish majesty, which shall be found in the road or harbour of that city, as also between the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included.

Art. II. The armed ships and vessels of his Danish majesty shall remain in their present condition, as well with respect to the manner in which they are manned, as to their military; and the treaty, known by the name of the treaty of the armed neutrality, shall, as far as concerns the active co-operation of Denmark, remain suspended, so long as this armistice shall continue in force.—On the other hand, the armed ships and vessels under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, shall in no manner whatever disturb the city of Copenhagen, or the armed ships or vessels of his Danish majesty, or the coasts of the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included: and to prevent every thing which may create disturbance or suspicion, admiral sir Hyde Parker shall on no account permit any ship or vessel under his command

mand to approach within cannon shot of the armed ships or fortifications of his Danish majesty in the road of Copenhagen. This limitation shall, however, not extend to the ships which must necessarily pass and repass through the King's Deeps.

Art. III. This armistice shall secure the city of Copenhagen, as also the coasts of Denmark, Jutland, and the islands, against the attack of any other fleet of war, which now, or hereafter, during the continuance of this armistice, may be sent by his Britannic majesty into these seas.

Art. IV. The fleet of admiral sir Hyde Parker shall be at liberty to procure from the city of Copenhagen, and along the coasts of the different islands and provinces of Denmark, Jutland included, whatever may be wanted for the health and comfort of the crews.

Art. V. Admiral sir Hyde Parker shall engage to send on shore all the subjects of his Danish majesty, which are at present on board the British fleet under his command; and the Danish government engages to account both for them and for the wounded which have been suffered to come on shore after the battle of the 2d, in the unfortunate case of the renewal of hostilities with Great Britain.

Art. VI. The coasting trade of Denmark, with the different parts of the coast included within the extent of this armistice, shall in no manner be disturbed by any British armed ship or vessel, and admiral sir Hyde Parker shall issue the necessary instructions to that purpose.

Art. VII. This armistice shall continue in force during the space of fourteen weeks from the day of its being signed by the contracting parties; after the expiration of that time each of the

said parties shall be at liberty to declare it terminated, and recommence hostilities, from a previous notice of fourteen days.

The conditions of this armistice shall on every occasion be explained in the most liberal and candid manner, in order to remove every ground of future dispute, and facilitate the means of restoration of friendship and good understanding between the two kingdoms.

Given on board his Britannic majesty's ship the London, in the road of Copenhagen, April 9, 1801.

It was while Nelson was treating with gen. Walterstorf, that the prince royal learned, through the medium of a messenger from Hamburg, the demise of the emperor Paul. This unexpected intelligence, so important at that juncture, was buzzed through the town, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the prince to prevent it from spreading. It is however, certain that Nelson re embarked without knowing the event. His death took place in the night of March 23, and was extremely sudden, he having been found dead in his chair.

The English fleet appeared off the entrance of Carlsrona, and sent a frigate with a flag of truce, and a letter in the English language, to the governor, of which the following are the contents:

“ On board the London,
April 18, 1801.

“ The Danish court having been induced to conclude an armistice, by which the unfortunate disputes, between the courts of Denmark and St. James's have been accommodated; and as I am directed to require an explicit declaration from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to

adhere

adhere to, or abandon the hostile measures which it has taken in conjunction with Russia against the rights and interests of Great Britain; I have the honour to transmit to your excellency this letter, that I may receive in answer a declaration of the resolution of the court of Sweden, with respect to this important object, and shall conduct my future operations according to this answer, which I expect to receive within 48 hours.

"I have the honour to be,

(Signed) "HYDE PARKER."

ANSWER.

"The king my master has commanded me to communicate to you the following official answer to the letter which I had the honour to receive from you on the 18th instant.

"Convinced that your excellency is perfectly sensible of the importance and sacred nature of promises, when once made, his majesty conceives that the following explicit declaration cannot be unexpected by your excellency, that is, that his Swedish majesty will not for a moment fail to fulfil with fidelity and sincerity the engagements he has entered into with his allies, and that without any reference to the particular intervention of another power, under whatever name it may be, and the effect of which can never be extended to the common interests of the hitherto neutral powers.

"This is the firm and unalterable resolution of his majesty.

"Equally induced by inclination and by duty to consider the affair of his sincere allies as his own, his Swedish majesty however will not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for accommodating the present disputes, made by deputies furnished with proper

authority on the part of the king of Great Britain to the united Northern powers.

"C. O. CRONSTEDT."

On the 20th of April, the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, received a courier from his court, with directions to declare to admiral Parker, that the emperor Alexander was desirous of accommodating the existing differences between Russia and England. A swift sailing cutter was instantly sent off after admiral Parker, to communicate the above intelligence, if possible, before his fleet should fall in with that of Russia, which, it appears, was actually at sea. Instructions had also been sent off to the Russian fleet. And on the 29th, letters were received from lord Carysfort and sir James Craufurd, intimating, that the courts of Berlin and Copenhagen had determined to reopen the rivers of the north of Germany; and that all vessels whatever would be allowed to navigate those rivers without molestation.

"As soon as admiral sir Hyde Parker received the agreeable dispatches addressed to him by the emperor Alexander I. which were forwarded at the request of the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, Mons. de Lisekewitsch, by a swift sailing Danish cutter, he immediately gave orders for the fleet to return to Kioge Bay, where it safely anchored on the 24th, in the afternoon.

"Alexander the first, in his dispatches to the British admiral, stated, that as it was his wish to settle amicably the differences between Russia and England, he expected that the British fleet would not commence any hostile operations in the Baltic, till farther orders from England, whither the emperor had sent such proposals, as he

was

was previously assured would be deemed satisfactory ; but that if sir Hyde Parker, regardless of the pacific measures already adopted by the emperor, should proceed to commit any act of hostility, he must consider himself as solely responsible for the consequences.

“ The emperor sent orders at the same time to all his harbours to suspend any farther armaments, and to stop the sailing of the vessels ready for sea. Similar measures were also adopted by the king of Sweden.”

By the following interesting state papers will be seen, the precise terms on which the northern rivers were opened.

Vice-admiral *Cronstedt* to admiral *Parker*.

“ Carlsrona, April 26, 1801.

“ Having by order of my king answered the question you proposed to me on the 18th inst. in the open and artless manner becoming a Swede, who speaks in a just cause ; I likewise hope and expect, that your excellency will not hesitate to give an explicit answer to the question which I also have the honour herewith to propose, on the part of my king. The fleet of his Britannic majesty, under your command, having quitted the neighbourhood of Carlsrona, after the receipt of my letter above-mentioned, and according to a report from his majesty's governor general in Scandinavia, soon afterwards passed Salsterbo Ref, probably with an intention of returning through Drogden, your excellency will permit me to request an answer to the following questions :—“ Whether the king, by this step, is to expect a more moderate line of conduct towards the unarmed merchant-ships of his own subjects, and those of his allies ? 2.

Whether the communication between different parts of his realms, as well as between the Baltic and the western coast of Sweden, are to be considered as blockaded or not ?”—The king my master is of opinion, that the arrival of some ships from Pomerania for Carlsrona, without being stopped by the ships from the English fleet cruising in these seas, furnish an opportunity for asking these questions. He has, therefore, commanded me, to request of your excellency a positive answer to those points, by which my further conduct will be regulated.

(Signed) “ C. O. CRONSTEDT.”

ANSWER.

“ I have had the honour of receiving the letter which you, admiral, have written to me, in the king's name, on the 26th inst. The answer I have to return is, that having received, through the Russian envoy at Copenhagen, a letter from Count Von der Pahlen, his Imperial majesty's minister, which so clearly evinces the favourable sentiments of his Imperial majesty towards Great-Britain, on his own part as well as with respect to his allies, I do not hesitate a moment to comply with the emperor's wish for an armistice, until the present differences between Great-Britain and the northern powers shall be settled ; and, in order to shew my readiness to contribute thereto, I have given orders, immediately, no longer to obstruct the navigation of Russian, Swedish, and Danish subjects in the Cattegat, and the Baltic. I request the admiral to assure his king, that, with respect to Sweden, it gives me the greater satisfaction that hostilities have not yet commenced between us ; and, under the present favourable circumstances, considering myself

myself assured, that the former harmony and friendship, so useful to the mutual welfare of both powers, will speedily be restored, I have the honour to be, with particular esteem, your excellency's most obedient servant,

"H. Parker."

Letter from his Britannic majesty's minister, Sir James Craufurd, to his serene highness the prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel.

"Hamburg, May 7, 1801.

Monseigneur,

"In order to prevent any error, it appears to me to be of service to lay before your serene highness, in writing, the points on which you intend to agree with me this morning in the presence of the Prussian minister, who assured us of the approbation of his court. Your serene highness declares, 1st, The neutrality of the Elbe to be completely restored, from this day, so that every vessel, be it under whatever flag, may freely depart and enter; that even in the unfortunate case of a renewal of hostilities between England and Denmark, a free return shall be secured to all such ships as, at that time, might be in the Elbe, or such as, by confidence in this convention, might arrive in it; and that they shall not be subject to an embargo, or any molestation whatever, in any case.—2dly, That all English merchandize and property that shall arrive in the Elbe from this day, shall be free from sequestration, and from any examination whatever.—3dly, That if the court of Copenhagen should be inclined to relinquish this convention, it shall be obliged to give notice of such intention six weeks before hand, and that this convention is to be in force until the expiration of six weeks.

"In return, I oblige myself to grant the necessary passports to Danish ships sailing from the Elbe, for Greenland and Norway, that they may pursue their voyage, and return, without being molested in any manner, by British ships of war or privateers.

"I have the honour to be, with respect, Monseigneur, your serene highness's humble and most obedient servant.

(Signed) "James Craufurd."

ANSWER.

"Sir,

"The points you mention to me in the letter which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you, are precisely those agreed on in the presence of the Prussian minister, viz. [here his serene highness repeats the articles, as above stated from "1st, The neutrality," to "ships of war or privateers," and concludes.]

"With perfect esteem, I shall never cease to be, sir, your most obedient, &c. servant.

(Signed)

"Charles Prince of Hesse."

On the 20th, his highness field marshal prince Charles of Hesse delivered the following declaration, in writing, to the most noble council of Hamburg.

"An essential alteration having taken place in political relations, in consequence of late events, the king, my master, has been induced likewise to make changes in the measures he had adopted.

"His majesty has thought proper to remove the obstruction to the English navigation and trade on the Elbe, which he had considered as necessary to oppose the hostilities commenced by England, and in consequence of a convention

tion concluded between me and the English envoy residing in the circle of Lower Saxony, and which has been made public, the free navigation of the Elbe is already restored. The present change of circumstances has, however, removed the necessity of the object which his majesty proposed in the occupation of Hamburgh by his troops, that is, the obstruction of the trade and navigation of England on the Elbe; and his majesty, when he resolved on this measure, solemnly and publicly declared by me, that he only yielded to the imperious and unavoidable pressure of circumstances, he is the more readily inclined to limit its enforcement to the duration of those relations which produced its necessity.

"His majesty has therefore commanded me to withdraw the troops under my command from the free imperial city of Hamburgh and its territory. On this occasion it is my duty to testify the particular satisfaction of his majesty, and my own acknowledgments, for the orderly and peaceable behaviour of the inhabitants of this city, both at the time of their entrance and during their stay, and for the suitable regulations made by the magistracy, and senate in that respect.

"Charles Prince of Hesse."

The following letter to admiral Cronstedt, commander in chief of the Swedish fleet, was received by a flag of truce from admiral Nelson.

St. George, at Sea, May 24, 1801.

Sir,

"In the correspondence which your excellency had with the late commander in chief of the British fleet in the Baltic, who notified to you, that the Swedish trade in the Cattegat and the Baltic should not be molested by the

English cruisers, I find no counter declaration to the same tenor on the part of Sweden; I must therefore request of your excellency an explicit declaration, that the trade of Great-Britain in the Cattegat and the Baltic, shall in no manner be molested by Sweden. Your excellency will perceive the necessity of such a reciprocal declaration.

"I am, &c.

"Nelson and Bronte."

ANSWER.

"Carlsrona, May 24th, 1801.

"Admiral,

"I have this moment received the order of the king my master, for taking off the embargo on the trade and navigation to England, a copy of which I herewith transmit to your excellency. I have lost no time in making this communication to your excellency, as your excellency, in your letter of yesterday, requested it from me, and as I am now enabled, according to my promise, to return you an official answer.

"I am, &c.

"Cronstedt."

Note from the Hanoverian minister to the royal Prussian directorial counsellor Von Dohm, respecting the withdrawing of the Prussian troops from the electorate of Hanover.

Hanover, June 14, 1801.

His majesty the king of Prussia having, in the beginning of April of the present year, unexpectedly ordered that corps of his troops, hitherto acting with the army of observation, formed for the general defence, to take possession of the districts in Germany belonging to his Britannic majesty, as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg, the causes and motives which induced his majesty

jesty the king of Prussia to resort to this extraordinary and unexpected measure, were stated to the German minister of his Britannic majesty in a written declaration of the 30th of March of the present year, on the part of his Prussian majesty, by his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, count Schulenburg, sent to Hanover for that purpose.

These causes and motives were founded on the differences that had arisen between his Britannic majesty and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, on account of the Petersburg convention of the 16th of December 1800; on the proceedings of England against Denmark and Sweden; on the engagements of his Prussian majesty for his allies, agreeably to his accession to the Petersburg convention; and particularly on the circumstance that England would not resort to means for an amicable settlement of these differences.—Hence his Prussian majesty deduced his resolution “not only to shut up the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems, but also to take possession of the states of his majesty the king of the united islands of Great-Britain and Ireland, situate in Germany, and belonging to him as elector of Brunswick and Luneburg.” His Prussian majesty added, in his letter addressed to his Britannic majesty’s German ministers at Hanover, “that the said declaration related to the differences that had arisen between England and the northern powers, and was to be considered merely as a necessary consequence of the disagreeable circumstances that had taken place.” By the circumstances and causes, therefore, assigned as the reason on the part of Prussia, the agreement was relative, which his Britannic majesty’s German

ministry, together with the general commanding his German troops, were obliged to enter into on the 3d of April of the present year, and whereby, under the existing circumstances, the entrance of the Prussian troops, and their maintenance by the king’s German possessions, were agreed to.

It is now well known, that the circumstances and causes, formerly existing, have been entirely changed and removed in the course of the month of April, and still more in the course of the month of May, so that circumstances, at present, are rather the reverse. Hostilities have ceased between England and the northern powers; and, so far from rejecting means for an amicable settlement, immediate friendly missions have even taken place on both sides, and the crowns of Denmark and Sweden, imitating the wise sentiments of his majesty the present emperor of Russia, are actually engaged in amicably settling the differences with the British government. The happy issue of these peaceable negotiations not being doubted by any of the parties, the British government began by rendering commerce free in the Baltic; Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, have restored the commercial intercourse by public declarations; and the embargo formerly laid on English ships in Russia is again taken off. His majesty the king of Prussia having, during the course of these successive changes, permitted all commercial and other intercourse with his Britannic majesty’s subjects, which has likewise remained undisturbed by England, with respect to the Prussian states, it is evident, that his Prussian majesty has no longer any cause for allowing measures to be taken on his part, against the crown of England.—But his majesty the king of Prussia has also

also declared already, that the measures which had been formerly taken could now no longer be deemed applicable and expedient, so that, on the part of Prussia, the shutting up of the rivers is entirely annulled, and the navigation of the Elbe and Weser has been again declared free. His majesty the king of Prussia, from the same consideration, has likewise demanded from the crown of Denmark, and effected the evacuation of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and withdrawn the troops that had been stationed in the duchy of Oldenburgh, for the purpose of occupying the left banks of the Weser. It is impossible, therefore, that the occupation of his Britannic majesty's dominions, which had been connected with the shutting up of the rivers, and grounded on the same causes, can alone remain and continue. On the contrary, it appears evidently, from the whole course of the proceedings, that the causes no longer any where exist which furnished the ground for the letter addressed to the king's ministry here by the king of Prussia, on the 30th of March, the declaration made by his majesty in consequence thereof, and the agreement afterwards, entered into. It is impossible to consider this agreeably to his majesty's wisdom and justice, but as something which cannot be mistaken, by him, and which, in the events already stated, has already been admitted and acknowledged by his majesty. The sentiments which his majesty the king of Prussia entertains for his Britannic majesty, and the friendly relations subsisting between him and the crown of England, will, therefore, leave no doubts on this subject, without being under the necessity of recurring to the nature of the constitution of the German empire, and the union

of its states with each other, with respect to this business, which relates entirely to a foreign kingdom, and which has always been, and will ever remain, foreign to the dominions which his majesty possesses as elector, and as a state of the German empire. All this is grounded on the firm confidence which his Britannic majesty here wishes to manifest, that his majesty the king of Prussia will not hesitate to withdraw his troops from his majesty's German dominions; and that maintenance will no longer be demanded for those troops, which has been so burthensome to the country.—The king's minister has, for this purpose, addressed this note to the Prussian directorial counsellor, Von Dohm, intreating him, at the same time, to forward it to his court, and to effect a speedy resolution in consequence.

(Signed)

*By the Royal and Electoral
Ministry.*

Lord Nelson's sudden departure from Revel, we understand, was to remove every cause of uneasiness which his presence might occasion in the Russian court. Upon his way to Bornholm he was joined by a Russian frigate, having admiral Chichagoff on board, who came from St. Petersburg on purpose to assure the British commander in chief of the pacific disposition of his sovereign.—Lord St. Helen's joined the fleet a few hours after in the *Latona*, and, after a conference with lord Nelson, proceeded on to St. Petersburg.

The emperor as a pledge of the sincerity of his pacific professions, ordered the embargo to be taken off which had been laid on the British ships in the ports of Russia.—Thus at once fell to the ground all the laboured speculations of certain of our contemporaries, who

who till this moment saw no reason to hope that the peace of the north would be so speedily re-established.

Copy of the convention with the court of London, signed at Petersburg, June 17, 1801.

The reciprocal desire of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and of his majesty the king of the united kingdom of great Britain and Ireland, being not only to come to a good understanding relative to the disputes, which, on a late occasion, interrupted the harmony and the relations of friendship which existed between the two states, but also to prevent, for the future, by candid and unequivocal explanations with regard to the navigation of their respective subjects, the recurrence of similar altercations, and of the unpleasant circumstances which might ensue; and the object of their said majesties' solicitude being to bring about, as soon as can be conveniently done, an equitable adjustment of such disputes, and invariably to settle their principles on the rights of neutrality, as applicable to the respective monarchies, in order to be united in closer bonds of friendship, of which they acknowledge the utility and the advantages, have appointed for their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, count Panin, &c. &c. &c. and Alleyne, lord St. Helens, &c. &c. &c.

Art. I. There shall be henceforward between his imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty, their subjects, states, and countries, a solid and a lasting friendship; all the political and other relations of commerce, advantageous to their respective subjects, shall exist as heretofore, without being liable in any manner to be disturbed or interrupted.

II. His majesty the emperor and his Britannic majesty declare it to be their will, most rigorously to enforce due obedience to the articles which relate to the contraband trade of their subjects with the enemies of either of the high contracting parties.

III. His imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty having resolved to place the freedom of commerce and of navigation under a sufficient safeguard, in case that one of them should be at war while the other remained neuter, have agreed as follows:

1. That the ships of the neutral power may freely sail to the ports and coasts of the belligerent nations.

2d. That the goods put on board the neutral ships shall be free, excepting at all times warlike stores and property of the enemy; and it is agreed upon not to include among the latter the merchandize which will prove to be the produce, the growth or manufacture of the country at war, purchased by the neutral power and for its use; which merchandize, in no case whatever, shall be excepted from the liberty granted to the flag of the said power.

3dly. That to avoid all ambiguity with regard to what is to be considered as warlike stores, the contracting sovereigns declare, agreeably to the XIth article of the commercial treaty, concluded between the two crowns on the 21st of February, 1797, that they only consider the following objects as such, viz. cannons, mortars, fire arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cuirasses, pikes, swords, belts, pouches, saddles, bridles, excepting, however, what of the above may be necessary for the defence of the ship and the

the crew, and all the other articles not mentioned herein, shall not be reputed warlike or naval stores, nor subject to confiscation, and consequently shall pass unmolested and untouched, unless they prove the enemy's property.

It is also agreed upon, that what is stipulated in the present article, shall not infringe on the particular stipulations of either crown with other powers, by which objects of that nature would be prohibited or not.

4thly. That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination shall be only applied to the port in which, according to the disposition of the power which attacks it, with ships stationed near it, there shall be evident danger of entering.

5thly. That the vessels of the neutral powers shall not be stopped, but on just grounds, and in consequence of evident facts; that their fate shall be immediately decided upon, and the process be always uniform, speedy, and agreeably to law.

The better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating the reciprocity of interests, and to give a fresh instance of their good faith and their regard for justice, the high contracting parties here most formally engage to renew the most severe prohibitions both to their officers commanding ships of war, and to masters of trading vessels, against having on board any of the objects, which, according to the tenor of the present convention, may be considered as contraband.

IV. The two high contracting parties willing still further to prevent, for the future, every subject of discussion, by circumscribing the right of visiting merchantmen sailing without convoy, only in case that the bellige-

rent power might experience a real injury by the abuse of the neutral flag have agreed,

1st. That the right of visiting merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and sailing under convoy of a ship of war of the said power, shall not be resorted to but by the ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to private ships, to privateers, nor other vessels not belonging to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but armed for war by their subjects.

2dly. That the owners of all the merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting sovereigns, destined to sail under convoy of a ship of war, shall, before they receive their final instructions for sailing, exhibit to the commanding officer of the ship of war their passports, certificates, or letters of service.

3dly. That when such ship of war, having merchantmen under its convoy, shall be met by a ship or ships of war of the other contracting party then at war, in order to avoid all confusion, they shall respectively stand out of the range of cannon shot, unless the state of the sea, or of the place where the meeting takes place, shall require them to approach; and the commanding officer of the ship of the belligerent power shall send a boat on board the convoying ship of war, where the papers and certificates shall be reciprocally verified; and prove that the neutral ship of war is authorized to take under its protecting care such and such merchantmen of its nation, having such a cargo on board, and bound for such a port; on the other hand, that the ship of war of the belligerent power belongs to the fleet of their imperial or royal majesties.

4thly. After such verification, no further visit shall take place, if the papers be found in due form; should the contrary, however, prove to be the case, the commanding officer of the neutral ship of war (being so required by the commanding officer of the power at war) must bring to, in order that the merchantmen may undergo a search, which shall take place in his presence on board each ship.

5thly. If it happen that the commanding officer of the ship belonging to the power at war, having examined the papers on board, and having questioned the master and the crew, shall find just and sufficient reasons to detain the merchantmen, for the purpose of making a further search, he shall signify to the other officer that such is his intention: the vessel shall then be carried into the next port for the purpose above mentioned.

V. It is also agreed upon, that if any merchant ship, thus under convoy, be detained without just and sufficient cause, the commanding officer of the ship belonging to the state at war, shall not only be held fully responsible to the owners of the vessel and cargo, for the loss sustained by them in consequence of such detention, but that he shall also be answerable for any act of violence, &c. offered on the occasion; on the other hand, the vessel to be searched must, on no possible account, oppose resistance to the will of the sovereign's officer.

VI. The high contracting parties shall give precise and unequivocal orders that the sentence pronounced on the prizes thus made, be agreeable to the rules of the most rigorous justice and equity, that they be delivered by faithful judges, uninterested in the transaction; the government of the

respective states shall take care that such sentences be duly and promptly executed, according to the forms prescribed.

When vessels are detained without just cause, or the stipulations violated, the owners shall be indemnified in proportion to the injury they may have suffered.

VII. In order to obviate all the inconveniences likely to result from want of good faith in those who sail under the flag of a nation to which they do not belong, it is settled definitively that a vessel, in order to be considered of the nation under the flag of which she sails, must have the captain and half her crew of that country, and all her papers and passports in due form; and that all vessels not acting agreeably to the above regulations, shall be exempted from the protection and rights of the said flag.

VIII. The principles and measures adopted by the present act shall be likewise applicable to all maritime wars, in which either of the two powers may be engaged, while one of them stands on neutral ground; such stipulations are to be considered as permanent, and shall be the criterion of the contracting powers, in all that regards trade and navigation.

IX. His majesty the king of Denmark, and his majesty the king of Sweden, shall be immediately invited by his imperial majesty, in the name of the two contracting parties, to accede to the present convention, and at the same time to renew and confirm their respective treaties of commerce with his Britannic majesty; and his aforesaid majesty engages, by the means of the acts which shall corroborate this agreement, to restore to both these powers all the prizes taken from them, as well

as the territories captured by the arms of his Britannic majesty since the commencement of hostilities, in the state they were in when captured.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburg, within the space of two months at farthest, reckoning from the day of the signature.

In the faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have caused duplicates of it to be drawn out, perfectly alike, signed by them, and stamped by their arms.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 17th of June (5th) 1801.

N. Comte de Panin.

St. Helens.

[Here follow the formula of the passports, certificates, letters of service, &c. to be delivered by the respective boards of Admiralty in the states belonging to the high contracting parties, to the ships and vessels going on a voyage, agreeably to the 4th article of the present treaty.]

Having finally concluded the differences subsisting between Great-Britain and the northern powers, we shall now resume our account of the captures by sea, &c. till the conclusion of the war.

On the 14th of March, 1801, captain Loring, of his majesty's sloop Lark, off St. Jago de Cuba, observing a privateer in shore, he sent the boats, under the command of lieutenant Lane, to bring her out. The enemy had taken an advantageous position of two heights forming the entrance of the bay, where the schooner was laying, and notwithstanding the gallant attack of lieutenant Lane and his people, the boats were repulsed and returned, he himself being shot through the heart. The

service in him has lost a brave and good officer.

Mr. Pasley, the junior lieutenant, was landed with a party of men in a bay, at ten miles distance, to march round, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he went himself in the boats to repeat the attack, in their front. On his arrival, Mr. Pasley had executed his orders with such expedition and judgment, that he left him no other employment than that of being a satisfied spectator to the steady and good conduct of himself and his people. The vessel mounted two carriage guns, a great quantity of small arms, and was one of those which have so long infested the coast of Jamaica. He destroyed her, that she might not again fall into the hands of the enemy.

Sir Charles Hamilton, bart. captain of his majesty's ship Melpomene, having been informed that three French frigates were at anchor under the forts of Goree, was induced to take his majesty's ship Ruby, then watering at Port Praya, under his command, and with this additional force proceed immediately in quest of them.

In the afternoon of the 4th of April, he reconnoitred the roadstead of Goree, but not finding the frigates there, and conceiving their appearance sufficient to alarm the garrison, he dispatched lieutenant Tidy with a verbal message, summoning the island to surrender.—At midnight lieutenant Tidy made the signal agreed on, that his terms were complied with; the marines of the squadron were instantly landed, under the command of captain M'Cleverty, and the garrison was in their possession before day.

On the 13th instant he dispatched Mr. Palmer, with two boats and thirty

men to Jool (a factory dependent on Goree) he returned on the 22d, having executed his orders most perfectly, bringing with him from thence a French brigantine and sloop loaded with rice.

Letter from captain Hamilton to the commander of Goree.

SIR,

I have received your answer to my verbal message, to surrender the island of Goree, and have to inform you, that the only conditions I can accept of are, to be put in possession of the forts and island of Goree before twelve o'clock to-morrow noon; I allow to you, sir, and your garrison, to march out with all the honours of war; and these conditions only will be accepted.

I have authorised the bearer, lieutenant Tidy, to fulfil my intentions; and have the honour to remain, &c.

C. Hamilton.

N. B. All private property will be respected.

SIR,

I have received the verbal summons which you have sent to me by two officers of your squadron.

Anxious to defend the place which has been entrusted to me, I am likewise so to spare bloodshed. I expect, therefore, to receive from you to-morrow morning the conditions for the surrender of the place, to which I shall agree if they are admissible.

Guillemin.

On the 12th of April, captain Baker, of his majesty's ship Calypso, dispatched Mr. William Buckley, master of his majesty's sloop under his command, in a six-oared cutter, with ten men properly armed and provided, and a swivel in her bow, to cruise for two days un-

der Cape Tiberoon, with a view to intercept some of the small craft, which navigate in general within a mile of the shore.

In pursuance of this intention, on the 13th, at eleven P. M. they perceived a schooner becalmed under the land, and pulled immediately towards her; as the boat approached within hail, she was desired to keep off, and upon their not complying, a discharge of musketry commenced upon them, under which they boarded, and after a short but very smart conflict upon the schooner's deck, the gallantry of the attempt was rewarded by gaining complete possession of her; she proved to be *La Diligente* French armed schooner, of about seventy tons, mounting six carriage guns, thirty stands of arms, and laden with coffee; having on board, when she was captured, thirty-nine men.

Of the boat's crew one man only was wounded, and seven dangerously on the side of the enemy.

On the 1st of June, captain Western, of his majesty's ship *Tamar*, near Barbadoes, fell in with and captured, after a chase of eight hours, within gunshot, the French privateer ship *General Massena*, pierced for 18 guns, besides a bridle port, but had only 16 on board and 150 men; his guns, except four brass twelve-pounders, with all his boats, spars, &c. he threw overboard during the chase. She was 40 days from Bourdeaux, and came as a cruizer among those islands: he had captured the *Adventure*, of Liverpool, laden with coals, bound to Demerara, and burnt her, and two Americans, one of which he burnt, and the other he sent to Guadaloupe.

On the 4th of June, a small armament under the command of Sir Edward

ward Pellew, attacked the south-west end of Quiberon, silenced the forts, which were afterwards destroyed by a party of troops landed under major Ramsey; several vessels were brought off, and some scuttled; the only loss, two killed and one wounded on board the *Cynthia*. On the 5th the *Ramillies* joined with the *diadem*, *Inconstant*, and *Viper* cutter; and on the 6th, before day, succeeded in an attempt upon the *Morbihan*, from whence were taken two brigs, two sloops, two gun-vessels, and about one hundred prisoners: a corvette brig, *L'Insolente*, of eighteen guns, was burnt, with several other small craft, the guns all destroyed, and the magazine blown up.

Three hundred of the Queen's regiment were employed upon this service; and the gun-launches and naval force were under the direction of lieutenant John Pilford, of this ship, who boarded the corvette with much bravery, and performed the service with much judgment and officer-like conduct; the loss was only one seaman killed in the boat, and some slight hurts.

A lieutenant of the *Thames*, and some few men in different ships, were wounded; and all the coasting trade between the different ports was most completely stopped, with the provisions and wine for the Brest fleet.

On the morning of the 27th of June, captain Durham discovered a large convoy, between 40 and 50 sail of different descriptions, in the straits of Gibraltar; he immediately got under weigh and gave chase; on his approach they got under the batteries, where they were covered by 25 gun boats, who, together with the forts, very much annoyed him; notwithstanding, with the assistance of two Gibraltar row boats, he captured eight, one of

which was afterwards retaken; they proved to be Spaniards, bound from Malaga to Cadiz. And on the 30th of the same month, he cut off two of the Spanish gun-boats, the *Gibraltar* and *Salvador*, which had been for several days a very great annoyance to his convoy; they are fine vessels, commanded by king's officers, mounting two 18 pounders in the bow, and eight guns of different dimensions, manned with 60 men; they defended themselves very gallantly.

Captain Martin, of his majesty's ship *Fisgard*, at anchor in Bourneuf Bay, gave orders on the 1st of July, for the boats of the *Renown*, *Fisgard*, and *Defence*, to form into three divisions, under the direction of lieutenant Burke, to attack the armed vessels and convoy laying within the sands, in Bourneuf Bay, moored in a strong position of defence, and under the protection of six heavy batteries at the south-east part of Noirmoutier, besides flanking guns on every projecting point. At twelve o'clock, after much resistance and considerable loss on the part of the enemy, he had possession of *La Terese*, four armed vessels, and fifteen sail of merchantmen, the whole of which were burnt on finding it impossible to bring them out; and this essential service would have been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner, if the boats, in returning, could have found a passage over the sand banks; but unfortunately they took the ground, and in less than ten minutes were perfectly dry, at the same time exposed to a continual fire from the forts and four hundred French soldiers formed in the rear; but, in opposition to this, they determined to attack other vessels of the enemy, and secure one sufficiently large to receive all the party, which they

they did ; and, with great intrepidity, exertion, and strength, drew her upwards of two miles over the sands, until they were up to their necks in water, before she would float. Four officers and eighty-eight of the valuable men employed in this glorious enterprize, were made prisoners, though from every report there were only a few wounded.

On the 20th of July, captain Ballard, of his majesty's ship Pearl, being off Cape Couronne, the boats with their gallant crews, under the direction of lieutenant Crawley, captured two Spanish xebecs, one mounting eight guns, and six settees, mostly armed and deeply laden. Five of them anchored with him, and the other three he was obliged to scuttle, owing unfortunately to a gale of wind coming on, by which James Parker, seaman, was drowned, and the most valuable boat he had (the yawl) sunk.

On the 29th of July, lieutenant Coghlan, of the Viper cutter, when watching Port Louis, thought he could succeed in boarding some of the cutters or gun vessels which had been moving about the entrance of that harbour, and for this purpose he entreated a ten-oared cutter from sir Edward Pellew, with twelve volunteers ; and on Tuesday night, the 29th instant, he took the boat, with Mr. Silas H. Paddon, midshipman, and six of his men, making, with himself, 20, and accompanied by his own boat and one from the Amethyst, he determined upon boarding a gun brig mounting three long twenty-four-pounders, and four six pounders, full of men, moored with springs on her cables, in a naval port of difficult access, within pistol shot of three batteries, surrounded by several armed craft, and not a mile from a 74

and two frigates bearing an admiral's flag. Undismayed by such formidable appearances, the early discovery of his approach, (for they were at quarters) and the lost aid of the two other boats, he bravely determined to attack alone, and boarded her on the quarter ; but unhappily in the dark, jumping into a trawl-net hung up to dry, he was pierced through the thigh by a pike, and several of his men hurt, and all knocked back into the boat. Unchecked in ardour, they hauled the boat further a-head, and again boarded, and maintained against 80 men, sixteen of whom were soldiers, an obstinate conflict, killing six, and wounding twenty, among whom was every officer belonging to her. His own loss, one killed and eight wounded ; himself in two places, Mr. Paddon in six. He speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Paddon and the whole of his party, many of whom were knocked overboard, and twice beat into the boat, but returned to the charge with unabated courage. The Le Cerbere, commanded by a lieutenant de Vasseau, and towed out under a very heavy fire, was given up as a prize by the squadron to mark their admiration.

On the 19th of August, captain Wright, having been informed by captain Price, that some part of the enemy's convoy, consisting of two large sloops, were attempting to make their escape from the mouth of the river Isigny, and proceeding along shore to the eastward, he lost no time in giving chase, having in company the Sparkler and Force gun brigs. The enemy finding themselves so hard pressed, and no probability of escape, run themselves on shore in the bay of Grand Camp, commanded on both sides of the entrance by heavy batteries, which he

he attacked for near an hour, and was ably assisted by lieutenant Stephens, of the Sparkler, and lieutenant Tokeler, of the Force, covering lieutenant Gregory, of the Wolverine, with the cutter and jolly-boat, and a party of marines, who gallantly boarded the largest vessel, under the fire of three field-pieces, and near 200 men, with musquetry, within half pistol-shot of the shore, and set her on fire, and otherwise disabled her. The other was so completely shot through as to stop her further proceedings.

Neither the vessels or men suffered any thing, excepting three of the Wolverine's, who were a good deal burnt on board the sloop by an explosion of gunpowder. The enemy lost four men killed on the beach.

On the 20th of August, capt. Milne, of his majesty's ship Seine, off St. Domingo, observed a ship on the starboard tack standing to the northward through the Mona Passage; he soon perceived she was an enemy, and made all sail in chase, with very light breezes; the wind having come to the northward obliged her to tack, as she could not weather Cape Raphael on the St. Domingo shore; she then stood S. S. E. and made all sail; by this time it was near sun-set, and he could perceive she was a large frigate; it was near midnight before he could bring her to action, and then not so close as he could wish, as she always bore up and kept at long shot; she however did them considerable damage in their rigging and sails, but to appearance she suffered equally: they separated for some time, and he took that opportunity to get his rigging, &c. again in complete repair.

On the morning of the 25th he had the pleasure of bringing her to close

action; and after about an hour and a half hard fighting, an officer came out on her bowsprit, (the only place he could be seen from, owing to the mass of confusion, by the loss of her foremast, mizen-mast, and the main topmast having fallen on board) and said they had struck to the British flag. She was immediately taken possession of, and proved to be the French frigate the Vengeance, citizen Pitot, capitaine de Vaisseau, commander, mounting twenty-eight 18 pounders on her main deck, sixteen 12-pounders, and eight 42-pound carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and brass swivels on the gunwale, with shifting guns on the main and quarter decks. The behaviour of the officers and ship's company was such as has always characterized British seamen. The Vengeance is a very large frigate, five years old, and exactly the dimensions of the Fisgard in his majesty's service, and is the ship which had the action some time since with the American frigate the Constellation. Previous to her leaving Curacoa she had a large supply of seamen from Guadaloupe, and was every way completely sound, and bound to France.

On the 27th of August, captain Fayerman of the Beaulieu, captured (his majesty's sloop Sylph in company) the Dragon, a very fast sailing copper bottomed sloop letter of marque, from Guadaloupe to Bourdeaux, laden with sugar, coffee, and cotton, out 32 days.

On the 29th of August, the following gallant action was performed by the boats of captain Hood's detachment, under lieutenant Burke's orders, in Vigo Bay:

Perceiving the French privateer in the harbour had removed for security near the Narrows of Redondella, close

to the batteries, where he thought there was a probability of her being attacked with success; he ordered two boats each, from the *Amethyst*, *Stag*, *Amelia*, *Brilliant*, and *Cynthia*, with those of the *Renown*, *Impeteux*, and *London*, and four from the *Courageux*, commanded by lieutenants volunteering their service, to be ready at nine o'clock. About 40 minutes past 12, they attacked her with the greatest bravery, meeting with desperate resistance, her commander having laid the hatches over to prevent her people giving way, and cheered as the boats advanced, but notwithstanding this determined opposition, she was carried in 15 minutes.

A report of the killed, wounded, and missing in the boats employed in the above action.—Lieut. Henry Burke, of the *Renown*, wounded: lieut. John Henry Holms and John Nourse, of the *Courageux*, slightly wounded. Three seamen and one marine killed. Three officers, 12 seamen, and five marines, wounded. One seaman missing.

On the 6th of September, the right hon. Henry Dundas received a dispatch from lieutenant general sir James Pultney, on board his majesty's ship *Renown*, informing him, that the fleet, on board of which the troops under his command were embarked, arrived before the harbour of Ferrol on the 25th of August.

He determined immediately to make a landing, with a view, if practicable, to attempt the town of Ferrol, being certain, if he found either the strength of the place or the force of the enemy too great to justify an attack, that in the landing there was no considerable risk.

The disembarkation was effected, without opposition, in a small bay near

Cape Prior; the reserve, followed by the other troops, as they landed, immediately ascended a ridge of hills adjoining to the bay; just as they had gained the summit, the rifle corps fell in with a party of the enemy, which they drove back. Lieutenant colonel Stewart, who commanded this corps, was wounded on this occasion. At day-break the following morning, a considerable body of the enemy was driven back by major general the earl of Cavan's brigade, supported by some other troops, so that he remained in complete possession of the heights which overlook the town and harbour of Ferrol; but from the nature of the ground, which is steep and rocky, unfortunately this service could not be performed without loss: the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment had the principal share in this action. The enemy lost about 100 men in killed and wounded, and 30 or 40 prisoners.

He had an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when, comparing the difficulties which presented themselves, and the risk attendant on failure on one hand, with the prospect of success and the advantages to be derived from it on the other, he came to the determination of re-embarking the troops, in order to proceed without delay on his further destination. The embarkation was effected the same evening in perfect order, and without loss of any kind.

The spirit and alacrity shewn by the troops merited every commendation; and if circumstances had admitted of their being led against the enemy, he should have had every reason to expect success.

The

The 4th of Aug. 1800, in the evening, captain Bulteel, of his majesty's ship *Belliqueux*, off Rio Janeiro, discovered four sail from the mast-head, in the north-west quarter, and apparently steering about N. by E. At seven A. M. they hauled their wind, tacked, and stood towards him, upon which he bore down with the whole of his convoy; at noon the enemy perceived his force (which was greatly exaggerated in their opinion by the warlike appearance of the China ships) they bore up under a press of sail, and by signal separated.

He stood for the largest ship, and notwithstanding the light and baffling winds, he came up with her, and after a few chace guns, and a partial firing for about ten minutes, at half past five in the afternoon (Tuesday) she struck her colours, and proved to be the French frigate *La Concorde*, of 44 guns, 18 pounders, and 444 men, commanded by citizen Jean Francois Landolphe, Capitaine de Vaisseau, and Chief de Division.

At seven the same evening, the French frigate *la Medee*, of 36 guns, twelve-pounders, and 315 men, commanded by citizen Daniel Coudein, struck her colours to the Bombay Castle, captain John Hamilton, and the *Exeter*, captain H. Meriton.

The above frigates were of the squadron which sailed from Rochfort the 6th day of March, 1799, and having committed great depredations on the coast of Africa, had refitted in the Rio de la Plata, and were now cruizing on the coast of Brazil.

La Franchise, of 42 guns, and 380 men, commanded by citizen Pierre Jurieu, escaped by throwing a part of her guns overboard, and also her anchors, boats, and booms, and by night

coming on; as did also an American schooner, their prize, fitted as a cruizer.

The garrison of Malta were compelled to yield to the persevering spirit of Britons.—All the forts, shipping, &c. surrendered to general Pigot and commodore Martin, on the 5th of Sept. 1800; of which the following are the particulars:

The generals and superior officers by land and sea, the commissaries of war and of the marine, the commandants of the forts, the officers of every degree belonging to the detachments of the different corps convoked by general Vaubois, commander in chief in the isles of Malta and Goza, assembled at the National Palace, in the west quarter of the city, in council, having received the report of general Vaubois, by which it appeared that the provisions of the place had been exhausted more than a month, that the liquids were equally so; that the bread, the only article that remained both for the garrison and the people, could not be made to last beyond the 9th instant, declared as follows:

The council considering that the garrison of Malta, reduced to a ration of one third of provisions, during a period of two years, have executed with honour the task imposed upon them, of preserving the place to the Republic to the last extremity:—

That every attack has been repulsed with an energy that at length drove the enemy to his only resource, a close blockade, which has destroyed all hope of receiving succours:—

That the forces of the enemy, by sea and land, have not left to the brave garrison any means of longer defending or supporting themselves in a situation which nature and art have rendered particularly harassing, on account of the

the multiplicity of fortified posts, and the sterility of the soil, the keeping all the corn, &c. on ship board:—

Considering, thus situated, that they cannot any longer hazard the existence of 12,000 souls, and that it has become indispensably necessary to negotiate, in order to obtain an honourable capitulation for brave men, who have so patiently suffered for their country:—

That the marine having shared with honour the labours and privation of the garrison; that the departure of Justien and Dean frigates having diminished the loss which the Republic would have sustained by an earlier submission; in short, that the laws of war and those of humanity having sufficiently authorised the commencement of a negotiation, it has been determined that general Vaubois, on the part of the garrison, and vice-admiral Villeneuve, on that of the marine, shall require a parley with the enemy, in order to secure equal advantages to both, &c. &c.

(Signed) Dot.

Articles of Capitulation

Between Vaubois, general of Division, vice-admiral Villeneuve, commandant of the Marine, on one part, and major-general Pigot, commandant of the troops of his Britannic majesty and his allies, and captain Martin, commandant of the ships of his majesty and his allies before Malta, on the other.

I. The garrison of Malta, and the forts depending, shall march out, and being embarked, shall be sent to Marseilles, at the day and hour appointed, with all the honours of war; that is to say, with drums beating, colours flying, lighted matches, and two pieces of cannon at their head, and four others with their ammunition, their gunners,

and a waggon with ammunition for the infantry. The civil and marine officers, and every person belonging to that department shall also be conducted to the port of Toulon. Answer—The honours of war are granted to the garrison; but as it is impossible the whole of them should be immediately embarked, the following arrangement should be adopted in its place:—

“As soon as the capitulation is signed, the forts Ricasoli and Tigne, shall be delivered up to the British troops, whose vessels shall enter the port. The national port shall be occupied by a guard composed of an equal number of French and English, until the ships are ready to receive the first embarkation. Then the whole garrison shall defile with the honours of war, and deposit their arms upon the sea shore.—Those who cannot depart with the first embarkation, shall remain in the Fort Manuel, having an armed guard to prevent their going about the country. The garrison shall be considered as prisoners of war, and shall not serve against his Britannic majesty until exchanged, for which the respective officers shall give their parole of honour. All the artillery, ammunition, and public magazines of every kind shall be given up to the officers appointed for that purpose, as also the inventories and the public papers.”

II. General Chanez and the brigadier general de Hennezel, commandant of the artillery, and engineer, the officers and subalterns, and every person employed in the marine, citizen Pierre Alphonso Guese, commissary general of foreign commerce for the French republic in Syria and Palestine, who is accidentally now in Malta with his family; the persons employed in the civil and military departments, shall

shall depart with their arms and property of every description. Answer—Granted, excepting the arms deposited by the soldiers, but the subalterns shall retain their sabres.

III. People of all nations, who have borne arms for the French during the siege, shall be looked upon as making part of the garrison. Answer.—Granted.

IV. The division shall be embarked at the expence of his Britannic majesty; each individual during the passage, shall receive the same portion of provision to which their rank in the French service has been used to entitle them. The civil officers shall enjoy the same privileges. Answer—Granted, according to the usages of the British marine, which only allows the same provisions to individuals of every rank.

V. A sufficient number of carriages and sloops shall be allowed the generals and officers, to carry their effects on board, together with their papers, which are not to be subject to any inspection, the generals warranting that they do not contain any property for which stipulations are not made.—Answer—Granted.

VI. All ships, &c. belonging to the French republic, capable of going to sea, shall depart with the division to some French port, after being furnished with necessary provisions. Answer—Refused.

VII. The sick who can be removed, shall embark with the division, provided with necessaries, medicines, medical chests, the effects of the officers of health necessary during the voyage. Those sick which cannot be removed, shall be left with a physician and a surgeon in the French service, provided with necessaries. The generals in chief by sea and land, in evacuating

Malta, repose full confidence in the good faith and humanity of the English general. Answer—Granted.

VIII. None of the inhabitants shall be molested on account of their political opinions, those especially who have borne arms, or have filled any office, civil or military. Answer—This article does not appear consistent with a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants permitted to remain upon the island, may be assured of being treated with justice and humanity, and shall enjoy the full protection of the laws.

IX. The French inhabitants of Malta, who wish to follow the army with their effects, shall be at liberty so to do, shall have six months liberty to dispose of their moveable and immoveable property, and at the expiration of that period furnished with English passports. Answer—Granted, according to the answer given in the preceding article.

X. As soon as the capitulation is signed, the English general shall give up a felucca to the entire disposal of the French commandant, for the transport of his equipage, together with an officer charged with transmitting the capitulation to the French government, with the necessary safe conduct. Answer—Granted.

XI. The articles of capitulation being signed, they should be delivered to the English general, at the gate called *Des Bombes*, occupied by a guard, consisting of an equal number of French and English. These guards shall not permit the entrance of the besieging troops nor the inhabitants, till the bulk of the garrison are embarked, and out of sight of the port; and in proportion as the embarkation proceeds, the English troops shall occupy the posts opening

opening a way to the interior.—The English general will perceive the necessity of these precautions indispensable, in order to prevent any cause of dispute which might operate to prevent the capitulation being religiously observed. Answer—Granted, conformably to the provisions made in the answer given to the first article, and precautions shall also be taken to prevent the armed Maltese from approaching the posts occupied by the French.

XII. The alienation or sale of moveable or immoveable property by the French government, during the possession of Malta, as well as individual contracts, shall remain inviolate. Answer—Granted, so far as they shall appear to have been just and legitimate.

XIII. The agents of the allied powers residing in the Valetta, at the period of capitulation, shall not be in any wise molested in their persons or property, the latter being guaranteed by the present capitulation. Answer—Granted.

XIV. Every ship of war or trade arriving from France under the republican flag, shall not be deemed a lawful prize, nor its crew made prisoners, during twenty days succeeding the surrender of this place, but shall be sent to France under a safe conduct. Answer—Refused.

XV. The general in chief, and the other generals, shall be embarked with their aids-de-camp, the officers attached to them, and the ordonnateurs belonging to their suite, without any respective separation. Answer—Granted.

XVI. The crews of the William Tell and the Diana frigates, shall be considered as a part of the garrison, as also that of the frigate Justice, should it be its fortune to be taken on its voyage to France. Answer—The crew

of the William Tell is already exchanged; and that of the Diana will be sent to Minorca, without delay, for the same purpose.

XVII. Every vessel in the service of the republic shall not be subject to any act of reprisal, under any pretext whatever. Answer—Granted.

XVIII. If any dispute should arise upon the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they shall be interpreted in a sense the most favourable to the garrison. Answer—Granted, consistent with justice.

Done and determined at Malta, Sept. 5, 1800.

The following very gallant action, as related by captain Price, of his majesty's sloop Badger, dated at St. Marcou, was performed by two of the boats belonging to his majesty's gun vessel, within four miles of the West Island, under the command of lieutenant M'Culler, of the marines.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th of Sept. captain Price observed a long lugger between Issegney and the Badger, and thought he could cut her off from La Hogue; he directed lieutenant M'Culler, with 24 picked men in his ten-oared galley and six-oared cutter, to endeavour to board her, and directed lieutenant Stephens (by signal) to slip and cover the boats with his majesty's gun brig Sparkler, then for all boats manned and armed to support the leading boats.

The service was so well performed, that the Sparkler took the fire of two batteries of two 24-pounders and two 12-pounders, which prevented its being directed against the boats; the lugger perceiving the boats determined, lowered her sails, rowed on sore, cut away all her masts and rigging, and got on shore; the cutter immediately

mediately boarded her under the fire of several hundred musketry, and towed her off. She proves to be *La Victoire* privateer (row boat), captain Barrier, belonging to Boulogne, mounting four swivels, rows 26 oars, quite new, from appearance had at least 40 men on board. She is 60 feet long, nine feet beam, and the completest boat for the service of the Islands that possibly could be constructed.

In performing this, lieutenant Stephens ran the gun brig into two fathom water, and kept up a continual fire for one hour under the batteries, which diverted their fire from the boats: great praise is also due to lieutenant M'Culler, of the marines, who so determinedly led the boats, and the good conduct of the 24 men, who so well performed the service; and from the continual fire of musketry, there was only the gunner's mate wounded by a musket ball in the shoulder. The *Sparkler* received no other damage than a few shot through her sails, and some of her rigging cut.

On the 20th of Sept. captain Hotham retook an English ship (the *Monarch*) of 646 tons, laden with timber, which *La Bellone* had captured four days before on her passage from Quebec to London.

On the 22d of the same month, in the latitude of Cordoan Light House, blowing hard from the westward, a French brig of war came in sight to the northward, to whom he got near enough by sun-set to keep sight of after dark, and to ensure his coming up with her: but at half past nine o'clock, when he was within musket-shot, and about to bring her to, they both unexpectedly took the ground (going nine knots) on Noirmoutier, where she was totally dismasted and destroyed, but he

had the good fortune to get off at daylight the next morning, without any material damage, and with the loss only of a bower anchor and a boat.

Not having seen the land before dark, and not having run the distance of it by the reckoning, he was unable to ascertain his exact situation till the day broke, and as it was ebb tide when they went on shore, he was prevented from getting off before. In the morning having got the ship under weigh, and worked off from the land, finding himself able to keep the sea, he returned to his station; and the next morning, (the 24th), fell in with a French schooner letter of marque, bringing coffee and sugar from Guadaloupe to Bourdeaux, but a Guernsey privateer lugger, who was also in sight, and nearer to the schooner than he was, brought her to before he got up with her.

The following is an official report of the correspondence between the governor of Cadiz, and admiral Keith and general Abercrombie:

On the 5th of October 1800, an English fleet, coming from the Mediterranean, appeared before Cadiz, composed of the following ships.—22 ships, 27 frigates, 4 corvettes, 1 brigantine, 2 transports, 2 gun boats, 1 bomb.—59 ships of war, 74 transports, and ten brigantines, carrying troops.

“General Don Thomas, of Morla, the new governor of the place, who arrived here in the height of the epidemic disorder, judged it adviseable to send a note to the English admiral (No. I.) to acquaint him with the solicitations of the inhabitants, and that the English name would be rendered odious in the eyes of all the world if they committed such an act of hostility
2
against

against the city. General Abercrombie and admiral Keith answered the governor (No. 2,) not as the governor of Cadiz, but solely as captain general of the army and province of Andalusia, and captain-general of the department of the navy, in which they proposed that he should deliver up to them the armed vessels and those that were arming, the crews and officers of which should be set at liberty on this condition, and the fleet would retire.

No. I.

"Admiral,

"Whilst the cruel disorder which carries off in this city and its neighbourhood, thousands of victims, and which seems as if it would not cease its ravages till it has destroyed all those who have yet escaped it, is sufficient to excite compassion, I see with surprise, that the squadron under your excellency's order is come to add to the afflictions of this people. I have too good an opinion of the humanity of the English nation, and of your's in particular, to believe that you will seek to render our situation more deplorable. Nevertheless, if in pursuance of the orders you have received, your country should consent to draw upon itself the execration of all nations, and the opprobrium of the universe, in oppressing the unfortunate, in attacking those whom you thought to find without defence, I declare that the garrison under my command, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, as well as to brave perils more terrible than those of war, will resist till their utter annihilation. I shall wait to know your excellency's answer, if I am to give consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants of the place, or to excite them to

vengeance and anger. God preserve your excellency.

(Signed)

De Morla.

"Cadiz, Oct. 5, 1800.

"Till this time the cruizers of the blockading force had not prevented the fishermen from pursuing their innocent industry. We are astonished that your excellency should deprive us of this slender comfort."

No. II.

"The commanders in chief of the land and sea forces of his Britannic majesty, forming the expedition before Cadiz; on board the *Foudroyant*, off Cadiz, Oct. 5, 1800.

"We had the honour to receive your excellency's letter of this day, in which you describe the deplorable state of the city. We are deeply afflicted at its calamities, though we have good reason to believe that they are by no means so disastrous as they are described.

"We are not ignorant that a great number of ships belonging to his catholic majesty, are armed for the purpose of joining the naval forces of the French, to be employed in prolonging the troubles which desolate all the nations of Europe, are injurious to all public order, and destroy the happiness of individuals. We have received from our sovereign, orders to use our utmost efforts to counteract the projects of the common enemy, in attempting to take or destroy the ships of war which are in the port and arsenal of Cadiz.

"The number of the forces which we have under our command, leaves little doubt of the success of the enterprise. We are little disposed to multiply, without necessity, the evils inseparable

parable from war. If your excellency will consent to deliver up the ships armed or arming to act against our sovereign, and to prolong the miseries of neighbouring nations, their officers and crews shall be set at liberty, and our fleet will retire : otherwise we must act conformably to our orders, and the increased misfortunes of the city can only be attributed to your excellency.

" We are, with respect, &c.

" R. Abercrombie.

" Keith."

" A frigate will remain in the harbour, for the answer of your excellency, to prevent any delay."

No. III.

" M. M. the commanders by land and sea, of his Britannic majesty. As I have represented to your V. V. E. E. the lamentable situation of this city, in order to engage your humanity, not to aggravate it by acts of hostility, I did not suppose that my request would be listened to either through fear or inability. Unhappily I find that V. V. E. E. have misconceived my expression, as they have drawn on me a proposition, as insulting to him to whom it is addressed, as it is dishonourable to those who propose : V. V. E. E. ought to make propositions less rigorous, if you wish they should be acceptable.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" Thomas de Morla."

Oct. 6, 1800.

This expedition was abandoned at the moment the troops were about to land, in consequence of express orders from England, accompanied by information respecting the plague.

The following is a copy of a letter from captain Frederick Watkins, commander of his majesty's ship *Nereide*, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated in Curacao, 5th Oct. 1800.

" Sir,

Be pleased to inform my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I have thought it indispensably necessary to send these dispatches to England by my first officer, lieut. Paul, to acquaint their lordships of the surrender of the valuable island of Curacao to his majesty's frigate under my command. I beg leave to transmit duplicates of all my letters to the right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, and the articles of capitulation agreed between his excellency Johan Rudolph Lauffer and myself; as also inventories of warlike stores, shipping, &c. I hope their lordships will sanction my conduct in taking possession of this central and valuable island in his majesty's name.

Lieutenant Paul I cannot recommend in too strong a language to their lordships, for his zealous exertions during the whole of the siege ; and for any further information, he is perfectly able to describe every thing their lordships may be desirous of knowing respecting Curacao.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Fred. Watkins.

His majesty's ship *Nereide*, off Amsterdam, island of Curacao, 11th Sept. 1800.

My Lord,

I wish not to lose a moment in sending a fast sailing vessel to inform your lordship, that the island of Curacao, has claimed the protection of his Britannic majesty. I have in consequence felt it my duty to take possession of it in his name.

I am now running for the harbour, as it is absolutely necessary to lose no time to save the island from the enemy, who threaten to storm the principal fort to-night ; but I trust the *Nereide's* assistance will be the means of frustrating

ing the enemy's views, and saving a most valuable colony for his majesty.

I compute the force of the French to be about 1500, now in possession of the west part of the island, but no strong post of any consequence to prevent my holding the forts commanding Amsterdam, until I am honoured with an answer from your Lordship.

There is great property afloat belonging to the Spaniards.

Lieutenant Paul will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your Lordship, of whose exertions and zeal for the service I cannot speak in too strong terms.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. Watkins.

His majesty's ship *Nereide*, off Amsterdam, Sept. 14.

My Lord,

Since sending my last dispatch of the 11th instant. Governor Johan Rudolph Lautfer has finally surrendered the island of Curacao and its dependencies to his majesty's arms.

Enclosed I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship a copy of the terms of capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation, which are in the usual terms, with the addition of the ports of Curacao and its dependencies being open to all Spanish vessels coming from the Main, for the more ready subsistence of the inhabitants.]

His majesty's ship *Nereide*, Curacao harbour, Sept. 23.

My Lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the English colours are flying in this island, and that I have entered this harbour in consequence of the total evacuation of the French forces last night. I am now arranging

affairs in such a manner as to tranquilize the minds of the inhabitants, and restore perfect peace, in the name of his majesty, in this valuable island. I have been received with great faith, and will do my utmost in establishing the security of the principal fortress till I receive your Lordship's answer for my further conduct. Inclosed I have the honour of transmitting to you an inventory of warlike stores, ammunition, &c. in the garrison, except those lately in the possession of the enemy, which I have not yet received the regular returns of, but have given the necessary orders. It was not my intention to have sent any farther dispatch to your lordship by the remaining lieutenant, Mr. James Hodgson; but, as I do not exactly conceive myself in a perfect state of safety, without having perfect possession of the principal fortress which commands the town, I have appointed him with a party of my own men, to that command: his zeal, bravery, and universal steady conduct in any service he is ordered on, makes my mind perfectly easy in doing so; he has been of the utmost service in a new erected battery in annoying the enemy, and indeed may be considered the principal cause of their retreat. Lieut. Fitton, commanding the *Active* tender, I have much pleasure in recommending to your lordship's notice, from his activity and spirited conduct since he has joined me. From him, my lord, you will receive material information as to all situations of the island and its valuable harbour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

F. Watkins.

[Here follows a list of Dutch, French, Spanish, American, and Danish vessels, captured in the harbour of Curacao, consisting of eight belonging to Holland,

land, eight to Denmark, seven to America, eleven to France, seven to Spain, and three English prizes which had been sold at that port, namely, the *Aurora*, *Albion*, and *Two Friends*.]

On the 7th of October, the *Kent* East Indiaman, in the Bay of Bengal, was captured by the *Confiance* French privateer, of 26 guns and 250 men, of which the following are the particulars.

On the morning of the 7th instant, at day-light, a strange sail was discovered in the N. W. quarter; the *Kent* at that time was lying to for a pilot, and captain Rivington conceiving the vessel in sight to be a pilot schooner, immediately bore down, hoisted his colours, and made the signal for a pilot; the stranger upon this made sail, and hauled up towards the *Kent*; it was soon after discovered that she was a ship, the hands were immediately called to quarters, and the ship prepared for action; upon her approach to the *Kent*, as she shewed no colours, a shot was fired at her from the larboard side, which was followed up, as she passed upon the opposite tack, by a broadside, and a constant fire kept up while she was within reach of the guns. The privateer, for it was now ascertained to be so, soon afterwards tacked, came up on the larboard side, and commenced the engagement within about musket shot, but without doing much injury, although she continued in this position for some time;—she then shot a-head, and passing round the bow of the *Kent*, renewed the engagement on the other side, nearly the same distance, and for the same length of time, but with as little effect as before. She afterwards made sail a-head, as if with the intention of relinquishing the attack and making off, which she could easily have done, having

greatly the superiority in sailing; when she had got about the distance of half a mile a-head of the *Kent*, she was, however, observed to haul her mainsail up, and wear round immediately towards her, and in about ten or fifteen minutes afterwards, or as soon as her guns would bear, she, for the first time, hoisted the National colours, (*Surcouff* afterwards declared that he had forgot them before) and fired a broadside and volley of musquetry from every part of the ship, which was immediately returned by the *Kent*, and continued while her guns would bear; the privateer then wearing round her stern, ranged close up alongside and received a full discharge from the *Kent*'s starboard guns; at this moment she fired a whole broadside, and threw a number of hand grenades, from her tops into the *Kent*, some of which penetrated the upper deck and burst on the gun-deck, at the same time a fire of musquetry was kept up from her tops, which killed and wounded a number of the passengers and recruits that were on the quarter-deck and poop; when the ships were completely locked with each other, captain *Surcouff* entered at the head of about 150 men, completely armed for boarding, having each a sabre and a brace of pistols; the contest upon deck was now desperate, and lasted for about twenty minutes but the enemy having greatly the superiority, both in number and arms, were victorious, and a dreadful carnage ensued, they shewing no quarter to any who came in their way, whether with or without arms; and such was their savage cruelty, that they even stabbed some of the sick in bed.

Upon gaining possession of the poop, the French immediately cut down
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the colours, and soon after this had complete possession of the ship.

Captain Surcouff finding some disinclination in his crew to board, had been under the necessity of plying them several times with liquor, as well as to promise them an hour's pillage in the event of carrying the ship; and this time they completely occupied, breaking open every package they could come at, and even taking the coats, hats, shoes, &c. from the persons of the officers and passengers.

From the commencement of the action until the French were in the possession of the ship, was about an hour and forty-seven minutes, and from the gallant manner in which the officers and crew of the Kent behaved while the ships were clear of each other, there is not a doubt but she would have overcome the privateer; but there being a very great deficiency of small arms, they had no means of repelling such a number of boarders, so well prepared for close action; and captain Surcouff acknowledged, that had he not succeeded in carrying her, his own ship must soon have sunk alongside.

Captain Rivington fell by the musquetry from the tops of the privateer, while Surcouff was in the act of boarding.

On the 8th of October, lieutenant Roger, of the Gipse, off the north end of Guadaloupe, chased and came up with an armed sloop; on firing a shot at her, she hoisted French colours and returned it; an action instantly commenced; he remained at very close quarters for an hour and a half, when finding that her musquetry did him considerable damage, he hauled a little farther off, and kept up a sharp fire of round and grape: at half past ten he

had the satisfaction to see her strike. She proves to be *Le Quiproquo*, commanded by Tourpie, formerly a capitaine de frigate in the service of the king, and was charged with dispatches from Curacao, bound to Guadaloupe; she mounted eight guns, six and nine pounders, and had on board 98 men, 80 of whom were Guadaloupe chas-seurs and cannoneers.

On the 12th of October, captain Knight, of the Montague, saw at noon a small convoy of brigs, sloops, &c. taking refuge in Port Danenne, which he approached, and prepared the armed boats of the two ships to attack, and while placing his ship to cover them, dispatched the Montague's boats under the direction of lieutenants Bysett and Knight, who were followed and ably supported by those of the Magnificent, in which were lieutenants Dunlop and Griffiths, who, notwithstanding the fire kept up from two of the vessels who were armed, and a battery firing round and grape, (under which the vessels lay touching the ground) they boarded, took possession, and brought out eleven vessels, and burnt one; another had been sunk by the enemy's shot, leaving only one, whose situation in the creek would not admit of getting her out.

This little piece of service, was completely and expeditiously performed, with the loss only of one seaman killed, and two wounded of the Montague, and one of the latter of the Magnificent.

On the 20th of October, captain Bowen, of his majesty's ship *Argo*, captured (after 15 hours chase, blowing fresh), the Spanish letter of marque *San Fernando*, mounting twelve long six-pounders, and 53 men, pierced for and shewing twenty-two guns on one deck,
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five days from St. Andero, bound to La Vera Cruz, laden with bar iron and bale goods, of considerable value, belonging to the Royal Philippine company; they had government dispatches on board, which they sunk.

She was a fine vessel, quite new, measured near three hundred tons, coppered, and fit for his majesty's service.

On the 13th of November 1800, lieutenant Smith, being off Oporto, in his majesty's schooner Melbrook, under his command, fell in with a French ship wearing a pendant, apparently a frigate, mounting 36 guns; and as he had at that time two brigs of the Newfoundland convoy under his protection, and several vessels appearing in the offing, which he had every reason to suppose part of that convoy also, he determined, as the only means of preserving them, to give her battle, and made sail to close with her accordingly; at the same time with a view of increasing their distance from the convoy.

It was nearly calm when the action commenced at eight A. M. and continued till near ten, when the enemy's colours came down: but the Melbrook at this time having her masts, yards, sails, and rigging very much cut, and ten of her guns disabled, he could not prevent their taking advantage of a light breeze springing up, assisted by the sweeps, to get away from him.

The following is an account of an action, which, even in this age of splendid achievements, will stand distinguished, and add to the pre-eminence of the British character.

Lisbon, Nov. 21.—La Sophie sloop of war, arrived here a few weeks ago, having lost her convoy from Newfoundland; and the Melbrook schooner, of 18 guns and 50 men, commanded by

lieutenant Smith was immediately sent out to clear the mouth of the Tagus of the Spanish privateers which infest it, in order that the fish ships might run no risk of capture. In a few days she was relieved, and went upon like service to Oporto, off which she fell in with two of the convoy. On the 13th inst. in the morning, close off the Bar of Oporto, and surrounded by vessels of the convoy, she was attacked by the Bellona privateer of Bourdeaux, of 36 guns and 350 men. An action ensued, and continued for two hours within pistol shot, when the enemy, to avoid being captured, put out her sweeps, and by their assistance escaped. The Melbrook had 12 men, including officers, wounded. Her rigging was cut to pieces, and she lay on the water wholly unmanageable. The action was distinctly heard by the people on shore, but a fog prevented their witnessing it: on its clearing up, the Republican was seen a league to the northward, exerting every means for escape.

The factory of Oporto, has made a handsome subscription for the whole of the ship's company, and forwarded a strong letter to the Admiralty in favour of the commander.

On the 3d of January 1801, captain Hamilton, of his majesty's ship Melpomene, being off the Bar of Senegal, the weather moderate, and the surf low, with the concurrence of colonel Frazer, he conceived if possible, if they could surprise a brig corvette and an armed schooner, anchored within the Bar, to possess themselves of the battery commanding the entrance, and, by the means of their own vessels, as he had none under his command fit for the purpose, to have finally reduced Senegal; he therefore detached lieutenant

Dick, with 96 officers and men from the *Melpomene* and African corps, in five boats, who left the ship at nine P.M. and were fortunate enough to pass the heavy surf on the Bar with the flood tide without accident, and unobserved by the Point battery; but on their approaching within hail of the brig, the alarm was given, and the two bow guns discharged, by which lieut. Palmer, with seven seamen, were killed, and two boats sunk. Notwithstanding this unfortunate accident, the brig was carried, after an obstinate defence of 20 minutes, but which gave the schooner time to cut her cable;—lieutenant Dick finding that the loss of his two best boats, and many of his best men, added to a constant fire from the schooner and two batteries, must have rendered any farther attempt abortive, judged it right to make every attempt to get her over the bar, but the ebb tide having made, and being totally unacquainted with the navigation of the river, she got a-head: and seeing it impossible ever to get her off, and being hulled by every shot from the Point battery, he found it absolutely necessary to retreat. At day-light they perceived the brig had sunk up to her gunwales in a quick-sand. It appears she was called the *Senegal*; had been fitted out there at the expence of the Republic; and was commanded by citizen Renou, who was on board at the time, and of whose fate they were uncertain. She mounted 18 guns, 12 and 9 pounders, and had nearly 60 men on board, some of which escaped in a boat; the rest were killed in boarding, except five whites and 13 blacks.

On the 15th of January, 1801, capt. Westbeach, of the *Favourite*, discovered off Flamborough Head, a cutter

close in shore, to which he immediately gave chase; and had the satisfaction to capture her, after a run of seven hours. She proved to be *Le Voyageur* cutter privateer of Dunkirk, mounting fourteen carriage guns, manned with forty-seven men, commanded by Egide Colbert, had been out four days from Ostend, and had only captured the *Camilla*, in ballast, belonging to Sunderland, the day before.

On the 26th of January, captain Linzee, of his majesty's ship *L'Oiseau*, fell in with the French national frigate *La Dedaigieuse*, of thirty-six guns and three hundred men, with dispatches from Cayenne for Rochfort, and chased her until noon the following day; when he discovered his majesty's ships *Sirius* and *Amethyst*, off Cape Finisterre, whose captains he directed by signal to chase, and continued in pursuit of the enemy, until two o'clock on Wednesday morning; being within musket shot, she opened her fire on the *Sirius* and *Oiseau*, which was immediately returned, and surrendered to the above ships after an action of forty-five minutes, distant from the shore, near Cape Belem, about two miles; her running rigging and sails were cut to pieces; several men killed and seventeen wounded, amongst the latter were the captain and fifth lieutenant. From the *Sirius*'s steady and well directed fire, the enemy received considerable damage; the *Amethyst*, from unfavourable winds, was unable to get up until she had struck. Notwithstanding the gallant resistance made by the *Dedaigieuse*, neither of the ships lost a man; the *Sirius*'s rigging and sails were a little damaged, her main-yard and bowsprit slightly wounded.

On the 28th of January, captain Manby, of his majesty's ship *Bourdelois*,

lois, off Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, descried to windward, evidently in chace of him, which he soon discovered to be an enemy's squadron, consisting of two large brigs and a schooner; having shortened sail, enabled them to be well up with him at sun-set, when he wore round to give them battle; at six he had the honour of bringing the largest brig to close action at about ten yards distance, but was not so fortunate with the other vessels, who fought very shy on the occasion, on observing we were enabled to fight both sides at once; thirty minutes of close carronade with his near opponent completely silenced him, when he hailed that he had struck, and lowered his top-sails, when his companions made sail from him. The first lieutenant, Mr. Robert Barrie, on taking possession of the prize, found her to be a remarkably fine French national corvette, called *La Curieuse*, pierced for 20 guns, but only 18 long nine pounders mounted, 168 men, and commanded by captain G. Radelet; sent out from Cayenne 28 days ago by Victor Hugues with this squadron, to intercept the outward-bound West India fleet. They had one man killed and seven wounded in the action.

The killed and wounded in the corvette amounted to near 50, her deck, fore and aft, being covered with the dying and the dead. The French captain survived but a few hours, having lost both his legs, and many of the prisoners were in an equally pitiable state.

A sad catastrophe attended this capture, which, after being more than an hour in their possession, was found to be rapidly sinking, in consequence of her innumerable shot-holes; every exertion was made to preserve her;

but, alas! at eight she foundered close beside them. He had, some time previous to this event, ordered every body to quit her; but British humanity, while striving to extricate the wounded Frenchmen from destruction, weighed so forcibly with Mr. Archibald Montgomery, and 20 brave followers, that they persevered in this meritorious service until the vessel sunk under them. The floating wreck buoyed up many from destruction; but Mr. Frederick Spence and Mr. Auckland, two promising young gentlemen, with five of his gallant crew, unfortunately perished. The delay occasioned by this unhappy event, securing 120 prisoners, knotting the rigging, and repairing sails, detained him until eleven before he could pursue the flying enemy.

On the 19th of February 1801, captain Barlow, of his majesty's ship *Phœbe*, being about two leagues to the eastward of Gibraltar, discovered one of the enemy's ships under Ceuta, steering with a crowd of sail to the eastward: he had the good fortune to bring her to a close action, about half past seven the same evening, which continued within pistol shot with unremitting fury about two hours, the enemy resolutely opposing the animated and skilful exertions of his brave officers and men, until their ship was almost a wreck, five feet water in her hold, her guns dismantled, and literally encumbered with dead, the number of which amounted to 200, and of wounded, to 143.

She proved to be the French frigate *L'Africaine*, of 44 guns, viz. 26 eighteen pounders on her main deck, and 18 nine pounders on her quarter-deck fore-castle, a very fine ship, about three years old, under the orders of the Chief of Division Saunier, whose broad pendant

pendant was flying, and who (with many principal officers both of the troops and of the marines) was slain in the action, and commanded by captain Magendie, who was wounded.

At the commencement of the action, she had 715 men, viz. 400 troops and artificers of various descriptions, under the command of general Desfourneau, and a crew of 315 officers and seamen; also six brass field pieces, several thousand stand of arms, ammunition, and implements of agriculture.

On the night of the 20th of Feb. captain Stopford, of his majesty's ship *Excellent*, in Quiberon Bay, sent the boats of the *Excellent* to endeavour to bring off a cutter and a sloop which were at anchor near the Point of Quiberon; unfortunately, that same evening, after dark, a large *chasse maree*, with troops on board, going to the Island of Belleisle, had taken her station close to the above vessels; the resistance which the boats met with, was consequently much greater than there was at first reason to suspect; this circumstance did not, however, prevent lieutenant Church (having the command of the boats) from making the attack upon the *chasse maree*, in which he gallantly persevered, till being badly wounded himself, and two men killed in his boat, he was obliged to retire; the other boats under the command of Messrs. Crawford and Manning, (Midshipmen) resolutely boarded, and succeeded in bringing off the cutter called *L'Arc*, an armed vessel in the service of the Republic, commanded by an *Ensigne de Vaisseau*, and employed as convoy to and from Belleisle. This vessel had also on board a detachment of troops, who were made prisoners, and who made

the vessel's force much superior to that of the assailants.

On the 16th of March 1801, his majesty's ship *Invincible*, of 74 guns, sailed from Yarmouth, in order to join the North Sea fleet. Soon after sailing, she struck on the Ridge Sand, fourteen miles from Winterton.

The *Invincible* first struck upon the fatal bank, between two and three in the afternoon. In this situation she remained near three hours, when the mizen-mast went by the board, and the main-mast was immediately after cut away. This ship, to the infinite joy of the crew, then dropped from about $3\frac{1}{2}$ into 17 fathom water, where, however, unfortunately losing her rudder, she soon became unmanageable and was again driven upon the bank.—A fishing-smack now approached the wreck; on which two boats belonging to the *Invincible* were ordered out. On board one of these, the admiral, the purser, four midshipmen, three of the admiral's servants, and six or eight seamen, reached the fishing-smack in safety, as did also the other boat full of people. Both of them immediately returned to the ship, but on re-approaching the smack, one was forced away, and every person on board would inevitably have perished, had not a collier which happened to be passing at this critical moment, happily picked them all up. This vessel afterwards afforded every assistance that humanity urged, or that she was capable of giving, and was the means of saving the lives of many of the crew. The fishing-smack, with the admiral on board, being unable to afford the least assistance to the ship, remained at anchor during the whole of Monday night. On the approach of day, the
1 master

master of this vessel expressed an unwillingness to go any nearer the wreck; but admiral Totty, in direct opposition to him, caused the cable to be cut, and immediately proceeded to the ship. Melancholy, however, to relate, while he was doing every thing of which human exertion is capable, to assist the unhappy people on board, the wreck once more got into deep water, and gradually sunk, to the infinite distress of the admiral and the other spectators, who were nearly frantic with grief, at this tremendous scene of human misery and destruction. While the ship was thus rapidly going down, the launch was hove out;—as many of the crew as she could possibly hold, instantly jumped on board, and had only time to clear the poop, when the vessel, with upwards of 400 souls, entirely disappeared, and went to the bottom. A number of the unhappy sufferers attempted to get on board the already over-laden launch, but as no more could be permitted to enter, without the certain loss of the whole, they were struck away with the oars, and in a few seconds became wholly ingulphed in the pitiless waters.

All the commissioned officers of the ship (except the captain, who was the last taken on board the launch, which one account says he never reached, and lieutenants Tucker and Quash) together with all the officers of marines, and most of the men, likewise went to the bottom.

About 70 or 80 of the crew were saved by means of the launch, the whole of whom had assembled upon the fore-castle; but all those who remained on the poop were lost. The total number of human beings who thus found a watery grave, amounts to upwards of 400, among whom were

several passengers, on their way to join other ships belonging to the North Sea fleet. The number saved, including officers, is stated at 195.

This afflicting disaster is attributed solely to the ignorance of the pilot.—He belonged to Harwich, and was taken on board at Sheerness. Instead of taking the ship through the ordinary channel from Yarmouth, he steered her through the narrow passage of the Cockle; and when she ran upon the sands, he insisted that the fatal spot was not laid down in any chart. In this point, however, he was soon confuted by the gunner of one of the ships of admiral Parker's fleet, who was only a passenger on board the *Invincible*. This man soon convinced the pilot of his error, by shewing him the exact spot distinctly marked. But the pilot is among the numerous sufferers, and in common charity, death must now be considered as having expiated all his faults. When the mizen-mast went over board, he also fell from the deck, and was never after seen.

The *Lively* cutter was for several hours within sight of the wreck, but was unable to afford the distressed people on board the least assistance.—A boat from Winterton was also very active.

On the 11th of May 1801, dispatches arrived from rear-admiral Duckworth, commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, to Evan Nepean, Esq. secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Leviathan, at Sea, March 27.

"SIR,

"Having consulted with lieutenant-general Trigge, on the subject of the orders of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, we determined not to wait for

for the expected reinforcements, but collect the troops that the general thought might be employed with dispatch; and we sailed on the 16th, with about 1500 troops, for the purpose of attacking the various islands specified in our orders, the general and myself considering it most judicious to commence with the weathermost one, St. Bartholomew, though by calms and very variable winds we were prevented from getting to Grand Saline Bay (our intended place of landing) till the morning of the 20th, when, having prepared every thing for that purpose, and placed the *Andromeda*, *L'Unite*, and *Drake* brig to cover, the general and myself deemed it expedient to prevent delay by sending brigadier general Fuller, and captain King, of the *Leviathan*, with a summons; which, after some little hesitation, was accepted, and the capitulation I transmit entered into. I then detached the *Andromeda*, with the *Alexander* tender, to assist in watching St. Thomas's, when every exertion was used to land a garrison, and from such temporary arrangements as the urgency of the service would admit, all of which were effected by the morning of the 22d.—We found here two Swedish ships, nearly laden with the produce of this country, a Danish ship in ballast, besides a variety of small craft, Swedish, and three small French vessels, and I left captain Thomas Harvey, in *L'Unite*, to co-operate with the commandant of that island, and at ten o'clock A. M. were in the act of weighing, when ten sail were seen from the mast head; I therefore ordered the *Drake* brig and *L'Eclair* schooner to reconnoitre, keeping the wind myself, concluding they were our troops from England, which the general and my-

self had sent orders to Barbadoes to follow us after landing their sick, with women and children; this, from light airs, was not ascertained till ten o'clock at night, when they proved as conjectured, and the *Proselyte* joined in the afternoon of the 24th. Upon this accumulation of force, the general and myself, after some deliberation, judged it would be highly injurious to his majesty's service, and render St. Bartholomew very unsafe if we omitted attacking the Island of St. Martin; we therefore (though it was not mentioned in our instructions) prompted by the rectitude of our intentions, decided upon endeavouring to reduce it, and at midnight of the 22d, bore away for that purpose; but the unprecedented variableness of the winds, prevented our getting there till day-light of the 24th; and on the afternoon of the 23d, the *Coromandel* joined with the 2d West Indian regiment, when, having placed captain Fawke, in the *Proselyte*, with the *Drake* brig, in Coles Bay, to cover the landing, under the direction of captain Ekins, of the *Amphitrite*, (who had been sick at Barbadoes, but joined me in the *Proselyte*, and handsomely volunteered his service) which commenced at half past eight o'clock; and with his judicious arrangements, the second brigade of near 1500 men, under brigadier general Maitland, were on shore with their field pieces, and 100 seamen, by eleven o'clock, as was the first brigade of 1800 under brigadier general Fuller, by two o'clock with their field pieces and 100 seamen; the second brigade directly proceeded on to take the heights, in the approach of the town of Philipsburgh, which was quickly effected, though not without some smart skirmishes, which afterwards brought on a short action,

action, in which some companies of the 64th, under lieutenant-colonel Pakenham, and two companies of the eighth West India regiment, displayed great gallantry, beat the enemy, and took two field pieces; at this time brigadier-general Fuller, with the first brigade, marched on to take the heights above Port Chesterfield, or Maregot, where we had reason to expect the greatest resistance; but the former check (in which the enemy lost from fifty to sixty killed and wounded) evinced that opposition could only lead to destruction; and they embraced a verbal summons (sent in by brigadier general Maitland, at five o'clock) to propose their terms at nine; when lieutenant-general Trigge and self, being on the spot, the capitulation was signed and exchanged by midnight of the 24th, of which I transmit a copy for their lordships' information. At the commencement of the attack, we observed in the Great Bay, two privateer-brigs, of twelve guns each, and a schooner of the same force, with a merchant ship, brig, and nine or ten small craft; and as I considered them likely to attempt getting off in the course of the night, if it was found necessary to surrender, I ordered the Hornet and Fanny armed brigs to work up the Great Bay, to prevent such attempt from succeeding, and at sunset sent the Drake to aid on that service; but, unfortunately the two first did not get far enough to windward to fulfil my intention, by which means one of the brigs and the schooner got out with a few small vessels, five of which were taken; but I am to lament the brig and the schooner getting away, after a chase of twenty-four hours, by the Hornet and Fanny. We found remaining in the Bay, one brig-priv-

ateer of twelve guns, an English captured ship, a merchant brig, four small schooners, and a sloop; the particulars of which my time would not allow me to collect, as I began to embark the troops, ordnance, &c. &c. the next morning, the 25th, and sailed for St. Thomas's the afternoon of the 26th, leaving the Proselyte, Hornet, and Drake, to assist in the arrangements necessary for the security of the island, and two transports to embark the garrison in, which consisted of between three and four hundred, besides nearly a similar number which got away in the brig, &c.

"I have ordered the Proselyte to relieve L'Unite, keeping with her the Drake, for assisting the protection of the two islands, and L'Unite to conduct the prisoners to Martinique, arranging and getting ready to convoy the trade home.

"I cannot conclude this account of our successful proceeding, for their Lordships' information, without paying that grateful tribute which is due to lieutenant-general Trigge, for his kind support and concurrence in every instance, and for his anxious endeavours to preserve that particular harmony and unanimity between the army and navy, which must always contribute to the success of every undertaking. I should not do justice to the officers and men serving under my command, if I was to omit assuring their lordships they have performed the harassing and laborious service they have been employed in highly to my satisfaction, and with an alacrity characteristic of British seamen; and have the honour to be, sir, &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

"By lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and rear-admiral John Thomas Duck-

Duckworth, commander in chief of of his Britannic majesty's land and sea forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Islands, &c. &c.

"The king, our master, having viewed with the deepest concern the unjust combination lately entered into between the courts of Sweden, Denmark and Russia, to support the principles of an armed neutrality, contrary to the law of nations, and the positive stipulation of treaties; his majesty, therefore, feels himself called upon to adopt such measures as a conduct so hostile to the just and ancient privileges of the British flag requires, on his part, for the maintenance and preservation of the best rights of his people, and in support of the most solemn treaties, thereby violated, and to consider, though with the greatest reluctance, those courts as enemies of Great-Britain.

"Feeling that resistance on your part would only tend to increase the calamities of war, which it is our most earnest desire to alleviate, we have sent this summons by brigadier-general Fuller, of the land forces, and captain King, of the Royal navy, requiring you to surrender the Island of St. Bartholomew, together with all ships and vessels, stores, and public property of every description.

"Knowing how ardently it is the desire of our royal master to avert the sufferings, of individuals, and it being no less our own disposition and wish to soften their distresses, we take this opportunity to declare, that the private property of the inhabitants will be respected, as well as whatever belongs to the subjects of the United States of America; and in case of immediate submission, that the laws, customs, and

religious usages of the island shall not be infringed.

"Dated on board his majesty's ship Leviathan, this 20th day of March.

(Signed)

Thomas Trigge, Leut. General,
J. T. Duckworth, Rear-Admiral.

"His excellency the governor of St. Bartholomew.

His majesty's ship Leviathan, March 20.

"Sir,

"His majesty's friendly disposition towards the interests of the United States of America, and their inhabitants, corresponding so perfectly with our own—We, in order the more certainly to prevent any cause of misunderstanding on the present occasion, have taken this opportunity to express our just expectation, that the subjects of America, at present residing in the Island of St. Bartholomew, will not lend themselves to any collusive transaction with a view of preventing such property from coming into possession of the forces under our command, as of right ought to be forfeited to the crown of Great Britain. As whatever reluctance we might feel in adopting a measure so extremely disagreeable to us, it nevertheless would be our duty, not only to resist, in every instance, such unbecoming proceedings, but be the means of obliging us to act against whoever might be concerned in a transaction of so improper a nature, in a manner which we would ever wish to avoid. At the time of making this communication, we hope not to be understood as conceiving any thing of the nature now alluded to at all likely to occur. We feel satisfied of the contrary, and have noticed it merely as a measure of precaution to those who

who might otherwise have been unwarily led into a step without being aware of the consequences attendant. We have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

Thos. Trigge, Lieut. General.

J. T. Duckworth, Rear-Admiral.

By their excellencies lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and rear-admiral John Thomas Duckworth, commander in chief of his Britannic majesty's forces, &c. &c.

"The superiority of the force which it has pleased his Britannic majesty to place under our joint command, rendering every hope of resistance, on your part, altogether ineffectual, we, in order to avert the consequences that so evidently would attend any opposition, which from a vain expectation of success, you might be induced to make, and to give you the only opportunity in our power to afford, of avoiding the effects so certainly to be apprehended, have taken this means of manifesting the moderation with which it is our desire to proceed.

"And we do therefore require you, in the name of the king our master, immediately to surrender into our possession the Island of St. Martin, as likewise all stores and vessels, together with the property of every description.

"Done on board his Britannic majesty's ship *Leviathan*, this 24th day of March, 1801.

(Signed)

Thos. Trigge, Lieut. General.

J. T. Duckworth, Rear-Admiral.

Leviathan, St. Thomas, March 30.

"Sir.

"Having had the honour of stating to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the

successful proceedings of this armament to the 27th, I have now further to add, that we arrived off this island at day-light of the 28th, having previously concerted with the general the arrangement for landing at Black Point Bay, about three miles to the westward of the town; but from the wind throwing off the land, we were not able to obtain anchorage till noon, when I collected captain Bradby, in the *Andromeda*, with the *Alexandria* tender, to place themselves as close to the beach as the water would admit, to cover the landing; which service was ably executed: I also ordered the *Southampton*, *Diana*, and *Amphitrite*, (which had been previously directed here to prevent succour from being thrown in,) to anchor close off the town, to be in readiness to attack the forts, if requisite. This service performed, and the troops all ready to land, lieutenant-general Trigge, and self were of opinion it would promote his majesty's service to summon the island, which was sent by brigadier-general Maitland, and captain King of the *Leviathan*, when a capitulation was agreed on for this island, St. John's, and its dependencies (with the delay only of the Governor being permitted to send officers to ascertain that our force was formidable as represented); and yesterday morning we took possession of the forts, &c. since when I have been constantly employed in landing a garrison, and forming temporary regulations, to move for our next object to Santa Cruz this evening, that my time will not admit of my giving their lordships an exact detail of the vessels in harbour, but there was one man of war brig of 18 guns, which appears to be a very fine vessel, and fit for his majesty's service. Herewith I send a

copy of the capitulation. This, with my other dispatch of the 27th, I forward by my first lieutenant, Charles Marshal Gregory, an officer of great merit and activity, who has been recently employed as acting captain of the *Amphitrite*, and to whom I must refer their lordships for further particulars; and I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

J. T. Duckworth.

Leviathan, off Christianstadt, Santa Cruz, April 2.

"Sir,

"My letters of the 27th and 30th ult. (of which I now transmit duplicates) having given you information for the lords commissioners of the admiralty, of our fortunate and successful proceedings, in the execution of their lordships' orders, to the surrender of St. Thomas's (with the deviation of venturing to attack St. Martin's,) and my intention of leaving St. Thomas's for Santa Cruz that evening, the 30th, I now have the further pleasure to acquaint you that we were off the town of Christianstadt at day-light of the 31st, and having formed the arrangements for landing, and sounded to the eastward of the town, to ascertain that it could be safely effected, lieutenant-general Trigge and myself thought proper to send a summons similar to that of St. Bartholomew; upon which confidential officers were sent off by the governor-general Lindeman, and the accompanying capitulation entered into, the whole of which, I hope, will meet with his majesty's, and their lordships' approbation; and as I consider an expeditious account thereof, under the present circumstances with the Northern Powers, may be very desirable, I dispatch the *Fanny* hired armed brig, and must defer giving any detail

of the vessels in the ports, as I have not yet been able to get any exact list. Captain Ekins, of the *Amphitrite*, having been much reduced from a fever, and by his exertions again brought on violently his complaint, I have thought it humanity to entrust that valuable officer with my dispatches, and beg leave to refer their Lordships to him for any further particulars.

"I intend giving an acting order to captain John Miller Garnier, of the *Hawke*, and my first lieutenant Geo. Wm. Blamey, an officer whose exertions in the present expedition entitle him to my warmest support.

"I should feel very remiss was I to close this without mentioning to their lordships, the aid I have received from my captain E. D. King, in this harassing service; and I have the honour to be sir, &c.

J. T. Duckworth."

[The articles of capitulation agreed to were such as places incapable of making resistance could not controvert. The different garrisons, excepting that of St. Martin's, are prisoners of war, and the Islands are to be subject to the discretionary government of his Britannic majesty, all necessary intercourse with the neighbouring countries being allowed, under certain regulations.]

On the 15th of April 1801, arrived at Plymouth, the brigantine *Beaver*, of Hull, captain M. Connor, from Oporto, laden with wine, bound to Hull. This vessel was on the 12th inst. about four o'clock A. M. captured by the *Braave* French lugger privateer, of 14 guns, and 70 men, and the French commander ordered all the crew, except captain Connor, a Portuguese, and two boys, to quit the *Beaver*, and, in lieu of them, he put on board a prize master, and four Frenchmen; he then directed

rected them to shape their course for the coast of France, and the lugger proceeded on her cruize; captain Connor, however, formed the desperate resolution of attempting a recapture, notwithstanding the great difference of strength, rather than go to a French prison; and accordingly about nine o'clock the same morning, the prize-master being in the cabin of the vessel, he embraced a favourable opportunity, seized him by the collar, threw him down, and bound his hands and feet in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to extricate himself without assistance; captain Connor then possessed himself of the prize-master's pistol, went on deck, and soon convinced the Frenchmen of his intention of retaking the vessel, or perishing in the attempt; in the scuffle, one of the Frenchmen fell overboard, and was drowned, and the others finding that they had a resolute Englishman to cope with, gave up the contest, and consented to assist in navigating the vessel to England: whilst the Frenchmen had possession of her, they stood to the southward, but as soon as captain Connor took the helm, he changed the course, and stood to the eastward; by way of employing the Frenchmen, as the vessel was very leaky, he kept them constantly at the pump and aloft.

About four o'clock P. M. he discovered to leeward of them a sail, to which he bore down, with a signal for assistance flying at the mast-head, and very soon found that it was an English ship of war, which proved to be the Loire, of 46 guns, captain Newman: a boat was immediately sent from that ship to give the necessary assistance; the boat's crew took out all the Frenchmen, and put on board a suffi-

cient number of Englishmen to assist captain Connor to bring the vessel to this port. Captain Connor, throughout the whole of this hazardous enterprise, conducted himself with much personal courage.

The Portuguese, immediately on the scuffle taking place on deck, ran below, and there he remained until it was over; and one of the boys was too much frightened to be of any service; the other boy, who possessed more courage, assisted in securing the prize-master, and this seems to be all the aid that captain Connor received in accomplishing his purpose.

On the 21st of April, the islands of St. Eustatius and Saba, surrendered to a detachment of the 3d regiment of foot, under the command of lieutenant colonel Blunt, and captain Perkins, of his majesty's ship Arab. The ordnance stores consisted of 48 pieces of cannon of different calibres, 333 barrels of powder, with a quantity of filled cartridges, as also musket ditto, with some shot, &c. They had no provisions in the garrison, and very little in the possession of the inhabitants.

On the 1st of June, 1801, C. Pulling, of his majesty's sloop Kangaroo, was cruizing off Barcelona, pursuant to orders from captain Dixon, of his majesty's ship Genereux, and falling in with his majesty's ship Speedy, right honourable lord Cochrane, commander, spoke a Minorquin privateer, who gave information that a Spanish convoy, consisting of twelve sail and five armed vessels, had passed to the windward three days before: lord Cochrane agreeing with him as to the practicability of overtaking them, they went in pursuit, and yesterday morning got sight of them at anchor under the battery of Oropeso. When having so able
and

and gallant an officer as his lordship to lead into the Bay, he hesitated not a moment to make the attack; they approached within half gun-shot of the enemy's boom with both brigs, and came to an anchor, though opposed by the battery, which is a large square tower, and appears to have 12 guns, a xebec of 20 guns, and three gun-boats, all of which kept up a brisk fire until two o'clock, when it considerably decreased, but again recommenced, encouraged by a felucca of 12 guns, and two gun-boats that came to their assistance: by half past three the xebec and one of the gun boats sunk, and shortly after another gun-boat shared the same fate. The tower, with the remaining gun-boats, assisted by the three in the offing, continued to annoy them on both sides till about half past six, when the fire of the whole slackened; and on the Kangaroo cutting her cables and running nearer to the tower, the gun-boats in the offing fled, and by seven the tower was silenced. They were annoyed by a heavy fire of musquetry in different directions till midnight, during which time the boats of both brigs were employed in cutting out the vessels that were found afloat, under the direction of Mr. Thomas Foulerton, the first lieutenant of the Kangaroo, assisted by lieutenant Warburton, of the Speedy, the honourable M. A. Cochrane, and Messrs. Dean and Taylor, midshipmen; they succeeded in bringing out three brigs, laden with wine, rice, and bread.—When lord Cochrane, with his usual zeal, took the same officers under his command, and went in shore again, in the hope of bringing away more, but the remainder were either sunk or driven on shore. Mr. Thomas Taylor, midshipman, a valuable young man,

was killed by a musket ball while on this service.

Lord Cochrane assisted during this long contest, as well as on the day before, when they found it necessary, for the honour of his Britannic majesty's arms, to blow up the tower of Almanara, mounting two brass four-pounders, which would not surrender, though repeatedly summoned.

Lord Cochrane was a little singed, and received a bruise at the demolition of the tower of Almanara, as did two of his men, but neither of them were materially hurt; the Speedy had not a man killed or wounded in the destruction of this convoy, though, from situation and distance, equally exposed to the enemy's fire.

On the 5th of July 1801, rear-admiral James Saumarez, stood through the Streights, with his majesty's squadron under his orders, with the intention of attacking three French line of battle ships and a frigate, that he had received information of being at anchor off Algeziras; on opening Cabaretta Point, he found the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and having a leading wind up to them, afforded every reasonable hope of success in the attack.

He had previously directed captain Hood, in the Venerable, from his experience and knowledge of the anchorage, to lead the squadron, which he executed with his accustomed gallantry, and although it was not intended he should anchor, he found himself under the necessity so to do, from the wind's failing (a circumstance so much to be apprehended in that country) captain Stirling anchored opposite to the inner ship of the enemy, and brought the Pompee to action in the most spirited and gallant manner, which

which was also followed by the commanders of every ship in the squadron.

Captains Darby and Ferris, owing to light winds, were prevented for a considerable time from coming into action; at length the Hannibal getting a breeze, captain Ferris had the most favourable prospect of being alongside one of the enemy's ships, when the Hannibal unfortunately took the ground, and having made every possible effort with his ship and the Audacious, to cover her from the enemy, he was under the necessity to make sail, being at the time only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries.

The enemy's ships consisted of two of 84 guns, and one of 74, with a large frigate; two of the former were aground, and the whole rendered unserviceable.

The three French line of battle-ships disabled in the action of the 6th instant, off Algeziras, were, on the 8th, reinforced by a squadron of five Spanish line of battle ships, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, and a French ship of 74 guns, wearing a broad pendant, besides three frigates, and an incredible number of gun-boats and other vessels, together with his majesty's late ship Hannibal which they had succeeded in getting off the shoal on which she struck.

Admiral Saumarez almost despaired of having a sufficient force in readiness to oppose to such numbers, but, through the great exertions of captain Brenton, the officers and men belonging to the Cæsar, the ship was in readiness to warp out of the Mole, and got under weigh immediately after with all the squadron, except the Pompee, which ship had not had time to get in her masts.

Confiding in the zeal and intrepidity of the officers and men he had the happiness to serve with, he determined, if possible, to obstruct the passage of this very powerful force to Cadiz.—Late in the evening, he observed the enemy's ships to have cleared Cabareta Point, and at eight he bore up with the squadron to stand after them. His majesty's ship Superb being stationed a-head of the Cæsar, he directed captain Keates to make sail and attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, using his endeavours to keep in shore of them. At eleven the Superb opened her fire close to the enemy's ships, and on the Cæsar's coming up, and preparing to engage the three-decker that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to have taken fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were seen in a blaze, and presented a most awful sight. No possibility existing of offering the least assistance in so distressing a situation, the Cæsar passed to close with the ship engaged by the Superb, but by the cool and determined fire kept upon her, the enemy's ship was completely silenced, and soon after hauled down her colours.

The Venerable and Spencer having at this time come up, he bore up after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail standing out of the Streights, and lost sight of them during the night. It blew excessively hard till day-light, and in the morning the only ships in company were the Venerable and Thames a-head of the Cæsar, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the Spencer a-stern coming up.

All the ships immediately made sail with a fresh breeze, but as they approached,

proached, the wind suddenly failing, the Venerable was alone able to bring her to action, which captain Hood did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced the French ship, when his mainmast, (which had been before wounded) was unfortunately shot away, and it coming nearly calm, the enemy's ship was enabled to get off without any possibility of following her.

The French ship was an eighty-four, with additional guns on her gunwale.

This action was so near the shore, that the Venerable struck on one of the shoals, but was soon got off, and taken in tow by the Thames, but with the loss of all her masts.

On the 4th of August 1801, 23 vessels, brigs, and flats (lugger rigged) and a schooner, were at day-light, anchored in a line in front of the town of Boulogne; the wind being favourable for the bombs to act, admiral Nelson made the signal for them to weigh, and to throw shells at the vessels, but as little as possible to annoy the town:—the captains placed their ships in the best possible position, and in a few hours three of the flats and a brig were sunk; and in the course of the morning six were on shore, evidently much damaged: at six in the evening, being high water, five of the vessels which had been aground, hauled, with difficulty, into the Mole, the others remained under water. The whole of the vessels would have gone inside the pier, but for want of water. What damage the enemy had sustained, was impossible to tell. The whole of this affair was of no further consequence than to shew the enemy they could not, with impunity, come outside their ports.

On the 18th of August, the follow-

ing letter from lord viscount Nelson, K. B. vice-admiral of the Blue, &c. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated on board the Medusa, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

“SIR,

“Having judged it proper to attempt bringing off the enemy's flotilla, moored in the front of Boulogne, I directed the attack to be made by four divisions of boats for boarding, under the command of captains Somerville, Congrave, Jones, and Parker; and a division of howitzer boats under captain Conn. The boats put off from the Medusa, at half past eleven o'clock last night, in the best possible order, and before one o'clock this morning the firing began, and I had, from the judgment of the officers, and the zeal and gallantry of every man, the most perfect confidence of complete success, but the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide, separated the divisions, and from all not arriving at the same happy moment with captain Parker, is to be attributed the failure of success; but I beg to be perfectly understood, that not the smallest blame attaches itself to any person; for although the divisions did not arrive together, yet each (except the fourth division, which could not be got up before day) made a successful attack on that part of the enemy they fell in with, and actually took possession of many brigs and flats, and cut their cables, but many of them being aground, and the moment of the battle's ceasing on board them, the vessels were filled with volleys upon volleys of musquetry, the enemy being perfectly regardless of their own men, who must have suffered equally with us; it was therefore impossible to remain on board even to burn them; but allow me to say, who have seen much service this war, that
more

more determined persevering courage I never witnessed, and that nothing but the impossibility of being successful from the causes I have mentioned, could have prevented me from having to congratulate their lordships; but although in value the loss of such gallant and good men is incalculable, yet, in point of numbers, it has fallen short of my expectations. I must also beg leave to state, that greater zeal and ardent desire to distinguish themselves by attack on the enemy was never shewn than by all the captains, officers, and crews of all the different descriptions of vessels under my command.

"The commanders of the Hunter and Greyhound revenue cutters, went in their boats in the most handsome and gallant manner to the attack. Amongst the many brave men wounded, I have the deepest regret to place the name of my gallant good friend and able assistant captain Edward T. Parker; also my flag lieutenant Frederick Langford, who has served with me many years; they were both wounded in attempting to board the French commodore. To captain Gore, of the Medusa, I feel the highest obligations; and when their lordships look at the loss of the Medusa on this occasion, they will agree with me, that the honour of my flag, and the cause of their king and country, could never have been placed in more gallant hands. Captain Bedford, of the Leyden, with captain Gore, very handsomely volunteered their services to serve under a master and commander; but I did not think it fair to the latter, and I only mention it to mark the zeal of those officers. From the nature of the attack, only a few prisoners were made; a lieutenant, eight seamen, and eight soldiers, are all they brought off. Herewith I send

the reports of the several commanders of divisions, and a return of killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"Nelson and Bronte."

"P S. Captain Somerville was the senior master and commander employed."

"Eugene, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

"My Lord,

"In obedience to your lordship's directions to state the proceedings of the first division of boats which you did me the honour to place under my command, for the purpose of attacking the enemy's flotilla in the Bay of Boulogne, I beg leave to acquaint you, that after leaving the Medusa last night, I found myself on getting on shore, carried considerably, by the rapidity of the tide, to the eastward of the above-mentioned place; and finding I was not likely to reach it in the order prescribed, I gave directions for the boats to cast each other off. By so doing, I was enabled to get to the enemy's flotilla a little before the dawn of day, and in the best order possible attacked, close to the pier head, a brig, which, after a sharp contest I carried. Previous to so doing, her cables were cut; but I was prevented from towing her out by her being secured with a chain, and in consequence of a very heavy fire of musquetry and grape shot that was directed at us from the shore, three luggers, and another brig within half pistol shot; and not seeing the least prospect of being able to get her off, I was obliged to abandon her, and push out of the Bay, as it was then completely day-light.

"The undaunted and resolute behaviour of the officers, seamen, and marines was unparalleled; and I have to

lament

lament the loss of several of those brave men, a list of whom I enclose you herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.

P. Somerville."

"Medusa, off Boulogne, Aug. 16.

"My Lord,

"After the complete arrangement which was made, the perfect good understanding and regularity with which the boats you did me the honour to put under my command left the Medusa, I have an anxious feeling to explain to your lordship the failure of our enterprise, that, on its outset, promised every success.

"Agreeable to your lordship's instructions, I proceeded with the second division of the boats under my direction (the half of which were under the direction of lieut. Williams, senior, of the Medusa) to attack the part of the enemy's flotilla appointed for me, and at half past twelve had the good fortune to find myself close to them, when I ordered lieutenant Williams, with his sub-division, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of me, while I, with the others, run alongside a large brig off the Mole Head, wearing the commodore's pendant. It is at this moment I feel myself at a loss for words to do justice to the officers and crew of the Medusa who were in the boat with me, and to lieutenant Langford, the officers and crew of the same ship, who nobly seconded us in the barge, until all her crew were killed or wounded; and to the honourable Mr. Cathcart, who commanded the Medusa's cutter, and sustained the attack with the greatest intrepidity, until the desperate situation I was left in obliged me to call him to the assistance of the sufferers in my boat.

"The boats were no sooner alongside than we attempted to board; but a very strong netting, traced up to the lower yards, baffled all our endeavours, and an instantaneous discharge of her guns and small arms, from about two hundred soldiers on her gunwale, knocked myself, Mr. Kirby, the master of the Medusa, and Mr. Gore, a midshipman, with two-thirds of the crew, upon our backs into the boat, all either killed or wounded desperately, the barge and cutter being on the outside, sheered off with the tide, but the flat boat in which I was hung alongside, and as there was not an officer or man left to govern her, must have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not Mr. Cathcart taken her in tow, and carried her off.

"Mr. Williams led his sub-division up to the enemy with the most intrepid gallantry, took one lugger, and attacked a brig, while his crews, I am concerned to say, suffered equally with ourselves, nearly the whole of his boat's crew were killed or wounded; lieutenant Pelly who commanded the Medusa's launch, and the hon. Mr. Maitland, midshipman, were severely wounded; and Mr. William Bristow, master's mate, in the Medusa's cutter, under lieutenant Stewart, was killed.

"I now feel it my duty to assure your lordship, that nothing could surpass the zeal, courage, and readiness of every description of officer and man under my command; and I am sorry that my words fall short of their merits, though we could not accomplish the object we were ordered to.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *Edward Parker."*

"Gannett, Aug. 17, 1801.

"My Lord,

"On the night of the 15th inst. the
third

third division of boats which I had the honour to command, assembled on board his majesty's ship York, agreeably to your lordship's directions, and at 11 P. M. by signal from the Medusa, proceeded, without loss of time, to attack the enemy's flotilla, off Boulogne, as directed by your lordship; and as I thought it most advisable to endeavour to reduce the largest vessel first, I lost no time in making the attack; but in consequence of my leading the division, and the enemy opening a heavy fire from several batteries, thought it advisable to give the enemy as little time as possible, cut the tow-rope, and did not wait for the other boats, so that it was some little time before the heavy boats could get up; but received so many shots through the boat's bottom, that I soon found her in a sinking state, and as it was not possible to stop so many shot holes, was obliged, with the men, to take another boat, and have the pleasure to acquaint your lordship, that I received particular support from the boats of his majesty's ship York, which soon came up with the rest of the division I had the honour to command; but finding no prospect of success, and the number of men killed and wounded in the different boats, and the constant fire from the shore of grape and small arms, thought it for the good of his majesty's service, to withdraw the boats between two and three in the morning, as we could not board her, although every effort was made.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *Isaac Cotgrave.*"

"His majesty's ship Isis, Sunday
August 16th, 1801.

"My Lord,

"In consequence of directions re-

ceived from your lordship, I last night, on the signal being made on board the Medusa, left this ship with the boats of the fourth division, formed with two close lines, and immediately joined the other divisions, under the stern of the Medusa, and from thence proceeded to put your lordship's order into execution, attacking the westernmost part of the enemy's flotilla: but notwithstanding every exertion made, owing to the rapidity of the tide we could not, until near day-light, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line; on approaching the eastern part of which, in order to assist the first division then engaged, we met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, I judged it prudent to direct the officers commanding the different boats to return to their respective ships.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Rob. Jones."

"P. S. None killed or wounded on board any of the fourth division.

"Discovery, off Boulogne,
16th Aug. 1801.

"My Lord,

"I beg leave to make my report to your lordship of the four howitzer boats that I had the honour to command, in the attack of the enemy last night.

"Having led in to support captain Parker's division, keeping between his lines until the enemy opened their fire, and threw about eight shells into it; but, from the strength of the tide coming out of the harbour, was not able to keep our station off the Pier Head, but continued our fire on the camp, until the enemy's fire had totally slackened, and captain Parker's division had passed without me. I beg leave to

mention to your lordship, that I was ably supported by the other boats — Captain Broome and lieutenant Beam, of the royal artillery, did every thing in their power to annoy the enemy. — The other officers of artillery were detached in the other four howitzer boats.

I have the honour to be, &c.

John Conn."

The officers, seamen, and marines, killed and wounded in this expedition, were 4 officers, 33 seamen, and 7 marines killed; 14 officers, 84 seamen, and 30 marines wounded. — Total 172.

The following is a copy of a letter from the right hon. lord Keith, K. B. commander in chief of his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at sea, the 14th of September.

Sir,

It is with great concern that I acquaint you, for the information of their lordships, of the capture of his majesty's ship *Swiftsure*, by Gantheaume's squadron, on his return to France, after his unsuccessful attempt to debark troops on the coast of Egypt; I enclose a copy of captain Hallowell's communication of that unfortunate event; and have the honour to be sir, &c.

Keith.

On board *L'Indivisible*, in Toulon Road, July 21, 1801.

My Lord,

It is with infinite concern I have to inform your lordship of the capture of his majesty's late ship *Swiftsure*, by a squadron of French ships under the command of rear-admiral Gantheaume.

Having separated from my convoy, consisting of cartels and light transports, on the 22d ult. I was making

the best of my way to Malta, when on the morning of the 24th, at half past three, the wind at N. W. Cape Derne bearing S. W. distant about seven leagues, we discovered five sail to leeward of us, nearly hull down.

As lieutenant Sheppard, of the *Pigmy* cutter, had informed me on the 19th, that an enemy's squadron had quitted Durasso on the 7th, where they had attempted to land their troops, I concluded the ships in sight were those of which he had given me intelligence, and made all the sail possible to get from them: at sun-rise my suspicions were realized; we clearly distinguished four of them to be of the line, the other a large frigate, and their signal-flags soon pointed them out to be enemies. At half past five, two of the line of battle ships tacked, by signal, and stood on till they fetched into our wake while the other two and the frigate stood upon the same tack with us. At eight o'clock the two ships and frigate having fore-reached considerably on us, tacked and stood towards us until they got on our lee quarter, when they tacked again. From their great superiority of sailing they closed with us so fast as to be nearly within gun shot by two P. M. and as the ships astern were coming up very fast, I determined on bearing down and engaging the two ships and frigate to leeward, hoping to disable one of them before the whole squadron could be brought into action, and thereby effect our escape by getting to leeward of them: at three o'clock I bore up and steered to pass astern of the sternmost ship, all our steering sails set on the starboard side, when the enemy tacked and stood towards us; at half past three the *Indivisible*, of 80 guns, bearing rear-admiral Gantheaume's flag, and the

the *Dix Aout*, of 74 guns, being in close order, and within half gun shot of us, opened the fire, which was instantly answered, and a warm action ensued. Their great superiority in point of sailing, gave them every advantage of position, and baffled all our attempts to get to leeward of them.—

At thirty-seven minutes past four, the *Jean Bart* and *Constitution*, of 74 guns, being within gun-shot, and closing upon our starboard quarter very fast, the *Indivisible* almost on board of us on our larboard bow, and the *Dix Aout* on our larboard quarter, our fore-yard and fore top-sail-yard shot away, all our rigging and part of our standing rigging cut to pieces, the fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-yard badly wounded, our deck lumbered with the wreck and sails, and all hopes of making our escape, or falling in with any succour, being cut off, and only one of the enemy's ships apparently much damaged, I thought farther resistance, in our crippled state, would be exposing the lives of valuable men without any advantage to their country resulting from it: with pain, therefore, I ordered his majesty's colours to be struck, after an action of an hour and seven minutes.

Most sincerely, my lord, do I lament our having been opposed to so very superior a force, as from the steady and gallant conduct of the officers and men I had the honour to command on this occasion, and with whom I had been acting nearly four years on various services, I have not a doubt of what would have been the issue of the contest on more equal terms. Our loss has been principally in masts, yards, sails, and rigging, having only two men killed, lieutenant Davis and seven men wounded, (two of whom are since dead of their wounds,) the enemy's intention

being to disable us in our rigging, in which they succeeded too well; at the commencement of this unequal contest, we were 86 men short of complement, and had 59 sick, those who returned from the army before Alexandria having introduced a bad fever into the ship.

Four hundred men were put on board the *Swiftsure* on the evening of her capture, many of the prisoners removed, and the ship in so crippled a state, as to render it necessary to take her in tow; the next day carpenters and seamen from all the ships were sent on board to repair her damages, and soldiers to complete her number to 700; and with all their exertions, and the advantage of smooth water, it was six days before they were able to make sail.

On the 4th of July, between *Lampidosa* and *Pantalasia*, they fell in with and captured the *Mohawk*, letter of marque, from Bristol to Malta, laden with various articles of merchandize; on the 22d they anchored in this road, in general very sickly, without having landed any part of their troops on the coast of Egypt or Barbary, although they attempted a debarkation at *Derne*, on the 23d ult. but from the hostile appearance and reception of the natives, they did not persevere, and returned to their ships without landing a single person.

I feel it a duty I owe to admiral *Gantheaume*, to mention to your lordship, the handsome manner in which we have all been treated by the officers of his squadron, and by him in particular, the strictest orders have been issued to preserve the property of every individual, and he has done everything in his power to render the situation of the officers and men as comfortable as possible.

possible. I have the honour to be, my lord, &c.

(Signed) *Ben. Hallowell.*

By dispatches received on the 14th of Nov. 1801, the following letter was received from lieutenant colonel Airey, commanding the troops in British pay, in the island of Elba.

Porto Ferrajo, Sept. 16, 1801.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that we observed the enemy busily employed in strengthening their works and batteries round this place, and especially towards the church of the Annunziata, and English fort, where we found they had thrown up some additional works, and masked all the embrasures, by filling them with fascines.

Sir John Warren arrived here on the 12th instant, and from all the intelligence I had received, I thought, with the assistance of the marines of the fleet, and a party of seamen, an attack from the garrison might be attended with good effect; that we might at least destroy the batteries that shut up the port, and by bringing their force into the field, be able to ascertain how far the accounts we had received of their numbers were to be depended on.

The admiral acceded to my representation, and on the morning of the 14th instant, with the concurrence of the governor, a little before day-light, a landing was made by two separate divisions, amounting in the whole to about 1000 men, including Tuscans, peasants, pioneers, &c. at the same time that a reserve was left in the garrison under the command of lieutenant colonel de Bersy, to make a sortie from the gate, if found practicable, and to co-operate with the main body, in seizing the works in front of the Falcone.

The landings were made with success, and the batteries round the bay were destroyed, but finding our force not sufficient to complete the whole business, we re-embarked our troops with comparatively little loss, having destroyed the batteries of Punta Pina, the Grottos, and Giovanni, with a great quantity of powder and made-up ammunition, and bringing off into the garrison 150 barrels of gunpowder; we also brought off with us 53 prisoners, including three captains and two sub-alterns.

I feel myself much indebted to the corps of marines and seamen, for their support and assistance, and was much pleased to see the steadiness of the Swiss troops under captain de Winter; captain Knobler of that corps, who had the command of the division sent against Punta Pina, speaks very handsomely of the detachment of de Bersy's corps, who acted with him on this occasion.

I beg leave further to express my gratitude to captain White, of his majesty's ship *Renown*, for his great attention in the arrangement for the landing, and his activity in re-embarking the troops, when a good deal pressed by the enemy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

George Airey, lieut. colonel.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the attack of the enemy's batteries, on the island of Elba, on the 14th instant:—17 killed, 23 wounded, 28 missing.

I have not yet got the return of seamen and marines.

On the 5th of Dec. 1801, the following interesting details respecting the late gallant defence of Porto Ferrajo, was received at the Admiralty Office,

Office, inclosed in a letter from admiral Sir John Borlase Warren.

Porto Ferrajo, Oct. 11, 1801.

Sir,

In my letter of yesterday I had the honour to report to you, that the enemy had shewn lately some disposition to advance and take ground nearer our works, and this morning I found they had thrown up an intrenchment of earth and gabions upon a peninsula or tongue of land within 200 yards of our works.

I immediately determined to destroy the work, and dislodge them before they could have time to strengthen or bring any guns upon it; I appointed de Bersy's corps for this service, with a party of peasants to destroy the work, and the Maltese corps, under major Weir, to support and cover them; about eleven o'clock they crossed the ditch, drove the enemy from the ground, and destroyed the work.

The enemy made two or three attempts to advance in force, but were completely kept in check by our grape-shot from the batteries, which were admirably well served; their batteries kept up a very heavy fire of round and grape-shot, which did us very little harm. The business being completed, the troops returned into the works, having suffered inconsiderably in numbers; though we have to lament one officer killed, and three wounded.

I was a good deal inclined to have kept possession of the ground, but upon consideration of the weakness of our force, I thought it scarcely tenable so close to the enemy's works, more especially as we were advised this morning of their having got a reinforcement of 200 men from Piombino, two or three nights ago. I flatter myself, however,

they are equally convinced of their inability to keep a post so near us.

The enemy admit between 60 and 70 killed and wounded, and three officers; and from what we could see ourselves, I am persuaded they are within the mark in this calculation.

I am, &c. *Geo. Airey.*

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing:—6 killed; 18 wounded; 1 missing.

On the 21st of June 1801, the island of Ternate, in the East Indies, surrendered to the British arms, and was delivered over, by capitulation, to colonel Burr.

The Dutch governor made a most resolute resistance, having defended the place with uncommon firmness for 52 days at the expence of the poor inhabitants, who perished by famine, from ten to twenty a day, from the strong blockade by sea and land.

During the disposition of the military and marine forces, the latter under the command of captain Hages, the annual supplies for the enemy were interrupted through his vigilance, which certainly contributed in a high degree, to the ultimate success of the enterprise. The value of the captured property taken by the squadron amounted to a lack and 50,000 dollars.

The difficulties the forces by sea and land had to encounter on this arduous service, and the spirit and intrepidity which they manifested during a siege of nearly two months, did them infinite credit, and have seldom or ever been exceeded in this part of the globe.—The accounts received of the strength of Fort Orange, and its numerous detached batteries, proved exceedingly erroneous, in so much that colonel Burr declared the place to be extremely strong by nature, and most excellently improved

improved by art, with a powerful garrison, and so well provided with arms and ammunition, as to throw difficulties in the way of his force, which were as distressing as unexpected; they, however, persevered and kept their ground with so much bravery and resolution as to compel the enemy to surrender their different strong holds, one after the other, until the principal fort and town were so completely blockaded both by sea and land, and so reduced by famine, as to make them sue for conditions.

Arduous as this service was, and much as the British forces were exposed to the repeated attacks of the enemy, the loss of killed and wounded of the troops did not amount to above nine or ten; that of the marine did not exceed twelve seamen.

The treaty which was concluded in January 1800, between the French and the Turks for the evacuation of Egypt, was on the point of being carried into effect. The Grand Vizier, by virtue of this convention, was advancing on the side of Cairo, and took possession of the military posts, which it was agreed to deliver up to him. The best understanding reigned between the two armies. The Porte had communicated the capitulation to the ministers of the allied Powers. Through the medium of his commercial commissioners it had informed all its subjects that they might resume their commercial operations with Egypt.—By its order a very great number of vessels of all nations were collected, for the purpose of repairing to Alexandria, there to take on board the French troops. The captain Pacha, with a respectable squadron, was preparing to sail to superintend their embark-

ation, and escort them on their voyage. The Grand Vizier had dispatched from Salahie, by sea, an officer in the service of the English, with orders addressed to the Turkish squadron, which he supposed was then in the passage of Rhodes, desiring him to repair immediately to Alexandria. This officer, in case he should not find the Turkish squadron at sea, was to go to Constantinople. He arrived there and communicated his orders to the Captain Pacha. Meanwhile the English did not seem willing to abide by the treaty, in which their agent, sir Sidney Smith, had so great a part.—Lord Elgin, their ambassador at Constantinople, had a conference with the Ottoman government, in which he signified that his court could not subscribe to such a capitulation, and announced that the English ships would not suffer the vessels charged to carry the French troops to pass. The Porte became uneasy at this declaration, and invited lord Elgin to send a courier to his court. Positive orders had already been received by lord Keith, and general Kleber was informed without delay, by the following letter from lord Keith.

Sir,
I apprise you, that I have received positive orders from his majesty not to consent to any capitulation with the French troops under your command in Syria and Egypt, except upon the condition that they lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war to the allied Powers, with all the vessels, stores, &c. in the port and city of Alexandria: and in case of capitulation, I shall not permit any of them to return to France until they are exchanged.

I think it equally necessary to inform you, that all vessels having French troops

troops on board, and sailing hence with passports from those who have no right to grant them, will be compelled to return to Alexandria; and, in fine, that vessels taken by the English on their return to Europe, with passports granted in consequence of an individual capitulation, shall be retained as lawful prizes, and the people on board shall be treated as prisoners of war.

(Signed) *Keith.*

The laconic address of General Kleber to his army on this occasion, was as follows:

Soldiers, To this insolence we shall only answer by our victories—Prepare for battle.

(Signed) *Kleber.*

Accordingly, about day-break, on the 20th of March, the Republicans, 15,000 in number, began to cannonade the advanced posts of the Turks, only two leagues from Cairo. At eight in the morning the Grand Vizier occupied the ground between the villages of El Hanca and Matura.—The French were ranged in two lines, between that post and Boulac, when the Turkish cavalry made some ineffectual attempts upon the infantry; the Janissaries advanced, and attacked their left wing with much bravery, but wanting ammunition, and being badly seconded by their artillery, were soon obliged to retreat.

About noon the whole line of the Republicans advanced with a terrible fire of artillery and small arms, which soon threw the Turks into confusion, 40,000 of them beginning to fly in all directions.—The Grand Vizier retired to his camp, but was forced to abandon it on the same day; and the French having nearly cut off their retreat, a part of the camp, and nine pieces of cannon, fell into the hands

of the victors, who sustained a trifling loss, though the Turks had upwards of 8000 men killed and wounded, besides those that perished in the desert.

After the above success on the part of the French, another convention commenced, and was in considerable forwardness, when, on the 14th of June, General Kleber was stabbed at his head-quarters at Cairo, the particulars of which were given in a letter to Bonaparte, dated Cairo, July 3, 1800.

Citizen Consul, A horrible event which has few examples in the annals of history, has raised me to the provisional command of the army of the East. General Kleber was assassinated on the 14th of June last. A wretch dispatched from Gaza about forty eight days ago, by the aga of the janissaries of the Ottoman army, pierced, with four thrusts of a poniard, the general in chief, at the moment when he was walking with citizen Protain, the architect, upon the terrace, which, from the garden of the head-quarters commands a view of the place Ezbekier. Citizen Protain, in attempting to defend the general, was himself pierced with six strokes of a poniard. The first blow which Kleber received was mortal. Protain is still alive. The general, who was giving orders for the repair of the head-quarters, and of the garden, had with him no aid-du-camp, none of the corps of guides. It was his wish to be alone. He was found expiring. The assassin, discovered under a heap of rubbish, and brought to the head-quarters, acknowledged that he had been solicited to commit this crime by the aga of the janissaries of the Ottoman army, commanded by the Grand Vizier in person. This Vizier, unable to conquer the French fairly in arms, employed

ployed for his revenge the dagger, the weapon of cowards. The assassin called himself Soleyman el Aleppi. He came from Aleppo; arrived at Cairo, after having crossed the desert on a dromedary; he lodged at the grand mosque Eleazar, from which he came out daily, to watch an opportunity to commit the crime. He confided his secret to four subordinate chiefs of the law, who sought to divert him from his purpose, but who, *not having informed against him*, have been arrested in consequence of the depositions of the assassin, condemned to death, and executed the 17th of last month.

Here follows the appointment of a commission to try the offenders, and the sentence, which is thus related:

"The commission, proceeding with the utmost solemnity in the conduct of the trial, thought it incumbent on them to follow the Egyptian customs in applying the punishment. The assassin was condemned to be impaled, after his right hand had been first burned, and three of the culpable chiefs to be decapitated, and their bodies given to the flames. The fourth, not having been arrested, was judged guilty of contumacy."

Extract from Menou's Proclamation.

"Soldiers, an atrocious crime has deprived you of a general whom you loved and respected. An enemy, deserving of the contempt and indignation of the whole world—an enemy incapable of vanquishing the French, under the command of the brave Kleber, has had the baseness to employ an assassin. I denounce to you, I denounce to the whole world, the Grand Vizier, the commander of that army which you annihilated in the plains of Matharick and Heliopolis. It is he, who, in con-

cert with his aga of the janissaries, placed the dagger in the hands of one Soleyman el Aleppi; who, having left Gaza thirty-two days ago, deprived us yesterday, by the blackest of crimes, of one whose memory should be dear to every true Frenchman. Soldiers! Kleber marching at your head, dispersed that cloud of Barbarians which burst upon Egypt from Europe and Asia. Kleber at the head of your invincible bands, reconquered the whole of Egypt in ten days.

"Kleber had so restored the military finances, that all arrears due to the army have been discharged, and their pay regularly assured to them. Kleber, by wise regulations, had reformed a great part of the abuses almost unavoidable in great administrations. The highest honours you can pay to the memory of the brave Kleber, is to maintain that fierce and formidable attitude which strikes terror into your enemies wherever you move. It depends on you to restrict yourselves to that discipline which constitutes the strength of an army.

"Soldiers, seniority of rank gives me the temporary command of the army. I can only offer you an attachment that knows no bound to the republic, the liberty and prosperity of France. I will invoke the names of Kleber, I will call upon the genius of Bonaparte, and marching in the midst of you, we will mutually exert ourselves for the interest of the republic."

Funeral of General Kleber, at Cairo.

The procession, after the firing of guns for every half hour, set out from head-quarters with a discharge of five pieces of cannon, and a general discharge of musquetry.

A detach-

A detachment of cavalry led the way, and the following order was pursued :

Five pieces of light artillery.

The twenty-second demi-brigade of light infantry.

The first regiment of cavalry.

The foot guides.

The different bands of music belonging to the garrison.

Next was the body of General Kleber, in a leaden coffin, deposited on a chariot of an elegant form, covered with black velvet, ornamented with silver, and surrounded with trophies and arms. On the top of it were the helmet and sword of the general, and the chariot was drawn by six horses, in black and white plumage.

General Menou followed, attended by the officers of the corps of guides, and preceded by the aides-de-camp of General Kleber.

The whole finished with the corps of engineers of artillery, the commissaries of war, the officers of health, the different administrations, the agent of Murat Bey, attended by his mamelukes, the agas, the cadis, the cheiks, the copths, the different brigades of the French army, the Syrian and Mameluke horse, and a detachment of French cavalry.

Then citizen Fourier, the French commissary to the Divan, charged by the general in chief with expressing the sense of their common affliction, ascended a bastion, which commanded the army, drawn up in order of battle, and surrounded by the *etat-major*, and the principal civil and military officers of Cairo, delivered an oration, of which the following are the most striking passages :

“Frenchmen ! In the midst of this funeral apparatus, fugitive but sincere

testimonies of the public affliction, I am come to recall to you a name which is dear to you all, and which history has already recorded. Three days have not yet elapsed since you have lost Kleber, general in chief of the army of the east. This man, whom death has so often respected in battles, the renown of whom has been echoed on the banks of the Rhine, the Jordan and the Nile, has perished, defenceless, under the blows of an assassin. When you shall hereafter cast your eyes on this spot, and those ruins, which must long attest the ravages of a terrible but necessary war, you will mark that isolated house, in which, for two whole days, a hundred Frenchmen withstood the efforts of a revolted capital of the Mamelukes and the Ottomans ; your attention will irresistibly be drawn to that fatal place where the poniard ended the days of the conqueror of Maestrich, and of Heliopolis. You will say, “There fell our leader and our friend ; his stifled voice could no longer call us to his assistance.” Alas ! how many arms would have been raised in his defence ! How many of you would aspire to the honour of throwing yourselves between him and his assassin ! To this I call as witnesses, You, the intrepid cavalry, who flew to protect him in the heights of Koraim, and in an instant dispersed the multitude of enemies that surrounded him. That life which he owed to your courage, he has now lost, by the excess of confidence, which induced him to go without his guards, and to lay aside his arms. After expelling from Egypt the troops of Youseph Pacha, the Ottoman Crand Vizier, he routed or trampled under foot the seditious, the treacherous, and the ungrateful. It was then, that, detesting the cruelties that mark oriental victories,

ries, he swore to honour, by clemency, the French name, which he rendered illustrious by terms. This promise he religiously observed, and he overlooked the guilty. None of them perished; and the conqueror alone expired in the midst of his triumphs. Such is the end of so noble and honourable a career! Such is the termination of his labours, dangers, and brilliant services!

"But what effect, citizens, does the enemy expect to derive from this crime? In murdering this general, do they think to disperse those troops that were obedient to his orders? And can the abject hand which causes us so many tears, prevent the French army from being commanded by a chief worthy of the office? Undoubtedly not: and, if the present circumstances require more than ordinary virtues; if, to sustain the burden of conducting this memorable enterprize, we require a mind superior to all prejudice, an unreserved attachment to the glory of the nation: you will find, citizens, all these qualities united in his successor. He possessed the esteem of Bonaparte and of Kleber, and he now succeeds them. Thus there will be no interruption either to the hopes of the French, or to the despair of their enemies. You will possess that distant country, which you have twice conquered, in spite of those innumerable armies which you destroyed, as well when the bold foresight of Bonaparte went in quest of them to Syria, as when the invincible courage of Kleber dispersed them in the heart of Egypt. What glorious and affecting things will you not have to recount in the bosoms of your families! May they possess that happiness which may assuage the bitterness of your sorrows! You will often use in

your recitals the cherished name of Kleber. You can never pronounce it without being affected; and you will say, "He was the friend and companion of the soldiers; he was sparing of their blood, and alleviated their sufferings." His memory must be dear to all good men; no one ever more wished, nor more deserved to be beloved. Offer then your wonted homage, for you compose but one family of warriors, whom your country has called to its defence; all you Frenchmen, whom a common lot has thrown upon this strange land, offer your homage, on this day, to those brave men, who, on the fields of Syria, of Aboukir, and Helopolis, have turned their last looks and their last thoughts towards France. At their obsequies, let those be honoured who were in private friendship with Kleber; and you, O Caffarelli! the model of disinterestedness and virtue, so compassionate to others, so stoical to yourself! And you, O Kleber! illustrious, shall I say unfortunate, object of this last ceremony! rest in peace. Magnanimous and endeared shade! repose amongst these monuments of glory and the arts; let your name be joined with those of Germanicus, Titus, Pompey, and those other great leaders and sages, who, like you, left in this country an immortal memory."

In the festival of the 23d of September, at Paris, the consuls, accompanied by the ministers, the counsellors, and secretary of state, and the staff on horseback, repaired, about seven o'clock, from the palace of the Thuilleries to the place of Victories. Under a monument of Egyptian architecture were deposited the busts of Kleber and Dessaix. When the chief consul had laid the first stone of the pillar which is to be raised to their memory, the senator





SIR JOHN BORLASE WARREN



LIEUTENANT GENERAL ABERCROMBIE

senator Garat delivered a funeral oration in praise of these two heroes.

In the mean time, to do away the charge of having instigated the murder of Kleber, the grand vizier of the Ottoman Porte published the following proclamation:

"Frenchmen! An assassination has been committed upon the person of your commander in chief, and by the most atrocious of impostures it is imputed to the Ottomans, under the pretext that the assassin was a mussleman, and a janissary. But what interest have we in such a crime? Of what utility can the death of Kleber be to us? His place is filled by another general, as that general's would be by a third. The existence of one individual, more or less, cannot influence the lot of Egypt. But Kleber had as many enemies in France as in Egypt. He had given his opinion against the invasion of this province, and the majority of the thinking part of his troops had adopted it. Others saw him with pain at the head of the army. They dreaded his return to France, and the reports he would make there. They found it was useful to destroy him, and convenient to accuse the sublime porte.—Frenchmen, suffer not yourselves to be seduced by a calumny as impudent as absurd. It is among your countrymen that you must search for the true authors of the assassination of your general. It is upon them you are to take vengeance of his death, if you lament his loss."

After the death of general Kleber, general Menou was appointed commander in chief of the army of Egypt.—He adopted all the necessary measures, to enable him to resist the forces which the grand vizier was marching against him. The army were em-

ployed, day and night, in throwing up intrenchments at different points; and additions were making to the forts on the coasts, as well as those which skirt the desert.

In the beginning of January 1801, general Abercromby, with the English fleet, having 124 transports under its convoy, arrived unexpectedly on the coasts of Egypt. The landing of the troops took place, without opposition, in the vicinity of Damietta. They were immediately joined by the Turks, who were preparing to act with vigour.

Although it was not originally the intention of general Abercromby to have commenced the operations of the British army in Egypt on the side of Alexandria, yet circumstances arose which induced him to change his opinion. They were much longer delayed on the coast of Asia Minor than they had at first any reason to apprehend; and were ultimately obliged to sail from Marmarice in a very imperfect state of preparation. For a considerable time previous to their sailing the weather was extremely boisterous, and the winds contrary. The moment that it became practicable to sail with so large a fleet, Lord Keith put to sea; they left Marmarice on the 22d of February, and came in sight of Alexandria on the 1st of March.

On the 2d, the fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay.—Until the 7th the sea ran high, and no disembarkation could be effected; on that day every arrangement was completed, and on the 8th, the troops, forming the first division, consisting of the reserve, under the command of major general Moore, the brigade of guards, under the hon. major general Ludlow, and part of the first brigade, under the command of major general Coote, got into the boats.

boats early in the morning; they had, in general, from five to six miles to row, and did not arrive at the point of landing till ten o'clock.—The front of the disembarkation was narrow, and a hill, which commanded the whole, seemed almost inaccessible. The enemy, fully aware of their intention, were in force, and had every advantage on their side.—The troops, however, notwithstanding their being exposed to a very severe cannonade, and under the fire of grape-shot, made good their landing, ascended the hill with an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled, and forced the enemy to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery and a number of horses.

The troops that ascended the hill were the 23d regiment, and the four flank companies of the 40th, under the command of colonel Spencer, whose coolness and good conduct major-general Moore mentioned in the highest terms of approbation. It is impossible to pass over the good order in which the 28th and the 42d regiments landed, under the command of brigadier general Oakes, who was attached to the reserve under major-general Moore: and the troops in general lost not a moment in remedying any little disorder which became unavoidable in a landing under such circumstances. The disembarkation of the army continued on that and the following day.

The troops which landed on the 8th, advanced three miles the same day; and on the 12th, the whole army moved forward, and came within sight of the enemy, who was formed on an advantageous ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left towards the sea.

It was determined to attack them on the morning of the 13th; and in

consequence the army marched in two lines by the left, with an intention to turn their right flank.

The troops had not been long in motion before the enemy descended from the heights on which they were formed, and attacked the leading brigades of both lines, which were commanded by major-general Cradock and major-general the earl of Cavan.

The 90th regiment formed the advanced guard of the front line, and the 92d that of the second; both battalions suffered considerably, and behaved in such a manner as to merit the praise both of courage and discipline. Major general Cradock immediately formed his brigade to meet the attack made by the enemy; and the troops changed their position with a quickness and precision which did them the greatest honour. The remainder of the army followed so good an example, and were immediately in a situation not only to face, but to repel the enemy. The reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which was on the right, on the change of the position of the army, moved on in column, and covered the right flank.—The army continued to advance, pushing the enemy with the greatest vigour, and ultimately forcing them to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights which form the principal defence of Alexandria.

It was intended to have attacked them in this their last position; for which purpose the reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which had remained in column during the whole of the day, was brought forward, and the second line, under command of major-general Hutchinson, marched to the left across a part of the lake Mariotis, with a view to attack

attack the enemy on both flanks; but on reconnoitring their position, and not being prepared to occupy it after it should be carried, prudence required that the troops, who had behaved so bravely, and who were still willing to attempt any thing, however arduous, should not be exposed to a certain loss, when the extent of the advantage could not be ascertained. They were therefore withdrawn, and then occupied a position with their right to the sea; and their left to the canal of Alexandria, and lake Mariotis, about a league from the town of Alexandria.

The conduct of the British and foreign troops was deserving of the highest praise; their courage and their discipline were equally conspicuous.

On the 8th the arrangements made by lord Keith were such as to enable us to land at once a body of 6000 men.

The hon. captain Cochrane, and those other captains and officers of the royal navy, who were entrusted with the disembarkation, not only of the troops, but of the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and stores of all kinds, exerted themselves in such a manner as to claim the warmest acknowledgements of the whole army.

Sir Sidney Smith, and the other captains and officers of the navy under his command, who landed with the army, were indefatigable in their exertions in forwarding the service on which they were employed.

The enemy left a small garrison in Aboukir castle.

Majors Mac Kerras and Fletcher, of the royal engineers, who went down in the *Penelope* frigate to survey the coast of Egypt, a short time before they sailed from Marmarice, were unfortunately surprised in a small boat in

Aboukir bay; the former was killed and the latter taken prisoner.

Killed, in both actions, 10 officers, 10 serjeants, and 237 privates; total, 257.—Wounded, 92 officers, 95 serjeants, 12 drummers, and 396 privates; total, 1595.—Missing, 1 officer, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, and 33 privates; total, 36.—Amounting in the whole; to 1888, in killed, wounded, and missing.—Seamen killed, wounded, and missing, 132.

On the 18th of March, the fortress of Aboukir surrendered; of which the following are the articles of capitulation.

Art. I. The garrison of the fortress of Aboukir shall march out with military honours, colours flying, matches lighted, &c.; they shall be conducted by sea to Alexandria, in order there to be exchanged for an equal number of prisoners, and shall promise not to serve until such exchange shall have taken place.—Answer. The garrison shall surrender prisoners of war, march out with military honours, and, after having laid down their arms on the glacis, shall be put on board the fleet.

Art. II. The officers shall retain their arms at all events; the moveables and effects belonging to the officers and men shall be carried away, as well as circumstances may allow; there is here only question of private property, and by no means of military effects. Answer.—Granted, with the exception that all moveables shall remain in the fortress, as the garrison must embark within three hours.

Art. III. Twenty-four hours shall be granted to the garrison to arrange their baggage, previous to their marching out.—Answered by article II.

Art. IV. Whatever belongs to the fortifications, the artillery, and other effects,

effects, such as provisions, shall be delivered up to the conqueror in their present state, and agreeably to the inventory made out and verified by the officers of both armies, and the civil agents appointed for that purpose.—All papers relating to the service of the fortress shall also be given up.—Answer. Granted.

Art. V. Articles not foreseen shall be considered and amicably adjusted by both parties. The conditions shall not be carried into execution until twenty-four hours after the capitulation shall have been ratified.—Answer.—The 3d article is an answer to the above. Neither Greeks nor Egyptians shall be included in the capitulation.

DALHOUSE, colonel.

VINACHE, chief of the Engineer battalion, commanding the military and the fortress of Aboukir. Approved by the commander in chief.

(Signed) J. HOPE, Adjutant-general.

Soon after the surrender of Aboukir, the following dispatches were received from gen. Hutchinson, dated Camp, four miles from Alexandria, April 5, 1801.

Sir, I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 18th of March an affair took place between a patrol of our cavalry and one of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria: I have to regret that colonel Archdal, of the 12th light dragoons, received a wound in the arm, which has since been amputated, and that we have lost some valuable officers and men.

Killed, wounded, and missing of major-general Finche's brigade, March 18.

Total, 1 quarter-master, 7 rank and file, 23 horses, killed; 2 officers, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, 12 horses, wound-

ed; 3 officers, 1 quarter-master, 12 rank and file, 7 horses, missing.

April 5. I have the honour to inform you, that after the affair of the 13th of March, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sand plain in the front, the sea on their right, and the canal of Alexandria (at present dry) and the lake of Aboukir on the left. In this position we remained without any material occurrence taking place, till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to eleven or twelve thousand men. Of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry, which the French have in this country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment.

The enemy made the following disposition of their army; general Lanusse was on their left, with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by general Roize; generals Friant and Rampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; general Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades, and two regiments of cavalry; general d'Estain commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

The action commenced about an hour before day-light, by a false attack on our left, which was under major-general Cradock's command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were however directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in columns.

lums. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline. The contest was unusually obstinate; the enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field.

We have taken about two hundred prisoners, (not wounded;) but it was impossible to pursue our victory on account of our inferiority in cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably; few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers engaged on both sides. We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander in chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him, more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers, and to the gal-

lantry of the soldiers of this army. The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit. They resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-general Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment. Brigadier-general Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42d regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Colonel Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, though not quite recovered, returned to his duty.

Brigadier-general Hope was wounded in the hand; the army has been deprived of the service of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer.

The loss of the enemy has been great; it is calculated at upwards of three thousand killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. General Roize, who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Bodet are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other general officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the army under the command of general Sir Ralph Abercromby, K. B. near Alexandria, March 21, 1801.

Ten officers, 9 serjeants, 224, rank
5 H and

and file, 2 horses, killed ; 60 officers, 48 serjeants, 3 drummers, 1082 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded ; 3 officers, 1 serjeant, 28 rank and file, missing.

The great and gallant Abercromby expired on board Lord Keith's flag ship, on the 28th of March, seven days after a battle in every other respect so fortunate for England. The ball which struck him entered his thigh, and rose upwards, so that it was impossible to extract it. His remains were conveyed to the island of Malta, and there buried with military honours, while the honest tear of a soldier's affection watered his grave, and the benedictions of his countrymen were bestowed on his memory.

Procession at the funeral of the late Right Hon. general Sir Ralph Abercromby, which took place at Malta, on the 29th of April.

A Subaltern's guard of the Royal artillery, with arms reversed.

Four six-pounders, drawn by artillery men.

Two ammunition waggons, drawn by artillery men.

The bands of the 35th and 40th regiments, with their drums muffled, playing a solemn dirge.

The guard,

Consisting of the flank companies of the garrison, under the command of colonel M'Alister, 35th regiment, the senior field officer, with arms reversed.

The band of the 48th regiment.

Lieutenant colonel Dyer, aid-de-camp to the deceased.

Garrison chaplain.

Lieutenant colonels Gordon, 48th, Baylis, 35th, Clay, 40th, Oswald, 35th, Bentham, R. A. Kemnis, 40th, Brown, 35th, Brown, 40th.

Pall Bearers.

The body on a carriage drawn by artillery men.

Major-general Pigot, chief mourner.

Brigadier-general Moncrief, Major-general Villetes, Supporters to the chief mourner.

A led Saddle Horse fully caparisoned, and covered with black.

Servants of the deceased.

Officers of corps, youngest of each corps first.

1 Officers of Maltese militia.

2 Officers of Maltese light infantry bat. off duty.

3 Officers of Neapolitan bat.

4 Officers of 48th regiment.

5 Officers of 2d bat. 40th.

6 Officers of 1st bat. 40th.

7 Officers of 2d bat. 35th.

8 Officers of 1st bat. 35th.

9 Officers of Royal engineers.

10 Officers of Royal artillery.

11 Officers of the Royal navy.

12 Officers of the Commissaries staff.

13 Officers of the Medical staff.

14 Officers of the garrison Military staff.

15 Officers of the general Military staff.

16 Principal Maltese Officers of the civil government.

At eight in the morning the colours on the different forts were hoisted half staff high. The streets through which the procession passed were lined by the regiments of the garrison ; and minute guns fired from the cavaliers of La Valetta, and the ships in the harbour, from the body leaving the Palace until it arrived at the place of interment, which was followed by three rounds of eleven cannon.

Abercromby, like Epaminondas, like Wolfe, he died of the wounds received in a hard-fought battle, in which he was commander in chief, and was victorious.

torious. To his country the loss of such a man, at such a time, is inestimable. for himself, it might have been somewhat happier if the victory had been finally decisive of the fate of Egypt—more glorious it could scarcely in any circumstances have been. It has crowned one of the most honourable military lives which history shall ever commemorate for the emulation of future times.

His descent was from an old, though not opulent, Scottish family, of the county of Stirling. He was born about the year 1738. On the 23d of May, 1756, he obtained a cornetcy in the 2d dragoon guards. He rose, on the 24th of April, 1762, to the rank of captain in the 3d regiment of horse. Ascending through the intermediate gradations of rank, he was appointed, on the 3d of November, 1781, to the colonelcy of the 103d infantry. On the 28th of September 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. On the 5th of November, 1795, he obtained the command of the 7th regiment of dragoons.

Having been nearly forty years in the army, having served with honour in two wars, and being esteemed one of the ablest, coolest, and most intrepid officers in the whole British forces, he was employed on the continent, under the Duke of York, in the commencement of the present war. In the action on the heights of Cateau he commanded the advanced guard. At Nimeguen he was wounded. He conducted the march of the guards from Deventer to Oldensaul, in the retreat of the British out of Holland, in the winter of 1794 5.

In August, 1795, he was appointed to succeed Sir Charles Grey, as commander in chief of the British forces

in the West Indies. On the 24th of March, 1796, Grenada was suddenly attacked and taken by a detachment of the army under his orders. He afterwards obtained possession of the settlements of Demerara and Issequibo, in South America. St. Lucia was next taken by more difficult exertions, in which the ability of this eminent commander was signally displayed. St. Vincent's was, by the middle of June, added to the British conquests. Trinidad, in February 1797, shared the same fate.

He returned the same year to Europe. He was, in reward for such important services, invested with the red ribbon, appointed to the command of the regiment of the Scots greys, intrusted with the government of the Isle of Wight, Fort George, and Fort Augustus, and raised to the rank of lieutenant-general.

He held, for a time, the chief command of the forces in Ireland. In that command he laboured to maintain the discipline of the army, to suppress the rising rebellion, and to protect the people from military oppression, with a care worthy alike of the great general and the enlightened and the beneficent statesman. From that station he was called to the chief command of the forces of Scotland. His conduct in this distinguished appointment gave universal satisfaction.

When the great enterprise against Holland was resolved upon, Sir Ralph Abercromby was called again to command, under the Duke of York. His country applauded the choice, when he was sent with an army to dispossess the French of Egypt. His experience in Holland and Flanders, and in the climate of the West Indies, peculiarly fitted him for this new command. He

accomplished some of the first duties of a general, in carrying his army in health, in spirits, and with the requisite intelligence and supplies, to the destined scene of action. The landing, the first dispositions, the attacks, and the courage opposed to attack, the spirit with which his army appears to have been by confidence in their leader inspired, demonstrate that all the best qualities of one of the greatest of commanders were in Sir Ralph Abercromby united—that they were all summoned forth in activity, in the achievements amid which he fell.

His private character was modest, disinterested, upright, unstained by any negligent or licentious vice.—He was a good son, brother, father, husband, and friend, as well as an able and heroic general.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, it is said, in the action of the 21st of March, killed with his own hand the French general Roize. The enemy's cavalry had penetrated to the spot where the British commander had taken post to observe and direct the battle, and were overpowering our party, when Sir Sidney Smith, with a division of seamen, arrived to their succour. Sir Ralph was then in the act of struggling with general Roize for his sword, which wresting from him, he plunged it in his bosom, and immediately after, in acknowledgment of the assistance of Sir Sidney, presented it to him.

On the 10th of April, a corps of Turks and British, under the command of colonel Spencer, were ordered from the camp before Alexandria, for the purpose of forcing the enemy from the town and castle of Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile. This operation perfectly succeeded. They became masters of the western

branch of that river, and of course opened a communication with the Delta, from which they derived all necessary supplies, as the French had scarcely any troops there, and none capable of making a serious resistance.

The enemy had about eight hundred men at Rosetta when they were attacked. They made but a feeble effort to sustain themselves, and retired to the right bank of the Nile, leaving a few men killed and prisoners. They left a garrison in the fort against which the batteries opened on the 16th, and it surrendered on the 19th: the conditions were the same as were granted to the castle of Aboukir.

On the 7th of May, the French abandoned the positions of El-Ast, which the English occupied the same evening, and on the 9th they advanced to Rahmanich, where the French were posted with upwards of 3000 infantry and 800 cavalry. At first it was imagined that they might have endeavoured to have maintained that position, but the corps on the eastern bank of the Nile having got into their rear, took the fort of Rahmanich in reverse, which probably induced the French to retire in the night between the 9th and 10th, leaving a garrison in the fort, which surrendered in the morning, amounting to 110 men, commanded by a Chief de Brigade; they also took the same day about 50 cavalry and three officers coming from Alexandria.

As the French retired towards Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, in order to cover the army of the Grand Vizier, and to secure a junction with the expected reinforcement from India.

Nothing happened of any importance until the 14th, when the English fell in with a valuable convoy of germs on

on the Nile. They had come from Cairo down the canal of Menouf, which joins the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the river. From this circumstance, they knew nothing of the retreat of general La Grange from Rahmanich. About 150 prisoners fell into their hands, and several heavy guns, some of them intended for the defence of Alexandria. The convoy in itself was very valuable, and was a great loss to the enemy. We found on board all kinds of cloathing, wine, spirits, &c. &c. and about 5000*l.* in money.

On the 17th, when encamped at Alkam, they were informed by the Arabs that a considerable body of French, coming from Alexandria, were advancing towards the Nile, near the spot where the boats of the captain Pacha then were. The cavalry were immediately ordered out, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of Brigadier-general Doyle, supported by his brigade of infantry. Colonel Cavalier, who commanded the French convoy, as soon as he perceived the boats of the captain Pacha, suspected that their army must be near, and therefore retired into the desert, where they followed him. The cavalry came up with him after a march of about three hours. A flag of truce was sent in to them, by major Wilson, of the Hompesch, requiring them to surrender, on condition that their private property should be respected, and that they should be sent to France the first convenient opportunity. With these terms they complied, and laid down their arms. They amounted, in all, to about 600 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, together with a considerable portion of the dromedary corps, one 4 pounder, and 550

camels. The prisoners taken were all Frenchmen, and of the best troops they had in Egypt.

On the 17th of May the French retired from the fort of Libet, on the Damietta branch, and formed a junction with about 200 men which they had at Burlois; this fort was also evacuated, and embarked in five small vessels, four of which had been taken and carried into Aboukir bay; the fifth endeavoured to escape towards Cyprus, but a Turkish frigate was left in chace of her, so that it was more than probable she shared the same fate.

The garrisons of the two forts consisted of about 700 men; so that in all, the English took from the 9th to the 20th, near 1600 men, which made a considerable diminution of the enemy's force in that country.

The French made a most extraordinary rapid march from Rahmanich to Gizar, where they arrived on the 13th, and immediately crossed the river to Boulac.

On the 15th instant, his Highness the Grand Vizier received intelligence that the enemy had early that morning marched a considerable force from Cairo, on the road towards Belbeis, where his Highness was then encamped. In the evening, a further confirmation of this intelligence was brought, when the enemy was in full march. The Vizier after dark ordered Tahir Pacha with 3000 cavalry, and three light field pieces to advance to meet them, and if a favourable opportunity offered during the obscurity of the night, to attack, if not impede, their progress as much as possible. About ten o'clock at night they met, three leagues from camp, when each halted and lay on their arms during the night, and until eight o'clock in the morning, at which time

time Tahir Pacha commenced an attack. He was soon after reinforced by 1500 cavalry. It was now found the enemy had come forward with about 14 pieces of artillery, 600 cavalry, and 4000 infantry. His Highness therefore ordered Mehemmed Pacha to move forward with 5000 men, cavalry and Albanian infantry, and nine light field pieces; the enemy had eight-pounders in the field. His Highness afterwards advanced himself, and took the command, which had the happiest effect.

The enemy moved into a wood of date trees, where they were attacked by the cavalry and infantry with great spirit for three hours, when the enemy retired from the wood, taking a position on the plain, their left to the wood, and forming a hollow square on the right. The Albanian infantry advanced to the edge of the wood, and in this situation galled them considerably; and upon the Turkish cavalry threatening their right, they changed position and attempted to gain the heights, in which they were prevented by a rapid movement of cavalry, who gained the summit. In this manœuvre they were annoyed by two guns, which were advanced by his Highness on the occasion. At this time the French commenced a decided retreat, and were driven beyond El Hanka, a distance not less than seven miles from the place of the first operations. The Grand Vizier, who had commanded his troops with great gallantry and prompt decision, then gave orders for them not to pursue any further. The loss on either side for the time they were engaged was small. The Turks had about 30 killed and 80 wounded. The French had about 50 killed and one prisoner; the number of their

wounded could not be ascertained, as they took them off the field.

The Turkish force engaged on this occasion did not at any time exceed 9000.

Soon after the intelligence of the above victories, the following dispatch from general Hutchinson, relating to the surrender of Grand Cairo, was received by Lord Hobart, dated camp before Gizeh, June 29, 1801.

My Lord,

The combined armies advanced on both sides of the river on the 21st instant. The British troops, and those of his Highness the Capitan Pacha, invested Gizeh on the left bank of the Nile, whilst the army of his Highness the Grand Vizier moved forward, and took a position nearly within cannon-shot of Cairo. On the 22d, in the morning, the enemy sent out a flag of truce, and informed me, that they wished to treat for the evacuation of Cairo, and the forts thereunto belonging, upon certain conditions. After a negociation of several days, which was conducted by Brigadier general Hope with much judgment and ability, they agreed to surrender the town and forts, on the conditions which I have the honour to inclose.

We took possession of the gate of Gizeh at five o'clock yesterday evening, and also of the fort Sulkoski on the Cairo side of the river: hostages have been mutually exchanged, and the final evacuation will take place about ten days.

I should suppose that there are near six thousand troops of all kinds in the town, but I speak without a perfect knowledge on the subject, as I have not yet received any returns.

This has been a long and arduous service: the troops, from the great heat

heat of the weather, the difficulty of the navigation of the river, and the entire want of roads in the country, have suffered a considerable degree of fatigue, but both men and officers have submitted to it with the greatest patience, and have manifested a zeal for the honour of his Majesty's arms that is above all panegyric; the conduct of the soldiers has been orderly and exemplary: and a discipline has been preserved which would have done honour to any troops.

I am extremely obliged to lieutenant colonel Anstruther, quarter-master-general, for the great zeal and ability which he has shewn, under very difficult circumstances, in forwarding the public service. From generals Cradock and Doyle, who were the general officers employed immediately under my orders, I have derived the greatest assistance, and I beg leave to recommend them as highly deserving his Majesty's favour.

The exertions of captain Stevenson, of the navy, have been extremely laborious and constant during this long march; they have done every thing that was possible to forward our supplies: and indeed, without their powerful aid, it would have been impossible to have proceeded.—Your lordship will recollect that the river is extremely low at this season of the year, the mouth of the Nile impassable for days together, and the distance from Rosetta to Cairo between 160 and 170 miles.—Captain Stevenson has been ably supported by captains Morrison, Curry, and Hillyar, who were employed under him. The service in which they have been engaged has not been a brilliant one, but I hope it will be recollected that it has been most useful, and has required constant vigilance and

attention; it has lasted now for many weeks; the labour has been excessive, and the fatigue greater than I can express.

This dispatch will be delivered to you by my aid-de-camp, major Montresor, who has been in the most intimate habits of confidence with me since my arrival in Egypt, and will be able to give your lordship a most perfect account of the situation of affairs in this country. I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection, as an officer of merit, and highly deserving of his Majesty's favour. I have the honour to be, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON,
Major-general.

TRANSLATION.

Convention for the evacuation of Egypt by the French and Auxiliary troops, under the command of the general of division Belliard, concluded between Brigadier General Hope, on the part of the commander in chief of the British army in Egypt, Osman Bey, on the part of his Highness the Grand Vizier, and Isaac Bey, on the part of his Highness the Capitan Pacha; the citizens Dongelot, General of Brigade, Morand, General of Brigade, and Tarayre, Chief of Brigade, on the part of the general of division Belliard, commanding a body of French and Auxiliary troops. The commissioners above named having met and conferred, after the exchange of their respective Powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. The French forces of every description, and the Auxiliary troops under the command of the general of division Belliard, shall evacuate the city

city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Giza, and all that part of Egypt which they now occupy.

II. The French and Auxiliary troops shall retire by land to Rosetta, proceeding by the left bank of the Nile, with their arms, baggage, field artillery and ammunition, to be there embarked and conveyed to the French ports of the Mediterranean, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and effects, at the expence of the Allied Powers. The embarkation of the said French and Auxiliary troops shall take place as soon as possible, but at the latest within 15 days from the date of the ratification of the present convention. It is also agreed, that the said troops shall be conveyed to the French ports above-mentioned, by the most direct and expeditious route.

III. From the date of the signature, and the ratification of the present convention, hostilities shall cease on both sides. The fort of Sulkosky, and the gate of the Pyramids of the town of Giza, shall be delivered up to the allied army. The line of advanced posts of the armies respectively, shall be fixed by commissioners, named for this purpose, and the most positive orders shall be given that these shall not be encroached upon, in order to avoid all disputes; and if any shall arise, they are to be determined in an amicable manner.

IV. Twelve days after the ratification of the present convention, the city of Cairo, the citadel, the forts, and the town of Boulac, shall be evacuated by the French and Auxiliary troops, who will retire to Ibrahim Bey, the Isle of Rhoda, and its dependencies, the fort of Foucroy and Gizeh, from whence they shall depart as soon as possible, and at the latest in five

days, to proceed to the points of embarkation. The generals commanding the British and Ottoman armies, consequently engage that means shall be furnished at their charge for conveying the French and Auxiliary troops as soon as possible from Gizeh.

V. The march and encampment of the French and Auxiliary troops shall be regulated by the generals of the respective armies, or by officers named by each party; but it is clearly understood, that, according to this article, the days of march and of encampment shall be fixed by the generals of the combined armies, and consequently the said French and Auxiliary troops shall be accompanied on their march by English and Turkish commissaries instructed to furnish the necessary provisions during the continuance of their route.

VI. The baggage, ammunition, and other articles transported by water, shall be escorted by French detachments, and by armed boats belonging to the Allied Powers.

VII. The French and Auxiliary troops shall be subsisted from the period of their departure from Gizeh to the time of their embarkation, conformably to the regulations of the French army; and from the day of their embarkation to that of their landing in France, agreeably to the naval regulations of England.

VIII. The military and naval commanders of the British and Turkish forces shall provide vessels for conveying to the French ports of the Mediterranean the French and Auxiliary troops, as well as all French and other persons employed in the service of the army. Every thing relative to this point, as well as in regard to subsistence, shall be regulated by commissaries

saries named for this purpose by the general of division Belliard, and by the naval and military commanders in chief of the allied forces, as soon as the present convention shall be ratified. These commissaries shall proceed to Rosetta or Aboukir, in order to make every necessary preparation for the embarkation.

IX. The allied Powers shall provide four vessels (or more if possible,) fitted for the conveyance of horses, water casks, and forage sufficient for the voyage.

X. The French and Auxiliary troops will be provided by the allied Powers with a sufficient convoy for their safe return to France. After the embarkation of the French troops, the allied powers pledge themselves, that to the period of their arrival on the continent of the French Republic, they shall not be in the least molested; and on his part the general of division Belliard, and the troops under his command, engage that no act of hostility shall be by them committed, during the said period, against the fleet or territories of his Britannic Majesty, of the Sublime Porte, or of their allies. The vessels employed in conveying and escorting the said troops, or other French subjects, shall not touch at any other than a French port, except in cases of absolute necessity. The commanders of the British, Ottoman, and French troops enter reciprocally into the like engagements, during the period that the French troops remain in Egypt, from the ratification of the present convention to the movement of their embarkation. The general of division Belliard, commanding the French and Auxiliary troops, on the part of his government, engages that the vessels employed for their convey-

ance and protection shall not be detained in the French ports after the disembarkation of the troops; and that their commanders shall be at liberty to purchase, at their own expence, the provisions which may be necessary for enabling them to return. General Belliard also engages, on the part of his government, that the said vessels shall not be molested on their return to the ports of the allied powers, provided they do not attempt, or are made subservient to any military operation.

XI. All the administrations, the members of the commission of arts and sciences, and in short every person attached to the French army, shall enjoy the same advantages as the military. All the members of the said administration, and of the commission of arts and sciences, shall also carry with them not only all the papers relative to their mission, but also their private papers, as well as all other articles which have reference thereto.

XII. All inhabitants of Egypt, of whatever nation they may be, who wish to follow the French troops, shall be at liberty so to do; nor shall their families, after their departure, be molested, or their goods confiscated.

XIII. No inhabitant of Egypt, of whatever religion, who may wish to follow the French troops, shall suffer either in person or property, on account of the connection he may have entered into with the French during their continuance in Egypt, provided he conforms to the laws of the country.

XIV. The sick who cannot bear removal shall be placed in an hospital, and attended by French medical and other attendants, until their recovery, when they shall be sent to France on the same conditions as the troops. The commanders of the allied armies engage

engage to provide all the articles that may appear really necessary for this hospital; the advances to be made on this account shall be repaid by the French government.

XV. At the period when the towns and forts mentioned in the present convention shall be delivered up, commissaries shall be named for receiving the ordnance, ammunition, magazines, papers, archives, plans, and other public effects, which the French shall leave in possession of the allied Powers.

XVI. A vessel shall be provided as soon as possible by the naval commanders of the allied Powers, in order to convey to Toulon an officer and a commissioner, charged with the conveyance of the present convention to the French government.

XVII. Every difficulty or dispute that may arise respecting the execution of the present convention shall be determined in an amicable manner by commissioners named on each part.

XVIII. Immediately after the ratifications of the present convention all the English or Ottoman prisoners at Cairo shall be set at liberty, and the commanders in chief of the allied Powers shall in like manner release the French prisoners in their respective camps.

XIX. Officers of rank from the English army, from his Highness the supreme Vizier, and from his Highness the Capitan Pacha, shall be exchanged for a like number of French officers of equal rank, to serve as hostages for the execution of the present treaty. As soon as the French troops shall be landed in the ports of France, the hostages shall be reciprocally released.

XX. The present convention shall be carried and communicated by a French

officer to general Menou at Alexandria, and he shall be at liberty to accept of it for the French and Auxiliary forces (both naval and military) which may be with him at the above-mentioned place, provided his acceptance of it shall be notified to the general commanding the English troops before Alexandria within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him.

XXI. The present convention shall be ratified by the commanders in chief of the respective armies within 24 hours after the signature thereof.

Signed in quadruplicate, at the place of conference between the two armies, the 27th of June, 1801.

(Signed)

J. Hope, Brigadier-general.

Osman Bey.

Isaac Bey.

Donzelot, General de Brigade.

Tarayre, Chief de Brigade.

Approved and ratified the present convention at Cairo.

(Signed)

Belliard, General de Division.

On the 21st of July, the French garrison of Cairo arrived at Rosetta, and its embarkation was conducted with so much expedition, that the whole garrison had sailed for France on the 17th of August.—The number of French troops from Cairo that were embarked was 8000, among whom were 900 cavalry; they had with them 50 pieces of artillery. The remainder of the persons included in the capitulation of Cairo, amounted to above 5000 men, of various classes.

The following dispatch, which was received by Lord Hobart from general Hutchinson, will, no doubt, be read with much satisfaction, as it details the

progress of the British army in Egypt till the final expulsion of the French from that country: and completes the history of an event to which, above all others, we owe the blessings of peace.

Head Quarters, camp before Alexandria, Sept. 5.

My Lord,

I have now the satisfaction to inform your lordship, that the forts and town of Alexandria have surrendered to his Majesty's troops, who, on the 2d took possession of the entrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's Pillar, the Redoubt de Bain, and the fort triangular.—By the capitulation the garrison are to be embarked for France in the course of ten days, provided the shipping is in a state of preparation to receive them.

The operations against the enemy's works commenced on the 17th of August.

Major-general Coote embarked with a strong corps on the inundation in the night, between the 16th and 17th of August. He effected his landing to the westward of Alexandria, with little or no opposition, and immediately invested the strong castle of Marabout, situated at the entrance of the western harbour of Alexandria.

On the east side of the town two attacks were made to get possession of some heights in front of the entrenched position of the enemy. I intrusted the conduct of the attack against their right to major-general Cradock: and that against their left to major-general Moore. These two officers perfectly executed my intentions, and performed the service committed to their care with much precision and ability. The action was neither obstinate or severe, and our loss is but small; but it afford-

ed one more opportunity to display the promptness of British officers, and the heroism of British soldiers.

A part of general Doyle's brigade, the 30th regiment, (but under the immediate command of colonel Spencer,) had taken possession of a hill in front of the enemy's right. General Menou, who was in person in that part of the French entrenched camp directly opposite to our post, ordered about 600 men to make a sortie, to drive us from our position. The enemy advanced in column, with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot, till they got very close to the 30th regiment, to whom colonel Spencer gave an immediate order to charge, though they did not consist of more than 200 men; he was obeyed with a spirit and a determination worthy the highest panegyric. The enemy were driven back to their entrenchments in the greatest confusion—they had many killed and wounded, and several taken prisoners.

On the night between the 18th and 19th, major-general Coote opened batteries against the castle of Marabout; an attack was also made from the sea by several Turkish corvettes, and the launches and boats of the fleet under the guidance of the Hon. captain Cochrane; great perseverance and exertions were required to get up heavy guns through a difficult and almost impracticable country: but the troops executed this painful and arduous service with such zeal and continued firmness, that the fort capitulated in the night of the 21st; the garrison consisted of about 180 men, and were commanded by a Chief de brigade.

On the morning of the 22d, major-general Coote marched from Marabout to attack a strong corps posted

in his front, in order to cover the approach to Alexandria: the management of that excellent officer appeared to have been able and judicious, and was attended with the most complete success; he drove the enemy every where, though strongly posted, and in a country which opposed uncommon obstacles to the progress of troops. The French suffered extremely in the action, and retreated in much confusion, leaving their wounded and seven pieces of cannon behind them.

On the 24th batteries were opened against the Redoubt de Bain; and on the 25th at night, major-general Coote surprised the enemy's advanced posts, when seven officers and 50 men were taken prisoners; this service was gallantly performed by lieutenant-colonel Smith with the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment, and a small detachment of dragoons under the orders of lieutenant Kelly, of the 26th. The enemy endeavoured to regain possession of the ground from which they had been driven, but were repulsed with loss.

On the morning of the 26th we opened four batteries on each side of the town against the entrenched camp of the French, which soon silenced their fire, and induced them to withdraw many of their guns.

On the 27th, in the evening, general Menou sent an aid-de-camp to request an armistice for three days, in order to give time to prepare a capitulation, which, after some difficulties and delays, was signed on the 2d of September.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the capitulation, and also a list of the number of persons for whom the enemy have required shipping; by this it appears, that the total of the

garrison of Alexandria consisted of upwards of eight thousand soldiers, and one thousand three hundred sailors.

This arduous and important service has at length been brought to a conclusion. The exertions of individuals have been splendid and meritorious. I regret that the bounds of a dispatch will not allow me to specify the whole, or to mention the name of every person, who has distinguished himself in the public service. I have received the greatest support and assistance from the general officers of the army. The conduct of the troops of every description has been exemplary in the highest degree; there has been much to applaud and nothing to reprehend; their order and regularity in the camp have been as conspicuous as their courage in the field. To the quarter-master general, lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, I owe much for his unwearied industry and zeal in the public service, and for the aid, and advice, and co-operation, which he has at all times afforded me. Brigadier-general Lawson, who commanded the artillery, and captain Bryse, the chief engineer, have both great merit in their different departments. The local situation of Egypt presents obstacles of a most serious kind to military operations on an extended scale. The skill and perseverance of those two officers have overcome difficulties which at first appeared almost insurmountable.

Lieutenant colonel Lindenthal, who has always acted with the Turks, deserves my utmost acknowledgments; his activity and diligence have been unremitting, and he has introduced amongst them order and regularity which does him the highest honour.

During the course of the long service on which we have been engaged,
lord

lord Keith has, at all times, given me the most able assistance and council.—The labour and fatigue of the navy have been continued and excessive:—it has not been of one day or of one week, but for months together. In the bay of Aboukir, on the new inundation, and on the Nile, for one hundred and sixty miles, they have been employed without intermission, and have submitted to many privations with a cheerfulness and patience highly creditable to them and advantageous to the public service.

Sir Sidney Smith had originally the command of the seamen who landed from the fleet; he continued on shore till after the capture of Rosetta, and returned on board the *Tigre* a short time before the appearance of admiral Gantheaume's squadron on the coast. He was present in the three actions of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March, when he displayed that ardour of mind for the service of his country, and that noble intrepidity for which he has been ever so conspicuous. Captain Stevenson, of the *Europa*, succeeded him, and I have every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and conduct. The crews of the gun-boats displayed great gallantry under his guidance, in the new inundation; and much approbation is also due to the naval officers who acted under his orders.

Captain Pressland, of the *Regulus*, has had the direction, for many months past, of all Greek ships in our employment, and those belonging to the commissariat. He has been active, zealous and indefatigable, and merits my warmest approbation. I must therefore beg leave particularly to recommend this old and meritorious officer to your lordship's protection.

Allow me to express an humble hope, that the army in Egypt have gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country. To them every thing is due, and to me nothing. It was my fate to succeed a man who created such a spirit, and established such a discipline among them, that little has been left for me to perform, except to follow his maxims, and to endeavour to imitate his conduct.

This dispatch will be delivered to your lordship by colonel Abercromby, an officer of considerable ability, and worthy of the great name which he bears. He will one day, I trust, emulate the virtue and talents of his never sufficiently to be lamented father.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. H. HUTCHINSON.

Articles of the capitulation proposed by Abdoullahy Jacques Francois Menou, general in chief of the French army now in Alexandria, to the generals commanding the land and sea forces of his Britannic Majesty, and of the Sublime Porte, forming the blockade of Alexandria, dated the 12th Fructidor, year 9 of the French Republic (30th of August, 1801.)

Art. I. From the present date to the 30th Fructidor (17th of September, 1801) there shall be a continuation of the truce and suspension of arms between the French army and the combined armies of his Britannic majesty and of the Sublime Porte, upon the same conditions with those which actually subsist, with the exception of a regulation, to be amicably settled between the respective generals of the two armies, for establishing a new line of advanced posts, in order to remove all pretext of hostility between the troops.—Answer. Refused.

II. In

II. In case no adequate succours should arrive to the French army before the day mentioned in the preceding articles, that army shall evacuate the forts and entrenched camps of Alexandria upon the following conditions.—Answer. Refused.

III. The French army shall retire, on the first complementary day of the French æra, into the city of Alexandria and forts adjacent, and shall deliver up to the allied powers the entrenched camp in front of the lines of the Arabs, the fort Le Turc, and the fort Du Vivier, together with their artillery and ammunition.—Answer. In forty-eight hours after the signing of the capitulation; namely, on the 2d of September, at noon, the entrenched camps, the fort Turc, and that of Du Vivier, shall be delivered up to the allied powers. The ammunition and artillery of these forts shall be also delivered up. The French troops shall evacuate the city, forts, and dependencies of Alexandria ten days after signing the capitulation, or at the time of their embarkation.

IV. All individuals, constituting a part of the French army, or attached to it by any relations, military or civil; the Auxiliary troops of every nation, country, or religion, or of whatever powers they might have been subjects before the arrival of the French, shall preserve their property, of every description, their effects, papers, &c. &c. which shall not be subject to any examination.—Answer. Granted; provided that nothing be carried away belonging to the government of the French republic, but only the effects, baggage, and other articles belonging to the French and Auxiliary soldiers, who have served during six months in the army of the Republic; the same

is to be understood of all the individuals attached to the French army, by civil or military capacities, of whatever nation, country, or religion they may be.

V. The French forces, the Auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the preceding articles, shall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria between the 5th and the 10th of Vendémiaire, year 10 of the Republic, at the latest, (27th September to the 3d October 1801) together with their arms, stores, baggage, effects, and property of all kinds, official papers, and deposits, one field-piece to each battalion and squadron, with ammunition, &c. &c. the whole to be conveyed to one of the ports of the French Republic in the Mediterranean, to be determined by the general in chief of the French army.—Answer. The French forces, the Auxiliary troops, and all the individuals described in the fourth article, shall be embarked in the ports of Alexandria (unless, after an amicable convention, it should be found more expeditious to embark a part of them at Aboukir) as soon as vessels can be prepared, the allied powers at the same time engaging that the embarkation shall take place, if possible, ten days after the capitulation shall be signed; they shall receive all the honours of war; shall carry away their arms and baggage; shall not be prisoners of war, and shall moreover take with them ten pieces of cannon from four to eight-pounders, with ten rounds of shot to each gun; they shall be conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean.

VI. The French ships of war, with their full complement, and all the merchant ships, to whatever nation or individuals they may belong, even those

of nations at war with the allied powers, or those that are the property of owners or merchants who were subject to the allied powers before the arrival of the French, shall depart with the French army, in order that those that are ships of war may be restored to the French government, and the merchant ships to the owners, or to their assignees.—Answer. Refused. All vessels shall be delivered up as they are.

VII. Every single ship that, from the present day to the 30th Fructidor, shall arrive from the French Republic, or any of her allies, into the ports or road of Alexandria, shall be comprehended in this capitulation. Every ship of war or commerce, belonging to France, or the allies of the Republic, that shall arrive in the ports or road of Alexandria, within the 20 days immediately following the evacuation of that place, shall not be considered a lawful prize, but shall be set at liberty, with her equipage and cargo, and be furnished with a passport from the allied powers.—Answer. Refused.

VIII. The French and Auxiliary troops, the civil and military agents attached to the army, and all other individuals described in the preceding articles, shall be embarked on board such French and other vessels, actually in the ports of Alexandria, as shall be in a condition to go to sea; or on board those of his Britannic majesty, and of the Sublime Porte, within the time fixed by the fifth article.

IX. Commissaries shall be named by each party to regulate the number of vessels to be employed, the number of men to be embarked upon them, and generally to provide for all the difficulties that may arise in carrying into execution the present capitulation. Those commissaries shall agree upon the dif-

ferent positions, which shall be taken by the ships now in the port of Alexandria, and those which shall be furnished by the allied powers, so that by a well-regulated arrangement, every occasion of difference between the crews of the several nations may be avoided.—Answer. All these details will be regulated by the English admiral, and by an officer of the French navy named by the general in chief.

X. Merchants and owners of ships, of whatever nation or religion they may be, and also the inhabitants of Egypt, and of every other country, who may at the present time be in Alexandria, whether Syrians, Copths, Greeks, Arabs, Jews, &c., and who shall be desirous of following the French army, shall be embarked with and enjoy the same advantages with that army; they shall be at liberty to remove their property of all kinds, and to leave powers for the disposal of what they may not be able to take away. All arrangements, all sales, all stipulations, whether of commerce, or of any other nature made by them, shall be strictly carried into effect after their departure, and be maintained by the generals of his Britannic majesty and of the Sublime Porte. Those who may prefer remaining in Egypt a certain time on account of their private affairs, shall be at liberty to do so, and shall have full protection from the allied powers; those also who may be desirous of establishing themselves in Egypt, shall be entitled to all the privileges and rights of which they were in possession before the arrival of the French.—Answer. Every article of merchandize, whether in the town of Alexandria, or on board the vessels that are in the ports, shall be provisionally at the disposal of the allied powers.

powers, but subject to such definitive regulation as may be determined by established usage and the law of nations. Private merchants shall be at liberty to accompany the French army, or they may remain in the country in security.

XI. None of the inhabitants of Egypt, or of any other nation or religion, shall be called to account for their conduct during the period of the French troops having been in that country, particularly for having taken arms in their favour, or having been employed by them.—Answer. Granted.

XII. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, shall be fed during their passage, and until their arrival in France, at the expence of the allied powers, and conformably to the rules of the French navy. The allied powers shall supply every thing that may be necessary for the embarkation.—Ans. The troops, and all others who may be embarked with them, shall be fed during their passage, and until their arrival in France, at the expence of the allied powers, according to the usage established in the marine of England.

XIII. The consuls, and all other public agents of the several powers in alliance with the French Republic, shall continue in the enjoyment of all the privileges and rights which are granted by civilized nations to diplomatic agents: their property, all their effects and papers, shall be respected and placed under the protection of the allied powers. They shall be at liberty to retire or to remain as they may think fit.—Answer. The consuls and all other public agents of the powers in alliance with the French Republic, shall be at liberty to remain or retire as they may judge fit. Their property

and effects of any kind, together with their papers, shall be preserved for them, provided they conduct themselves with loyalty, and conformably to the law of nations.

XIV. The sick who may be judged by the medical staff of the army to be in a state of removal, shall be embarked at the same time with the army, upon hospital ships properly furnished with medicines, provisions, and every store that may be necessary for their situation; and they shall be attended by French surgeons. Those of the sick who may not be in a condition to undertake the voyage, shall be delivered over to the care and humanity of the allied powers. French physicians and other medical assistance, shall be left for their care, to be maintained at the expence of the allied powers, who shall send them to France as soon as their state of health may permit, together with any thing belonging to them, in the same manner as has been proposed for the rest of the army.—Answer. Granted. The ships destined for hospitals, shall be prepared for the reception of those who may fall sick during the passage. The medical staff of the two armies shall concert together in what manner to dispose of those of the sick who, having contagious disorders, ought not to have communication with the others.

XV. Horse transports for conveying 60 horses, with every thing necessary for their subsistence during the passage, shall be furnished.—Answer. Granted.

XVI. The individuals composing the institute of Egypt and the commission of arts, shall carry with them all the papers, plans, memoirs, collections of natural history, and all the monuments of art and antiquity, collected by them in Egypt. Answer. The

The members of the institute may carry with them all the instruments of arts and sciences which they have brought from France, but the Arabian manuscripts, the statues, and other collections which have been made for the French Republic, shall be considered as public property, and subject to the disposal of the generals of the combined army.

General Hope having declared, in consequence of some observations of the commander in chief of the French army, that he could make no alteration in this article, it has been agreed that a reference thereupon should be made to the commander in chief of the combined army.

XVII. The vessels which shall be employed in conveying the French and Auxiliary army, as well as the different persons who shall accompany it, shall be escorted by ships of war belonging to the allied powers, who formally engage that they shall not in any manner be molested during their voyage; the safety of such of these vessels as may be separated by stress of weather, or other accidents, shall be guaranteed by the generals of the allied forces; the vessels conveying the French army shall not, under any pretence, touch at any other than the French coast, except in case of absolute necessity.—Answer. Granted.—The commander in chief of the French army entering into a reciprocal engagement, that none of these vessels shall be molested during their stay in France, on their return: he equally engaging that they should be furnished with every thing which may be necessary, according to the constant practice of European powers.

XVIII. At the time of giving up the camps and forts, according to the

terms of the third article, the prisoners in Egypt shall be respectively given up on both sides.—Answer. Granted.

XIX. Commissaries shall be named to receive the artillery of the place and of the forts, stores, magazines, plans, and other articles that the French leave to the allied powers, and lists and inventories shall be made out, signed by the commissaries of the different powers, according as the forts and magazines shall be given up to the allied powers.—Answer. Granted. Provided that all the plans of the city and forts of Alexandria, as well as all maps of the country, shall be delivered up to the English commissary. The batteries, cisterns, and other public buildings, shall also be given up in the condition in which they actually are.

XX. A passport shall be granted to a French armed vessel, in order to convey to Toulon, immediately after the camps and forts before mentioned shall be given up, officers charged by the commander in chief to carry to his government the present capitulation.—Answer. Granted. But if it is a French vessel it shall not be armed.

XXI. On giving up the camps and forts mentioned in the preceding articles, hostages shall be given on both sides, in order to guarantee the execution of the present treaty. They shall be chosen from among the officers of rank in the respective armies: namely, four from the French army, two from the British troops, and two from the troops of the Sublime Porte. The four French hostages shall be embarked on board the English ship commanding the squadron, and the four British and Turkish hostages on board one of the vessels which shall carry the commander in chief, or the lieutenant generals. They shall all be reciprocally

cally delivered up on their arrival in France.—Answer. There shall be placed in the hands of the commander in chief of the French army four officers of rank as hostages, namely, one officer of the navy, one officer of the British army, and two officers of the Turkish army.—The commander in chief shall, in like manner, place in the hands of the commander in chief of the British army, four officers of rank. The hostages shall be restored on both sides at the period of the embarkation.

XXII. If any difficulties should arise during the execution of the present capitulation, they shall be amicably settled by the commissaries of the armies.

—Answer. Granted.

(Signed) KEITH, Admiral.

(Signed) J. H. HUTCHINSON,
lieutenant-general, commanding in chief.

(Signed) HUSSEIN, Capitan Pacha.

(Signed) ABDOULLAHY JACQUES FRANCOIS MENOU, general in chief of the French army.

(A true Copy.)

JAMES KEMPT, lieutenant-colonel and secretary.

General Hutchinson, under whose conduct the campaign in Egypt has terminated in a manner so honourable to the character of the British arms, is the son of the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, late Provost of Trinity College, Dublin—a man equally distinguished by his talents, his ambition, and the high offices he held in the administration of Ireland.

Being a younger brother of a numerous family, he seemed early destined to be the author of his own fortune, and no exertion was spared to bring him forward into public life with every

advantage. He received the elements of his classical education at Eaton, and, after remaining there the usual number of years, he returned to the university of Dublin for the completion of his studies.

At an early period he discovered a partiality for a military life, and in his 19th year he was appointed an officer in the 18th regiment of dragoons. He afterwards served in different regiments of foot, first in the 67th, and then the 77th Highlanders. No pains were spared to qualify him for command, and for this purpose he was sent to study tactics at the military academy of Strasburgh, under the best French masters.

Soon after the commencement of the French revolution, he passed over to the continent, got himself introduced to the French commander on the frontiers, and had then an opportunity of witnessing all the manœuvres of his camp.—He afterwards visited the camp of the Duke of Brunswick, and seemed resolved to court every occasion of increasing his knowledge of the military art, and of perfecting himself in the skill necessary for a great general. While he was thus cultivating his professional studies, he was not inattentive to the state of politics in Ireland. On the death of his father, he was elected member for Cork in the independent interest; and, though in general a supporter of ministerial measures, he was ever a decided friend to Catholic emancipation. When that question was fully debated in 1789, a speech he delivered on the occasion is very creditable to his talents, and was regarded as a very promising specimen of eloquence. On the question of union he joined ministry, though he was very far from approving all the acts to which they resorted

sorted for accomplishing that measure. During the rebellion in Ireland, he distinguished himself as an able, active, and humane officer. In the whole of his conduct throughout that unfortunate period, he gave proofs of military talents which were calculated to be of the most essential service to his country, on whatever field he should be called upon to exert them. In the selection of officers to serve in the expedition to Egypt, it is generally understood that the opinion of the ever to be lamented Abercromby was principally consulted; and by his recommendation, it is believed, General Hutchinson was appointed to the rank which he held in the expedition. How well he has justified the choice, his actions best can shew. And while he so generously lavishes praises on the brave companions of his services, and, with the modesty which gives new lustre to heroism, seeks to conceal his own merit, he cannot fail to receive from his country that tribute of gratitude so justly due to his conduct as a general and a soldier.

At the request of the Duke of York, his majesty ordered medals to be struck in honour of the Egyptian campaign, with suitable inscriptions and emblematical designs, to be given to the officers and soldiers of Egypt; thus furnishing them, in the eyes of their country, with the proofs of having, with much honour to themselves, done their duty with the approbation of their sovereign.

The porte, since the commencement of this war, had secretly resolved to change the government of the Beys in Egypt; and the better to conceal the project, all the proceedings of the Grand Vizier, and of the Capitan Pacha, only tended to persuade them that they would be soon restored.

After the evacuation of Egypt, seven of these Beys were invited to repair to Alexandria, for the purpose of adopting measures for their restoration; they most eagerly acceded to the invitation—they were received in a very distinguished manner, but they were soon informed by the Capitan Pacha, that, agreeably to the will of the porte, they must renounce the government of Egypt for ever: he, at the same time, told them they should be conducted to Constantinople, where their lives would be in no danger, and where they would enjoy the same brilliant existence; as it was the intention of the porte to leave them not only in possession of their property, but to invest them with new dignities. The Capitan Pacha had promised general Hutchinson to the same effect.

The Grand Vizier, learning by an express from the Ottoman admiral that he held seven of these Beys in his custody, caused such Beys as were near him to be also arrested, and the precautions were so well taken, that in less than an hour these ancient leaders of Egypt were in his power: two of them, Mehemet-Elfy-Bey, and Aboudiah Bey, were not taken; the former being in Upper Egypt, whither he had been sent to collect subsidies, finding himself suddenly recalled, he suspected some danger, and instead of going to Cairo, he proceeded further into the country; the other Bey, hearing of the disgrace of his colleagues, sought safety in flight, but it is not known in what direction he proceeded. Others attempted to effect their escape, but were apprehended by the soldiers; detachments were sent in pursuit of the Mamelukes of the two fugitive Beys, and many of them were every day brought in prisoners.

The Grand Vizier told the Beys what the Capitan Pacha had before informed them of.

This unwarrantable conduct excited remonstrances of the most energetic nature on the part of the British commander in chief Hutchinson, and a subsequent event induced that general to espouse the cause of the Beys with still greater warmth.

The Capitan Pacha had prevailed on the Beys he had in his power to go on board one of his frigates; as they were proceeding, they began to repent of their excess of confidence, and desired their officers to land them; these refused, a battle ensued, four of the Beys were killed and three wounded, several of the boat's crew experienced the same fate.

On hearing of this catastrophe, general Hutchinson ordered the British under arms, and preferred the most emphatical complaints both to the Grand Vizier and to the Capitan Pacha, and insisted on the three wounded Beys being given up to him.

The Ottoman admiral urged, in his defence, that the Beys had brought the calamity on their own heads by their ill-grounded suspicion, while government only wished to make sure of their persons, after being well informed that the court of London would not interfere, as its intention in sending troops to Egypt was merely to assist in reconquering that province, leaving it to the porte to establish what form of government it should judge most expedient.

Since these events took place, it is understood that the Grand Vizier (having assembled at his quarters those Beys whom he held in his power, and having even prevailed upon Elfy-Bey to return to Cairo) succeeded in convincing them of the necessity of sur-

rendering to the will of the porte; and he renewed his former promise to them, swearing upon the Koran that their lives should be preserved.

About the beginning of December 1801, a disobedient and mutinous spirit discovered itself in the British navy, though it only broke out into overt acts of resistance in that department of it stationed in Bantry Bay, under the command of admiral Campbell. It appears that on its being understood that four or five sail of the line were to be ordered to the West Indies, the crews of the *Temeraire* and the *Formidable* declared, that, as the peace was made, they would only sail for England, and they declared their determination not to weigh anchor, if called upon. Apprehensions were at first entertained that this insubordination would have extended through the whole fleet; but by the prudence of the admiralty, and the spirited conduct of admiral Campbell, and the officers who acted in concert with him, the mutiny was completely quelled, and the ringleaders secured and brought to trial on the 6th of January 1802, on board the *Gladiator*, in Portsmouth harbour. The following officers were appointed members of the court.

Vice-admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, President.

Vice-admiral Pole, rear-admiral Collingwood, captain Bertie, captain Grindall, captain Sir E. Nagle, capt. Wells, rear-admiral Holloway, rear-admiral Campbell, captain Jones, captain Osborne, captain Gould, captain Louis.

M. Greetham, Esq. Judge advocate.

The following seamen were then brought in and put on their trials: John Mayfield, late captain of the *Forecastle*:

Forecastle; James Ward, belonging to ditto; James Chesterman, ditto; John Fitzgerald, captain of the Fore-top; Thomas Cross, belonging to ditto; James Lockyer, belonging to the Main-top; John Cummins, ditto; Christopher White, ditto; William Hillyard, belonging to the Fore-top; James Collins, the Ship's Butcher; John Daly; John Rowland, a Carpenter; Thomas Jones, and William Cooke.

The prisoners were charged with mutiny, with holding mutinous and seditious words, with taking an active part in certain mutinous and seditious assemblies, and with having heard mutinous and treasonable words, and not revealing the same, as they ought to have done, to their commanding officer.

Captain Eyles, of the *Temeraire*, was the prosecutor. The customary correspondence between him and the admiral, together with the order from the lords of the admiralty for holding the court, being read, captain Eyles's narrative of the mutiny was given in and read as evidence.

John Anfrey, a seaman belonging to the *Temeraire*, was the first witness.

He gave the following account of the mutiny: "I know the prisoners: on the 1st of December, in the larboard bay, in the morning, I saw 19 or 20 people; they were drinking either grog or wine: they swore to be true to each other. When they were going to begin, they said—"Drink to us like British heroes, there is no fear, we will go through the business; shake hands like brothers, stick to each other, there is no fear if there are no informers." Fitzgerald was present, Mayfield, Ward, Lockyer, Rowland, William Cooke, and Chesterman. I did not

see Allen; Taylor was there, Thomas Jones was there; I did not see Cross nor White; John Daly was not present. On Saturday morning, the 5th, at nine o'clock, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterman, and Cooke, asked the ship's company if they were willing to come aft, to tell their officers now the war was over, that they did not wish to go out of the land. They went aft, halfway the gangway, and made a stop—"come and speak to your officers like men, now is the time," and they went aft directly, it was then about eleven o'clock. They spoke to the lieutenants Douglas and Gore; Mr. D. asked them what they wanted. They said, they were informed they were going out of the land, and did not wish to go. The admiral came on deck, and asked the same question: they answered that they wanted to know where they were going, and that they would not heave the anchor to go out of the land. The admiral desired them to go down and be quiet; that the *Temeraire*, had an excellent character, and he should be very sorry to report mutiny in the ship. They all then went down to the lower deck. Fitzgerald, Cooke, and Ward said, nobody should drink more than their allowance, and in case any should get drunk, they would cob them; and they hoped every man would stand true to each other. The word was passed fore and aft the same evening, that the first man who was caught lying on the yard to bend the sails, would be punished by themselves. I heard Fitzgerald, for one, saying this.—Their intention was not to kill or hurt any officer in the ship, in case they did not draw their arms against them; but if they (the officers,) did fire, or draw their arms, they would shew no mercy. They

They (the officers) could not kill any more than fifty or sixty of the foremost men: this was said by Fitzgerald to me: and the first man who turned treacherous, and would not obey the same as the others, should be knocked down dead directly. A great many more besides myself heard this conversation. The same time I heard Fitzgerald and Jack Allen say, "There is no fear, I believe, but they will go through with their proceedings, but we will not go out of the land." Allen then said, "there was no fear for the men of war's men, as they would make them do what they liked;" they then parted. On the 6th of December, about nine o'clock, as the men were at dinner, I saw Mr. Lawrence, the master's mate, going round the deck. After he came, Fitzgerald, Chesterman, Allen, Lockyer, and Taylor said, "now is your time, lower the ports down; douse the ports; they were all down but one, which Allen lowered down himself. Another port was not quite down—I heard Ward say, "that port is not down yet." Cummins said, "bar the ports." Cooke, Fitzgerald, Taylor, and Chesterman, and some others, ordered all the scuttles to be hauled in. Cummins desired a man to look out of the hawse-hole, to see if any boat was coming round, and cheered at the same time. Lieutenant Douglas came and asked what noise that was? when they began to cheer again: he desired them to come aft on the quarter-deck, and let the admiral know what they wanted, and if he could grant it he would. They all began to cry,—No, no, and cheered. Jones and Hillier said, "No, no, send the master of the ship down, we want to

speak to him; nobody but he shall come down." At the same time lieutenant Douglas had his foot on the fore-ladder, when Hillier and another tried to unship the ladder; and Simmons (not one of the prisoners) went and said he had like to break the lieutenant's neck down: Jones and Cooke said, "Break his neck and kill him." A few minutes after the officers came down, and tried to keep the people quiet. Cooper, Lockyer, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterman, Cummins, Jones, Hillyard and Allen, cried out, "shoot! shoot!"—Taylor stood looking through the hawse-hole to see if any thing was coming. Christian White was very busy to try to unship the main ladder, but could not. They then went up to the quarter-deck, when the admiral asked the ship's company what they wanted, and why they made so much noise and confusion? Jones said, they wanted to know where they were going? The admiral asked if they had ever before been made to know where they were going? Jones said, no. The admiral then said, they had better be quiet, not to be obstreperous, as they would gain nothing by it: he said he did not know himself where he was going; he was ordered to sea on a cruise, and must obey his orders; that it was enough when he called all hands, and then he hoped they would go with good will.—Many cried, "No, no; we will not go from the land, we will go to England." Fitzgerald and Jones joined in this cry. On Sunday morning, I spied a few cannon-cartridges of powder in the locker-nippers, and a match lighted on the larboard side, in a small washing-tub, covered with two shirts. John Daly, when I was looking over the locker, asked me what I wanted in the manger. I asked why

why he wanted to know; I told him I wanted to see the manger, in case it should be wanted to heave up. Daly desired me to be gone; and if I did not, he would make me; and that a man was constantly centry at the manger door, to prevent any one from going in, except the yeoman of the locker-nipper. The centinel was put there by the party.—On Monday, the 7th, James Ward ordered me not to bring my hammock up until piped up, and that every man should drink his allowance among themselves until it was all settled; and that they should do their work better, if possible; that no man should be treacherous to their king or country, that the war was over, and they would not go out of the land; that the first man who was found drunk should be punished among themselves. Ward passed these orders round to every man's birth. There was a great quantity of people consulting together, and when the officers used to come round, every man used to go to his birth, and come out again when they were gone; but they spoke too low, that I could not hear what they said. These consultations were held in Fitzgerald and Chesterman's birth. Lockyer said, he would be d—d if he would ship the capstern bar to go out of the land, and he hoped every body was of his mind. Mayfield said, he had been eight or nine years in the service, and would like to go and see his friends, now the war was over. Every one was told by Chesterman, if they fetched the hammocks up before they were piped, they would be knocked down the hatchways with their hammocks. On Tuesday, the 8th, silence was kept fore and aft, and persons came round to know if the other ships were in the same mind with the

Temeraire. Fitzgerald and Chesterman said, the Formidable, Majestic, and Vengeance, were in the same mind; that there was no fear, the fleet would not fire at the ship, they would find supplies and reinforcements in the three other ships: this they talked of in their own births, before their messmates, about six in number. Fitzgerald told me, I had no occasion to be afraid to speak, as nobody in the birth would inform of me, they being all of the same mind. On Wednesday evening, when the hammocks came down, James Ward went down on the lower deck, and desired me not to bring my hammock up next morning; the word was passed on the larboard side by Ward and others; Cooke passed the word on the starboard side fore and aft: that they wanted to barricade the lower deck hatchway in their own defence. In twenty minutes after, Ward countermanded the order, and bid the hammocks to be brought up as usual.

On the same night, Taylor wrote a letter under the bowsprit. Lieutenant Forfar came down close by the bowsprit, and Taylor ran over the starboard side between two hammocks, until the officer was gone, and when gone he came back. They had different pass words while the letter was writing; first of all they said, "catch the rat, take hold of the rat;" it was a notice of an officer's coming.—Another watch word was, "give me a chew of tobacco;" another was, "I want a drink of water." They had another pass word. I saw Cross, Taylor, Cooke, Lockyer, Ward, Jones, Fitzgerald, Collins, Chesterman, and many others, used to tell Taylor what to put in the letter: when it was wrote, Ward went fore and aft, and bid the men not

not to mind the officers, and be careful to bring up and down their hammocks as usual. On the next morning 19 or 20 were looking at the paper in Chesterman's birth. I could not tell what was in the paper. I heard Fitzgerald and Chesterman say, in case the *Temeraire* should be in alarm, they would fire a sky-rocket, and make a signal to the other ships that were going out, to get their assistance. Chesterman asked me if I was willing to go out of the land: I told him I should not like to go, but if I was forced or asked I must go. At the same time I said the people of the *Vengeance* would do what their captain liked. Fitzgerald said, never mind what they did, as we have begun it we shall go through it; and in case the officers should draw their arms against us, we will shew no mercy; they could not kill more than 50 or 60 people at most, and they could find 50 or 60 men to take possession of the magazines of powder. John Allen said that night to Stephenson, "By G—d there will be bloodshed before the week is at an end." Stephenson replied, it would be a bad job, somebody might pay for it. They were drinking at the time. Allen said, God give me heart and strength, there is no fear; we will go through with it, so that there are no informers. Philip Handcock, who was in his hammock, cried shame at us for making use of such expressions while the people were awake.

The boatswain's mate having been drunk, he was clobbered, he received a dozen and a half from Chesterman, with a pea-squeezer; about five in the evening, I went up upon deck, and as I was going towards the fore-castle, I heard a great noise upon deck between the two foremost guns, and I came back

and saw Patrick Cannon going to be clobbered for wrangling and making a disturbance among the ship's company: he called his messmate George Dixon, a thief; Collins the butcher asked him, if he could prove George Dixon a thief; he said, no; well says he, if you breed a disturbance you shall be clobbered: George Dixon drew his knife to Patrick Cannon, who gave him a slap in the face. Lieutenant Bogden came down and asked what noise it was, they told him it was only a man going to be clobbered. Lieutenant Bogden told them they should punish nobody with their own hands, but send them aft to be punished. Collins said, it was only a clobbering match; immediately lieutenant Bogden was shoved in the crowd, I saw a man strike him, I cannot tell who it was. An alarm came directly afterwards, and George Dixon came down the fore-ladder from the main deck, and sung out, bear a hand up you b——rs, here is a man in irons: the people went up and made a rush to go aft to take possession of the arms and disarm the sentries, and go upon the fore-castle, and kill all the officers; they said they would soon clear those gentlemen quality off the fore-castle, and send them away, and began cheering all the way as they went. They stopt and did not go aft; when they found the marines were under arms, they went to the fore-castle and gained the others; Fitzgerald wanted them to go aft and take the arms; the captain immediately after that came on the fore-castle, and asked what they wanted to make so much noise at that time of night? they said, they wanted the prisoner to be delivered up: one Gallispie, James Riley, and many others, whom I could not observe, said, he should not

not be punished; the captain said, he should, he had been drunk on duty, and insolent to his superior officers. George Dixon was one, whose voice I could pick out among all of them. Captain Eyles was walking fore and aft, having hardly room, had been shoved among them in the crowd; I could not see any body in the front that I could take notice of; but Collins, Daly, Fitzgerald, Cooke, and many more, shoved the captain, when they picked out the principal ringleaders. On the 8th (Tuesday) I forgot to state that John Allen asked M'Evoy, if he thought they should find plenty of marines to join them; it was their own good as well as theirs; M'Evoy said, he could answer for 20, or 24, that would join them; he said, captain Vallock, of the marines, might order the marines to fire, there might be a few gulgins who would fire, but the rest would fire over their heads, and then throw their arms down, and come and join them perhaps with their arms, if it was possible to get them, if not the bayonet would do. M'Evoy was frequently among a few of the ringleaders, talking what way they should act. John Fitzgerald I saw very often along with him, but I could not hear what he said.

On Thursday, in the forenoon, the admiral called all hands on the quarter-deck, concerning the letter that was sent to him respecting the ship's company, that they were willing to fight for their king and country, but not to go out of the land; that the most part of them had been five, seven, or eight years in the service, and now that the war was over, they wished to go home. Admiral Campbell desired to know if the marines were in the same mind

with the sailors, and to send two of them to speak if they were, and the officers should not take notice of those men, and he desired captain Vallock to speak. John Allen, as soon as the people came down from the quarter-deck, underneath the fore-castle, desired M'Evoy to go aft and tell the serjeant of marines to appoint two men to tell the captain and the admiral, if the marines were in the same mind. A man of the name of M'Fash went, but I do not know what he said. Mayfield was the first man picked out, on Thursday, between five and six, Fitzgerald was the next. Cooke said, d—n your eyes you b—s, why don't you speak your minds: don't be afraid; he then fell back into the ranks for fear of being picked out. Admiral Campbell came to the marines to try to make them quiet. A few sung out, "stand your ground, you b—s." Jones said this, and said, "if every man was of my mind, no prisoner should go out of the ship, except they punished all." On that day all the prisoners were picked out, except Daly and Hillyard. I heard Dixon and Comayne say, and many more with them, near one hundred and fifty, they would take knives, and stab the marines when they were asleep in their hammocks. If every man was of their mind, them poor fellows should not go out of the ship, it was not acting like shipmates, but d—d b—y rascals, to let these poor men go. I was present; Miles, the captain of the waste; Shackelday, Harris, Whittaker, and Williams, all belonging to the same mess. George Comayne was close by the forebits. George Dixon said to me, he did not think I was fit to be among the true Britons; he thought I would report them

them, and begged me to go. I would not, he knocked me down twice. On the 11th day, about ten o'clock, he told me I should not go home; he would make me sick before the week was out; I told him I did not mind it. He and George Comayne sung out as loud as they could, that in case they could not destroy the marines, they would kill the officers out of revenge that their comrades were gone out of the ship, and if that would not do, they would blow the ship up. Thomas Symmonds, a fore-top man, was there at the same time, and said to me, he was sorry he had not killed the officers on Sunday; he had it in his power at the time, as he had a crow bar in his hand. George Dixon gave me a kick, and I went away, and never went there again.

In consequence of a number of questions being put to the witness, both by the prosecutor and prisoners, his evidence was generally rather strengthened—Several of the prisoners, it appeared, considered themselves delegates.—The court ordered them several times not to put questions which were likely to operate more against them than in their favour.

Second Day, Thursday Jan. 7.

James Richardson sworn.—I went down to the lower deck for a sheet of writing paper. On the starboard side I found Edward Taylor, and asked him to write a letter. He said, you had better wait till this business is settled. I then asked him what it was? I dare say it was nothing concerning us.—He answered, Yes: it was concerning the whole ship's company. He then told me the ship was going to the West Indies: and that all hands were

going on the quarter-deck to tell the admiral they would not go. I then looked round, and saw James Chesterman and John Snowden discoursing together, and a number listening to them. I heard Chesterman ask Snowden if he was agreeable to go to speak to the admiral. Snowden said he had no objection, if he could get another or two to speak with him; which was agreed to. Chesterman said, all we have to do is, to tell the people in the middle-deck who do not know it. Taylor answered, "here is one who belongs to the middle-deck will do." Chesterman then touched me on the shoulder, telling me all I have mentioned; and asked me if I would go and let the people of the middle-deck know of it. I then went up, and told my messmates, John Clements and Joseph Wynn. They began to laugh at me, and said, there was nobody there wanted to hear of it. Johnson was reading a book; I asked him what it was. I told him the particulars I heard below, and asked him if he chose to let the people know on the middle-deck. He made no answer. As I found there was nothing to be done, and it was raining, I went down again. When I went down my messmates told me it was all true.—I asked who told them. One of them pointed to James Chesterman, who was going round the deck. Some time after I went on the poop and swabbed it, and coming down again, I saw a number collected on the fore-castle, and called others out of the waste. I went on the fore-castle, and heard Chesterman and Snowden talking together, saying, they wished they could get the other man to go along with them. I asked who he was? They refused to tell me, but told me he

he was on the poop. I guessed it was Barney Young. I told them they need not wait for him, as it was his watch upon deck, and he would not come down—the people began shoving one another aft on the gangway, till they were stopped by the officer on the watch at the quarter-deck. The captain came out, and asked what they wanted there? Some of them wanted to know where the ship was going to. The admiral came out, and asked what was the matter? the captain told him the ship's company wanted to know where she was going. The admiral answered, "to Hell if she is ordered, and we must go with her." I was on the gangway. There was more conversation I could not hear. The admiral desired them to go down below, and make themselves quiet; which was done, and then I went upon the poop, and staid till my watch was out. When I went down to dinner, my messmates told me the word had been passed, when the hands turned up to bend sails, to go down to the lower deck. James Chesterman in the afternoon desired me see that every person and my messmates in the middle-deck drank their grog, and that any man who was drunk would be turned down on the lower deck and clobbered. —On Sunday morning the word was passed as before, when hands turned up to bend sails, to go down on the lower deck, as before. The hands were turned up about eleven to bend the sails, which was done, as usual. —After sails were bent, I went down to dinner. After I got my dinner, I went to the lower deck, where I saw James Chesterman in his own birth. I asked him what they were going to do, whether to unmoor the ship or not? He answered, he did not know. During

the time we were discoursing, Edward Taylor came down, and asked what we were to do? Chesterman answered, he did not know. He said, we must soon know, there is no time to be lost, as the hands would be turned up to unmoor as soon as they had got their dinner. I then went to the middle deck, to my birth, where I staid till my grog was served out. As soon as I got my grog, a man came and passed the word for us to go down below, but who it was I do not recollect. I went down to the lower deck, and stood alongside James Ward. I asked him what he was going to do? He answered, he did not know yet, but he believed he was going to lower the ports down. The words were hardly spoken, when William Hillier was in the manger, and putting his hand to his mouth, singing out, with a loud voice, "What do you say, lads? one and all, fore and aft, lower away ports." —He had no answer the first time; then he repeated the same words, and the ports were lowered accordingly, and the people all began cheering, and asked where the ship was going? Some of the ladders were unshipped, but the officers got down below, and sent all the people on the quarter-deck; when they were on the quarter-deck, the admiral asked, "What all that noise was below?" A great deal passed, but I could not hear it. I went away. After that, Edward Taylor told me to go down to the lower deck. I was going up to the head, where I saw John Collins, the prisoner, smoking a pipe on the fore-castle; I asked him what the people were talking of below? He answered, he did not know till six o'clock; he told me I might as well come down then, and I should know. Just as we had ended, John Cummins, the prisoner.

soner, came up and said, there is Franey on the foregrating as drunk as hell, and quarreling with every body that comes past. Collins knocked the fire out of his pipe, and went below with John Cummins; I followed them, but when we came there Franey was gone. John Collins went up again, and I went to the lower deck, and saw Franey in his own birth. I went up again under the forecastle, and Collins asked me if I had seen any thing of Franey since? I told him yes, he was in his own birth.—He asked me if I thought he was drunk? I told him I thought he was: I had seen him in the foregratings, as I came up the first time. I then went to my own birth, and staid till six o'clock. I went to the lower deck on the larboard side; there I saw Edward Taylor, John Collins, John Chesterman, J. Fitzgerald, J. Ward, and J. Lockyer. The two latter were in their own birth; they were all speaking about carrying the hammocks up in the morning, and a number of people were listening to them.—The people who slept aft were to come forward. I heard Collins say, he had passed the word aft; and the people had all agreed to it. After the discourse was settled about the hammocks, Edward Taylor observed to the company, they must beware of Mr. Stanton, the master's mate. John Collins made answer, saying, "Damn him, he will be no trouble at all; we can smother him in his bed." I said, "Collins, I hope you will do no such thing:" he answered, "Damn my blood, what's one man's life to a thousand?" I said, "Jack, I hope there are none going to lose their lives." Taylor observed, he hoped we could do it without, but there was one more man we must take care of, John Blake, the

boatswain's mate. One among the crowd said, "Damn him, we can hustle him among ourselves." I went away a little while after; I met Taylor on the lower deck, and asked him if he was going forward again to make such a noise as in the afternoon? He said, he did not know. I told him, I thought it would be better to get three men to speak to the admiral, when he came to the hatchway; for that when we were together making such a noise, no one could know what the admiral said, or the admiral what the ship's company said. He said, he thought that would be the best way, if we could get any body to speak to the admiral. I told him, "I dare say there were plenty in the ship would do it," he said, "I dare say John Collins will do it, and Joseph Rowland." I then went away to the middle deck; between six and seven I met Joseph Rowland on the middle deck, and began to tell him what Taylor and I had been talking about; he said, "he was agreeable to speak, as he thought it better for two or three to speak to the admiral than so many." On Monday morning I met Taylor on the middle deck, and asked him again about my letter; he said, "I had better wait another day or two;" he told me when the hands were turned up to unmoor, to repair to the lower deck again.—After dinner I was carrying my dirty water to the head; I saw a parcel of people standing at the foremost gun of the main deck; I saw Franey over the breech of the gun; and James Chesterman, with a pair of pea-squeezers in his hand, to cobb him with; before he began, he pulled off his hat, and said, "he was going to cobb him for breaking the laws of the ship's company," then he gave him a dozen.

At five o'clock in the evening of Monday, I was going down the star-board side of the lower deck, when I met Cooke the prisoner, who asked me where I was going? I told him, no where in particular: he said, you may as well look out here. I asked what for? he said, they were going to do some business; I told him, I was going to look out on the other side: I went back, and crossed over the foregratings, and went into Chesterman's birth, where Fitzgerald and Chesterman were talking about it. Chesterman called William Lockwood, and asked him if he would look out: he then went out of the birth, and was taking a man out of every birth all the way aft to the main hatchway; as he came back he gave the watch-word. If any officer came forward, the watch-word was, "give me a chew of tobacco."—Then he went into the midship birth, under the bowsprit, along with Edward Taylor, who began to write a letter; there was no other man in the birth, or near, except the people looking out. An officer came forward, they sang out, "Who will give me a chew of tobacco?" The candle was put out till the officer was gone, when they began again. The second watch-word was, "Knock that rat down." An officer came down again, and the light was put out again. As soon as he was gone, the watch-word was, "I want to water." An officer came down, and the light was put out again. Taylor and Chesterman went into Rowland's birth, where the letter was finished; after the letter was finished and directed, Taylor asked who had got a seal?—Daly said, don't do that, you should not seal it.—He then got a key of a chest and pressed it on the wafer.—Then Chesterman and Taylor went to

the midship birth with the letter, and I followed to see where it was going. Some conversation passed between Taylor and Chesterman, to know which way it was to be conveyed to the admiral. Chesterman thought it would do if he could give it to a quarter-master to put in the binnacle.—Fitzgerald came up, and asked Taylor if the letter was gone; Taylor answered, No. He said, if you give it to me, I will give it to James Shaw, the marine, who will have the middle watch to-night, and he will put it in the admiral's steward's birth. Taylor said, we want the admiral to get it to-night; they could contrive no way to get to the admiral that night, and Taylor gave it to Fitzgerald. I heard no more of the letter till I heard it read on the quarter-deck. I am sensible there was no man but Chesterman and Taylor knew the contents of the letter, except it was broke open afterwards and read. On Tuesday morning, Edward Taylor came to me on the main-deck, and asked me if I had any of his writing? I told him, No; I had not. He asked me if I was sure of that? I said, I would overhawl and see, to convince him, but I was sure I had not. He told me, if the hands were turned up to unmoor, to repair to the lower deck as before. I told him, Very well. In the afternoon I was on the lower deck in James Chesterman's birth. Chesterman asked me if I knew Hazard, and if I knew any thing of his carrying messages to the officers? I told him, I never saw him, and I had never spoken to him. Chesterman and Fitzgerald fell into discourse about it:—they wanted to put an end to him by some means or other. Fitzgerald said, if he was put into a bread-bag they might heave him overboard;

board: Chesterman seemed pleased at the punishment. Some other conversation passed I did not hear. They made it up at last to let him remain till the business was all settled; Taylor being present at that time, said, "you must take care of what we talk before him. I went away, and walked the gangway with Taylor. I said, "Ned, I think it a foolish thing coming down on the lower deck when the hands are turned up to unmoor." He asked me, "Why, what could I find better?" I said, "we should shew ourselves more like men, to go on the quarter-deck, and tell the admiral our reasons, so that every man might answer for himself, if spoke to; that if we went to the lower deck, it would only give the officers the trouble to come down and drive us up as before, and you may be sure they will be down when the hands are turned up, and very likely when we can get out of the middle deck."—He said, "Very well, I shall consider and see about it."—Soon after, he told me that was to be the way, and the word was passed, by whom I cannot tell, that when the hands were turned up to unmoor, we were to go on the quarter-deck. On Wednesday morning that word was passed again, the first thing; one of Verrick's messmates came to our birth, he was the surgeon's servant, a black man, and asked if his messmate was there? I told him he was not; then he said, he was somewhere about the ship, and he believed he was groggy. I went to the lower deck, where I was asked by one of the prisoners if I had seen any thing of Verrick? I told him, I had not—he told me, he was somewhere about the ship drunk, and must be found.—Soon after I was walking the middle deck, where I saw Verrick walking

on the starboard side of the gallery.—I went down to the lower deck, and called Chesterman and Collins; I told them I thought he was not drunk:—Collins said, he was drunk just now, for he saw him in the admiral's steward's birth, and he dared say he had been asleep, and that might make him a little fresh again: there was nothing said to him that night: the word was passed when all hands were turned up to unmoor, to go to the fore-castle and fore rigging; Taylor gave it me; Chesterman, Taylor, Ward, Cooke, and Fitzgerald, were the only persons I ever saw pass the word.—On Thursday the same word was passed again; our admiral went on board the commander in chief: I went down and asked whether they had or were going to cobb Verrick yet? He did not think he had done it: he asked me if I saw him last night? I told him, yes, and did not think he was drunk; I went away from him, and went to James Chesterman, and asked him what they were going to do with Verrick? "Do with him! cobb him, to be sure." I told him, I thought he was not drunk when I saw him in the gallery; I told him, Ward thought it might give him a caution not to drink so much again: "that be d—d; because he's a bit of an officer he is to be screened."—I was told afterwards he was cobbled, but I did not see it; he had a dozen and a half; the word was passed by the prisoners to repair to the fore-castle and fore rigging when the admiral came on board; I was told it by Edward Taylor. When the admiral came on board, he produced the letter, and asked if it was known by the ship's company that such a thing was done? all hands answered, yes.—The admiral read it, and asked a second

cond time if they all knew it? they answered, "yes." He asked the marines if they knew it? they made no answer.—He asked the ship's company if he should read it over again? They answered, "no." All I heard was, the admiral said, when the hands were turned up to unmoor the ship, he expected it would be done accordingly. A great deal of conversation passed I did not hear. He satisfied the ship's company very much, they all seemed well pleased at what the admiral said, still determined not to unmoor the ship to go to the West Indies. About a quarter after twelve, I saw M'Evoy on the quarter deck, talking to one of his own officers. After the hammocks were piped down, I went to his birth, and called him; he followed me as well as he could under the hammocks till he got against the breech of the middle gun. I asked him what he was doing on the quarter deck? he did not make any other answer, than that he did not know, only he said his officer told him he was a d—d rascal; I then told him he was drunk; he said, No; he had not drank a drop that evening. Some little time after, I went down below to unlash my hammock. When I got to the foot of the fore-ladder, I heard the iron shoving up; I went over the larboard side of the deck to Fitzgerald's birth, and told him M'Evoy was drunk, and that somebody was going in irons, but I did not know who it was; he desired me to go and see. I went up the main-ladder, and saw it was a marine. I came down the main ladder again, and coming aft of the deck, I saw a marine I knew. I asked him what his messmate was put in irons for? He said, he had no messmate in irons. I said, there was a marine in irons: he said, "yes." I asked him

what it was for? he said, he did not know. I said, I believed he was drunk; he replied, he did not know. I said, he must have done something amiss, or he would not have been confined; he said, he had abused his corporal. I said, if he had got drunk and abused his officer, and got in irons, he must work himself out as well as he could. I left him, and went down the fore-ladder into the lower deck, into J. Fitzgerald's birth. I asked Skelly where Fitzgerald was? he shewed me, on the gangway. I went and spoke to him; he told me I should stop, he was busy. I then went to his birth, alongside Skelly, and I saw Taylor come down and call him away. I was sitting in the aft part of the birth, I looked round and saw them run as far aft as the gun-room. I then went forward to John Maitland's birth; I said, "Jack, there is a marine in irons." He asked me who? I told him M'Evoy. He said, we must have him out. I asked him what we must have him out for? He said there were no prisoners allowed. I said he was as drunk as hell, and he had better let him 'bide. I had scarce said that, when I saw a parcel of people go up the fore-ladder; I heard Edward Taylor say, "bear a hand up from below, every man fore and aft." All the people in Maitland's birth were myself, Ward, and Lockyer. I then went away to the fore-ladder, expecting they were going to release the prisoner. I could not get up time enough; there was nobody there; I went past my own birth, and sat down before the foremost gun, till I thought it was all over.—I then went round under the bowsprit and came back again between the foremast and the copper; I had not been there five minutes

minutes before John Davis came in and asked for a hat—"who will lend me a hat to go on deck in?" No one made him any answer. I can't say whether he was gone when Mr. Glover came and called me to go upon deck: I told him, "yes, I would come directly;" I went to the fore-ladder, not knowing the gratings were on; I could not get up; then I went to the main ladder, when Glover came to me, and told me I must go up the after-ladder, over to the larboard side of the main-deck. Mr. Charlton was walking alongside, and Mr. Stanton before us. I went on deck on the starboard side, by order of the officer. The admiral came round, and putting the lantern to my face, said, he thought he heard my voice on the fore-castle; I answered him, "no, Sir, I was not there;" he said, he believed I was, till I told him Mr. Glover sent me up from below; he then passed me, and said no more. The next morning (Friday) the boatswain's mate told me to go aft; as I was going, Mr. Brown seized me by the collar, and sent me under the poop awning, as a prisoner, till the admiral and captain came up; I was ordered to the quarter-deck; the admiral said, "this is the man I spoke to last night;" I answered him yes, but told him it was a mistake; he told me to hold my tongue, and not speak. I heard the admiral ask if that was not the man who spoke to the marine last night? the captain answered, yes it was. Then the admiral said, "that's the man who turned the hands up." I said, "no Sir, it was not." He told me not to speak another word. I was then taken away, and remained till three in the afternoon. I was then sent on board the Windsor Castle as a prisoner.

Here followed a long examination of Richardson, the last witness, by different members of the court, and several of the prisoners. He had heard Taylor and Chesterman call themselves delegates. Never heard of any proposition to hurt the officers, nor of any oath taken, or toast drank. The witness was trusted by the prisoners with their secret, having been often trusted before: he frequently carried messages between them, and reported all that was going on; he considered James Chesterman, Edward Taylor, James Ward, John Mayfield, John Fitzgerald, and William Cooke, as ringleaders. Several questions were again put by the prisoners, with a view to stagger the evidence of Richardson, but which had not the effect of favouring the queries; it appearing that at no time they had expressed a willingness to obey the admiral and officers in carrying the ship to sea.

Thomas Spencer examined.

This witness spoke as follows: On Tuesday the 8th of December, from six to eight in the evening, I saw John Collins, James Ward, John Fitzgerald, Thomas Jones, Thomas Cross, John Mayfield, James Chesterman, William Cooke, and Edward Taylor, with a book on the table, and a sheet of writing paper on the book, Collins telling Taylor what to put in the paper. I asked Cooke what that was concerning? and he told me, it was a letter they were writing to the admiral. The people were sitting outside their births, and when lieutenant Forfar came below the people sung out, "a rat! a rat!" and throwing their hats down on the deck, said they wanted a chew of tobacco, and that they wanted to p—. Then the

the people ran out of the birth, and John Collins ran out of the starboard side, and sat on the cable. Edward Taylor ran in between the hammocks with the book and sheet of paper in his hand; and when lieutenant Forfar went aft, the people went into the birth again to write the letter, but how it went to the admiral I do not know. James Ward constantly walked round the deck on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of December, desiring the people not to take up their hammocks, till they were piped up.

He proposed barricading the hatchway fore and aft with the hammocks; and if that would not do, when the hands were turned up, the ship's company were to rush aft, disarm the centinels, and take charge of the arms. On Sunday afternoon, Edward Taylor wanted to block the hatchway fore and aft. He said he had helped to cheer in several ships in his life, but he never cheered so heartily as in this. As soon as the officers came on the lower deck, and called out to fire, he answered, "Fire and be d—d," and calling for crow-bars, he sung out, "Kill 'em, kill 'em, kill 'em, the b—s." When the officers got some of the people to hawl up two or three of the midship ports, Mr. Forfar stood into the fore hatchway, Taylor jumped into the fore hatchway to lower the ports, and Mr. Forfar shoved his sword at him, and he jumped back to the other side and spoke to lieutenant Douglas, but what he said I do not know. The people hustled one another to go on deck, Harry Skinner sung out with his hand to his mouth, that they were willing to fight for their king and country, but it was peace, and they would not go out of the land. Then the people began to cheer.

On Sunday, Cooke wanted to take the arms while the hammocks were in the hatchway fore and aft. He went round every night to pass that order, I heard him, and he told me so himself. Also when the men went aft, he was the chief in singing out, "No, no. You b—s, why dont you sing out? why do you not stick true to each other?" He was first in front of the people; then he fell back and said, "Why don't you sing out?" Also when the grog and wine were served, he went round the deck, desiring every man to drink his allowance. Then when he got forward the people used to sing out, "Every one their own." Also when the ports were down, on Sunday the 6th, he sung out, "Unship the ladders," and endeavoured to upset lieutenant Douglas coming down the fore-ladder. John Fitzgerald very frequently went to the people to put fresh mischief in their heads, generally with a mob round him. He sent for M'Evoy, the marine, one night, to go through the marines, to get them on their side, if such a thing happened again. M'Evoy, in my presence, went and came back again, and told Fitzgerald, in my hearing, that he had passed the whole of the story throughout the marines, to stick true to the sailors, if such a thing happened. He said there might be some young Gilpins, who, if the captain ordered them to fire, might fire; but the rest would throw down arms and join them. I have seen James Chesterman corresponding with the others, but he always made me go out of the way: he wanted none of my hearing there.

On the 10th of December, as Chesterman was on the morning-watch, he said, if he saw any one bring his ham-

mock out before they were piped, he would fetch them down the ladder, break his neck, and get more hands to help him. Thomas Jones was talking of getting possession of the arms, and said, if that would not do, it was easy to break open the gunner's store-room, and get charge of the tomahawks. This was on Wednesday and Thursday. Rowland, the carpenter, said he would not clap a hand to ship a capstan-bar, if the ship was going down. At this time he was abreast of his own birth, on the starboard side. Mayfield I have heard hold conversation with the rest, but I cannot tell what he said. On Sunday the 6th, before we bent sails, I heard Hilliard and Daly say on the lower deck, that they had got some powder in the nipper-lockers, that would send all the officers to hell; and if that would not do, they would turn to and kill every officer in the ship. Daly said, he had got eight or nine cartridges of powder, and four or five matches, and one constantly lighted, and two rockets to make signals to the other ships; and said, when they were all gone, they would get more.

THIRD DAY.—FRIDAY, JANUARY 8.

Thomas Spencer was again called.

On cross examining this witness, it appeared, that he did not hear any of the prisoners call themselves delegates. None of them shewed any signs of remorse. Ward told the people to barricade the hatches, Mayfield, Allen, and Fitzgerald, were present at the time.

John Blake, Boatswain's mate, sworn.

Q. By the prosecutor. Relate to the court what you know against the prisoner Mayfield.—Witness. On the

6th, I saw a mob collecting in Ward and Lockyer's birth; it appeared that Fitzgerald was one of the chief persons. Soon after the mob collected, Ward and Lockyer came forth before one hundred and odd men along the bay up the fore-hatchway, and soon after the ship's company followed what they did. On Sunday, after bending sail, I saw Fitzgerald in different parts of the ship with a number of people. About one o'clock the mob rose in Lockyer, Fitzgerald, and Chesterman's birth, and the ports were shortly after lowered down. It appeared to me that Fitzgerald and Chesterman were the ringleaders. I could not hear any of them but Cummins, who stepped before the mob, and said to one of the officers, Mr. Pugson, who was casting off the netting, "hang the rascal!" He ran to the fore-ladder, and endeavoured to unship it, but he could not. During Sunday it appeared to me, that a number of men to the amount of 2 or 300, came to Fitzgerald and Chesterman's birth at different times of the day, which proved clearly to me they were the most active. When the men went to the birth they stooped down, and from all of them making that motion, it appeared to me they were taking the oath, or passing the word. It appeared to me Riley and Fitzgerald were messmates, by their continually going up and down the ladder. On Tuesday the 8th, there was order by the captain and officers to get some strong beer on board, and broached. Soon after it was broached, Lockyer and Ward came on the main-deck, and gave orders that no beer should be drank: Taylor gave the same order. Fitzgerald said on Sunday, after the cheers were given, "Now the sun shines

shines on us all at last," and then went up the fore-ladder. He asked M'Knight, abreast of Stanton's birth, Are you a man after my own heart?

Upon the further examination of this witness it did not appear that he was in possession of the confidence of any of the prisoners.

Michael Fielding, sworn.

Adam Bell came over on Saturday, at ten o'clock, from the larboard to the starboard side, forward on the lower deck, as Fitzgerald and James Kelly were walking past their birth, to inform a great many people that were talking of going aft, in regard to not going to the West Indies: Fitzgerald made answer, the word should be passed to the ship's company, and see what they would say. All hands went aft on the quarter-deck and came down again. I heard Chesterman say, the admiral gave me no satisfactory answer, and without doubt they were going to the West Indies. About two bells after dinner the word was passed, for no man to drink more than his allowance. The same night the word was passed, if ordered to unmoor the ship, all hands were to go forward, and say they would not unmoor, except for England. Taylor passed the word. I heard Chesterman give the orders to a great many, and I was walking on the deck. The word was passed two bells after dinner for all hands to go forward. Fitzgerald and Chesterman desired that the men on deck should all come down. I heard a voice say, "come forward, lower all ports." I saw Chesterman and Fitzgerald lower the ports next their own birth, and cry out, lower away; and all hands repeated the cry, and called out, wad and shot; no place but Eng-

land! The first lieutenant Mr. Douglas, came down to the fore hatchway, and told the men to come aft and speak to their admiral. All hands said they would not, for that they wanted to shiver them on the quarter deck. They called for wad and shot, and James Riley called to hand the match; it was only to frighten the officers; there was no intention of carrying the threat into execution; it was done to prevent the officers coming down. Mr. Douglas called out a second time, that the admiral wanted them on the quarter deck, and for them not to make such a noise. I heard Riley say, strike the rascal with a shot. On Monday I heard Chesterman say, clapping his hand on the foremost gun, this is the very piece of ordnance that will do the business. The same night I heard him give orders to bring the hammocks forward, and stow them on the larboard side of the lower deck forward, run into the foremost guns, and stow the hammocks so as to leave no room for any person to come in and out. If the guns should not be loaded, and the officers broke in, every man was to seize a shot, and stand in his own defence. The same night I heard Collins say, he was ordered by the ship's company to get money for a marine's wife, as the marines subscribed to their women. Money was subscribed that night. Next morning I heard Chesterman say, there was a great watch the night before. They could not stow the hammocks. At this time I was under the fore-castle, swabbing it. The same day I heard him say, if all hands should be called to unmoor at any time, all were to appear on the fore-castle and fore-rigging, and give three cheers: and if they attempted to fire from the quarter deck, to make a charge,

charge, and seize the marines' arms, which they expected would be given up without any trouble.

To some questions put by the court the witness could give no additional information.

Timothy Whitfield was called and sworn.

Q. By the prosecutor. Do you know Cross? A. Yes. Q. Did you ever see him assist in carrying crow-bars forward, between the 1st and 11th of December? A. Yes. Q. On what deck, and what time? A. On the lower deck, between four and six o'clock in the evening of the day on which the admiral came on board. Q. State any thing further you know respecting the whole of the business. A. Lockyer and Cummins were assisting in the same act. I was sitting in my birth; Anfrey came and said, they were going to take the crow-bars. Mayfield told him not to bring any stories forward to him, for he did not want to hear them.

John Snowden, examined.

Q. By the court. On Sunday the 6th, in the evening, did Cross come to your birth, and say you are wanted forward? A. Yes. Q. What answer did you make? A. I told him I did not choose to go. Q. Did he ask you if you intended to stand neutral? A. Yes. Q. Do you know any thing against any of the prisoners? A. Not a single thing.

Q. By captain Jones. What do you suppose was meant? I understood something improper was going on; I judged it was a determination not to go to the West Indies.

Douglas, Boatswain, sworn.

Captain Eyles. Relate to the court what you saw of Collins, at the time they were hustling men on the fore-castle on Thursday the 10th, in the evening. Witness. Captain Eyles came forward on the larboard side of the fore-castle, the ship's company were all up in arms, singing out, no prisoners; all gathered round the cannonade. Captain yles rushed into the middle of them, seized William Waddy, and brought him out by the collar. John Collins, the prisoner, and a great many more were round him; they got before captain Eyles, the prisoner, and myself three different times. Captain Eyles still kept hold of the prisoner. They shoved him three times before they got him out: Collins joined in hustling him; he came right before him, and pushed up against him with his arms hanging down. I was obliged to lift my arms, and ask him if he knew what he was about. I was looking at Collins, and my hand was on his breast, keeping him off. I said, do you know, you d—d rascal, who you are shoving: you'll suffer for this by and by.

Q. By the court. Whilst you were standing on the fore-castle, do you recollect seeing any of the prisoners? A. I do not; it was very dark: I heard the voice of Fitzgerald.

Q. By captain Aston. I want to know if any of the prisoners acted in a particular manner in the mutiny from the 1st to the 11th of December? A. Some on the quarter deck, and in different parts of the ship. There were Mayfield, Ward, Chesterman, Rowland, Cross, Cooke, Collins, Lockyer, Hilliard and Daly, particularly on Saturday.

Q. By

Q. By captain Wells. When Collins shoved captain Eyles, did it appear to you that it was done with a view to rescue the man whom he had collared?

A. Yes.

Q. By the prisoner Collins. Did you not hear me say, for God's sake stand back, at the same time forcing the people back? A. No.—Q. Do you think it was possible for me to stand the force of the people, as I was in the front of the line on the larboard side, when the lane was made for captain Eyles to go forward, they having acted in so mutinous a manner? A. I understand they were all alike on that side the fore-castle.

Q. By the prisoner Daly. When the hands went aft on Sunday, were they not ordered aft by the officers?—

A. They were ordered aft, but did not go till the first lieutenant went aft, accompanied by the other officers.—The ports were down, I heard different voices in the bay calling out, kill the b——s. The ladder was shipped from under me, and I fell down: I was immediately got up again. The people were all standing fast. Lieutenants Douglas and Brown, and Mr. Stanton, mate, pushed right forward, with swords drawn and pistols in their hands, and got the mob away. I saw Mr. Brown clap a pistol to one of their ears, and they flew upon the quarter deck. Q. When the hands were turned out to bend sails, did you see me on the accommodation grating, coiling down the nippers to fetch them below ready? A. I recollect seeing you there. Q. Did you say, bear a hand and get the nippers below? A. I do not recollect.

Q. By admiral Holloway. Where did Collins do his duty in the ship?

A. He was the ship's butcher. Q.

Do you know of any order given to Collins on the fore-castle, the evening captain Eyles seized Waddy? A. No, Sir.

John William Dacre, the Purser's steward, sworn.

President.—Relate to the court what passed between you and Collins in the store room, on the afternoon of Thursday the 10th of December.—

Witness. On Thursday afternoon the hands had been turned out on the quarter deck: Collins came below to the steward's room, to turn some meat which was in pickle. I began to discourse with him as follows: Collins, what do you think of the speech the admiral made on the quarter deck? I think, replied Collins, he spoke like a father. He spoke very well, said I, and we may hope now the men's minds are quieted. He replied, for the present. But the admiral said, to-day, he had no orders to unmoor; whereas, on Sunday, he told us he expected we would unmoor the ship when the wind came fair. I told him the letter was addressed in a very respectful manner, except the latter part (I meant the letter the admiral read on the quarter deck) I wondered who wrote it. He answered, the person is not far from you: there were twelve of us, and we could not make it any better; smiling at the same time: He did not mention any of the persons' names. I said, I hope Collins, whatever dislike the men may have to go abroad, their intentions are not to use violence to any officer or person whatever. He replied, I don't think it is, or even disrespect; you see how well they do their duty: but did you observe the officers to-day on the quarter deck? they had not even their side-arms; for I think they were damnably frightened.

frightened. Don't think so, Collins, (said I) it was not fear; it is not the wish nor the disposition of the admiral to hurt any one, and of this you must be convinced by what you heard to-day. The men have not any grievances; they have the best of usage, and what more can they require? Why (replied he) they are determined not to go abroad, and they have tried the ships in England, and they will not go; and I know I won't if I can help it.—Why, I believe Collins, not even the admiral himself wishes to go; but our country wants our services. He then went away.

Q. By the president. Do you know Rowland? A. Yes. Q. When the ship's company were on the quarter deck, did you hear Rowland say, why don't you all speak, what is one man? A. I did. Q. Was he without his hat, and he did look particularly red in the face and heated? A. I cannot exactly say he looked red; he had his hat off.—Q. Do you know any thing more against Rowland, or any other of the prisoners?

Q. By captain Bertie. Did you hear the conversation? A. No.

George Parrot, sworn.

Q. Do you know Rowland the prisoner? A. Yes. Q. Do you know any thing of Rowland's being present when the letter was wrote, and did he assist in directing it? A. Yes; he was sitting in my birth when it was wrote; John Collins, James Chesterman, John Fitzgerald, Edward Cummins, and William Cooke; Taylor wrote the letter. Q. Did the others give any advice? A. No, I did not hear; but they were all present. Q. After the letter was wrote, did you see it read or hear it? A. No, I did not.—Q. How

do you know it was the letter the admiral read? A. I do not know; I did not see it afterwards.

Q. By the president. Did you ever hear the prisoner or any of them, between the 1st and 11th of December, say they would not heave the anchor but to go to England? A. No, I did not. Q. Was there such conversation in the birth? A. No, Sir.

Q. By captain Bertie. Did you know there was a disturbance in the ship? A. Yes. Q. On what day did you hear of it, and who told you of it? were any of the prisoners concerned in it? A. It was on Sunday, the 6th, when I went down to my dinner. After dinner, grog being served out, I saw the people come forward. In about five minutes there was a great noise: the cry was, lower the ports, and they gave three cheers; my birth is close forward in the midships.—Lieutenant Forfar came down, and Mr. Shenton was on the larboard side to the birth where I was sitting. Mr. Forfar asked, what man that was? Mr. Shenton replied, George Parrot, of the topsails mess. He remained there while the people went all upon deck. Q. Did you hear any body say, lower the ports down? A. Yes, William Elliot, and John Daly. Q. Who was in your own birth, when they were going to lower the ports? A. Edward M'Ker, John Eason, Thomas Betts, and John Cummins. Edward Taylor was not in the birth. Q. What was your conversation about lowering the ports down? A. There was no conversation in the birth. Q. Was there any conversation out? A. Yes, among the people, about the ship not going to the West Indies. They said, they would not lift the anchor, but for England. Edward Taylor and John

John Collins said so. I did not hear any one else.

Q. By admiral Holloway. Who told you that you were to drink no more than your own allowance of grog? A. Edward Taylor. Q. Did you not understand what was the reason of that order? A. No.

Q. By captain Bertie. Can you fix on any man you heard cheer? A. Yes. John Cummins, Collins, William Hilliard, and John Daly.—Q. From the 1st to the 11th, did you ever learn any thing about the hammocks? What was said, and who said it? A. I saw Collins, Chesterman, Fitzgerald, Taylor, Cooke, James Rowland, and Joseph Rowland, sitting upon the chest in Mayfield's birth holding conversation: the light was put out. What was said I did not hear; about ten minutes after they dispersed, I went on deck, and came down on the starboard to go forward to my hammock. I saw William Cooke, and I heard him tell the people in their births to keep their hammocks below. Q. Do you know any thing about the appellation of delegates? A. No. Q. Did you hear any thing about ringleaders? A. Yes, I did. Q. Name them. A. John Collins, Chesterman, Fitzgerald, Taylor, Cummins, Rowland, and Locker. Q. What hour was the letter written? A. Between six and seven on Tuesday evening. Q. You said you never came down but at your meal; what made you go down then? A. I went to my supper.

Q. By the prisoner Collins. On what night did you hear me forward in Mayfield's birth? A. Sunday night, between five and seven.—Q. What part of the ship was I in, on Saturday, when you heard me cheer? A. The larboard side of the foremast.

Q. By the prisoner Hilliard, What part of the ship was I in when I sung out, lower the ports? A. The starboard bay, before the manger-bond. Q. Did you hear me say, Daly, lower the ports? A. Yes, I did.

Henry Smith, sworn.

2. By captain Eyles. Did Rowland send for you into Taylor's birth, on Tuesday night? A. Yes, I was on the deck at the time the messenger came; when I had come to my birth, two of my messmates, Thomas Stanley and Robert Flexon, informed me that Rowland wanted me in his birth. I went down to his birth in the midship.

Here captain Eyles stated that he had no fresh matter to adduce or any more witnesses to bring forth, but in further corroboration of the several testimonies already before the court.

FOURTH DAY, SATURDAY, JAN. 9.

This morning the court assembled at nine o'clock, and the prisoners were called on for their defence. But Mr. Barry, their counsel, in their behalf, acquainted the court, that the prisoners were not fully prepared, and that they requested the indulgence of three hours to enable them to arrange more effectually the system of their defence.—The court readily granted the application, and adjourned over for that period. At twelve o'clock the court again met.

THE DEFENCE

John Mayfield being first called upon, he delivered in a paper, which was read by the Judge Advocate, and was to the following effect:

"Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Hon. Court,

"For the first time in my life I am called upon to answer before a court-martial

martial an accusation of any kind, more especially that of mutiny. Conscious of my innocence, I shall endeavour to remove the fatal effects of the evidence which supports it, which I shall attempt to do with as little occupation of the court as the case will admit, wishing earnestly to give as little trouble as possible; therefore, added to the acknowledgments I am bound to entertain for the patient and laborious hearing they have already bestowed in the investigation of the evidence against me, I have further to supplicate a like exertion of the same considerate attention to the evidence I shall adduce in my behalf, convinced that whenever there may appear any circumstance favourable to my case, I shall derive, from their justice and humanity, every advantage of it, for which my gratitude shall never cease to flow. I have served his Majesty several years without crime or blemish: I have uniformly possessed the good opinion of my officers, and my whole life has been one uniform exertion to deserve it, by observing a due respect to them and a strict attention to my duty. I am consequently a man very unlikely at this period to falsify such an opinion, by a disgraceful adherence to mutiny; as well as I can, I shall endeavour therefore to remove the accusation; but if the evidence I shall bring forth will not, according to the articles of war, and the strict rules of naval discipline, amount to an exculpation of the offence imputed to me, I have but one resource left; an appeal, through the medium of your humane recommendation, to the mercy of that Sovereign, in defence of whose government I have ever been ready to shed the last drop of my blood. I fought in the battle at

Fiorenzo Bay, and on the 7th of February volunteered my service to storm and take fort Matilda: I did the same at Toulon, at Convention Hill likewise, and never ceased to do my duty. I shall now proceed to call my witnesses."

James Chesterman was next called upon, and he delivered in a paper, which was read by the Judge Advocate, and was to the following effect:

"Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Hon. Court.

"It is next my unhappy lot to solicit your considerate attention to my unfortunate case, and to call your notice to the evidence which I shall produce in my behalf, persuaded that I shall meet, from the wisdom and discernment of the court, all that patient regard to my interest, of which their justice may deem me deserving, and which the circumstances that I labour under will allow. In the evidence of one of the witnesses brought forth to support the prosecution, it is stated, that I entertained the intention of committing murder. If the whole tenor of my life could be a contradiction to it; if the conduct I have always displayed in his Majesty's service; if the behaviour I always manifested in the *Temeraire*, to the instant I was accused of mutiny, could contradict it, I think I should refute the foul charge. And here, in the presence of Almighty God, I most solemnly declare, that so barbarous a thought never entered my head. I shudder at the bare mention of it as applied to me. I know, however, that any thing arising from my bare assertion can be but of little moment; but I trust I shall be able to produce such testimony as will remove the accusation. For the rest I rely upon God, and the humanity and justice

justice of this court. I pretend not to more intrepidity than other men, but on this occasion I feel myself justified in saying, that I have fought my country's battles, and in all things did my duty as a seaman ought, far from disobedience, and farther from disloyalty still, during a hard service of nine years. I was in the battles of the 14th of March, 1795, of the 13th of July, and the 14th of February. I served under Earl St. Vincent, and two Hon. Admirals of this court. I was present at the blockade of Cadiz, in all the actions off it, and did my duty there ashore when the tower was storming."

John Daly presented a paper to the following effect.

"Mr. President, and Gentlemen of this Hon. Court.

"With the utmost humility, I beg to trouble the court.—No man more than myself can detest the shameful crime of mutiny, and no man more than I avoided it with more caution. I shall produce witnesses capable, I hope, of proving that: and for that purpose, shall appeal to the officers of the ship. Since I have been in the service, it was always my pride to shew them obedience; and I hope that upon this occasion, they will do me the justice to say so. I am, however, accused of the crime of mutiny, and I must endeavour to refute it as well as I can. For that purpose I shall call upon these Gentlemen, and I trust, that so far from manifesting either dislike, or disobedience, I took every opportunity of giving such information of what was unhappily transpiring, as in my mind would prevent mischief, and, in the end, benefit the people themselves. I have a mother, a wife, and two children; on their behalf if

in any thing I erred, I implore commiseration, and supplicate mercy; and in the hands of you, my Judges, placing my life, I entreat of you, which of all things I consider as the greatest blessing you can bestow, preservation from a disgraceful death."

John Ward was next called upon for his defence; he gave in a paper, which was also read by the Judge Advocate. After an expression of the prisoner's abhorrence of the crime of mutiny, the paper stated as follows:

"During five years' faithful and loyal service, I have maintained the character of a good seaman, true to my King, and steady to my country. My life is now in the hands of the Court, but I entertain humble hope and well-founded confidence, the life of a British seaman cannot be in safer hands than in those of British officers."

Thomas Cross was next called upon. He presented a paper, in which he said:

"I humbly appeal to your mercy. It is not my intention to trespass on your time or attention by calling any other witnesses but those to my character, which has been hitherto irreproachable. I always demeaned myself as was fitting, and in every respect as a seaman should. I have an aged father, who is supported chiefly by my means, and for his sake, more than my own, I implore pardon for my offences. I acknowledge I have been led astray; but I hope that will not shut from me the door of mercy. I have served his Majesty seven years, and never once deviated from my duty."

Thomas Jones delivered in a paper to the following effect:

"I sincerely lament and deplore all the errors of my past life; and I particularly

ticularly repent that in any instance I should manifest a disobedience to my superior officers. I shall not trespass on the trouble or time of the Court, otherwise than by thus expressing my contrition for what has been done, and calling some Gentlemen to character; adding, that if the Court in its mercy will spare my life, the whole course and conduct of that life shall be one continued system of loyal and becoming demeanour, to shew my gratitude for the gift by all the ways I can. Bowing, therefore, with deference, and with profound humility, to the Court, I commit myself to its charity and humanity; and especially on the account of an aged parent, whose life would be involved in my fate."

When John Cummins was called, he produced a paper, in which he said:—

"Upwards of nine years have I served his Majesty with steadiness and loyalty; and every officer under whom I have served has given me a good character. I shall call witnesses, and, with permission, examine them as to the matters charged against me; and trusting to the purity of my own mind, and my innocence of the offences imputed to me, shall conclude, with appealing to the officers themselves of the *Temeraire*, to say, whether, during the whole time I belonged to the ship's company, I ever, upon any occasion, incurred their displeasure, or behaved unworthy a seaman. I fought many of my country's battles; I was in the action of the first of June; and that of the 23d of June; and behaved in all things as I hope became me."

William Hilliard being called upon, his paper was read. It stated as follows:—

"I have been nine years in hard service, and conducted myself all that

time as a seaman ought. I have been in many actions: I fought on the 14th of February off Cape St. Vincent, under the Noble Head of the Admiralty. I have been in storming the tower at Cadiz, and in its blockade fought several battles in the boats; I volunteered my services on shore at Toulon, and at Fort Mulgrave. I now prostrate myself before you, and if I shall not succeed in removing the accusation against me, let me supplicate mercy."

Evidence for the Defence.

The first witness called by Mayfield was George Lamb, Captain of the *Forecastle*. The witness remembered hearing Mayfield say he would not go aft for fear of the consequences; for it was very little concern to him whether he went to the West Indies or not: never heard of any oath being administered in Mayfield's birth.

Thomas Whitfield sworn.—Did not see the prisoners Ward and Lockyer administering any oath on Thursday the 10th; thinks that no such could have been done without his knowledge. Had heard Mayfield say he would have nothing to do with the disturbances in the ship. Never saw the prisoner assisting the officers.

James Branning sworn.—Recollected the prisoner being in his birth on Monday night, Tuesday night, and Wednesday night, generally when the hammocks were piped down, till the lights were put out, hearing him, the witness, read the history of Joseph Andrews. Never saw him assisting the officers in suppressing the disturbances.

James Ward called George Maule, who swore that he was with the prisoner the whole of his (the prisoner's) watch from six till eight on deck, on Monday the 7th.

John

John W. Decre, Purser's Steward, swore, that on Sunday morning the prisoner had, by order of the Purser, gone round and asked the ship's company if they were agreeable to take Irish notes for bread money. Never saw him administering an oath or any thing of the kind. Never saw him assisting the officers.

Thomas Williams sworn.—Was in the store room on duty, and saw nothing particular as to the prisoner on Sunday the 6th.

James Kelly.—Never heard any thing about putting Hazard in a bag and destroying him; nor on Wednesday afternoon the 9th, when J. Richardson came into the birth, could any thing of the kind have happened without his hearing it. Never saw Chesterman assist the officers. Never heard any thing of an oath between the 1st and 11th. Never heard the prisoner talk of a rocket as a signal. On Sunday before the ports were lowered down, was in his birth; heard the acclamations, but had no previous notice that they were to be lowered down. Was not sure whether Chesterman was in his birth then or not—had dined and drank grog with Chesterman; was astonished and frightened when the ports were lowered down, but did not express. Between the 1st and 11th, only heard Chesterman say, as others did, that now it was peace, he did not wish to go to the West Indies. Between the 1st and 11th heard the prisoner say they would cobb any one who got drunk. Was not in the birth on Tuesday the 8th, when the letter was writing. Heard Chesterman say there was a letter wrote. Did not hear Chesterman call for shot. Did not hear him say there was no fear. Heard Chesterman was a leading

man in the mutiny. Never heard him talk of the laws made by the ship's company, nor give directions, nor about destroying Hazard.

Fitzgerald called W. Hulm, whom he asked, in various questions, if he had observed him obstruct the business of the ship, and duty of the seamen? If he had heard him use inflammatory expressions? If he had heard him say, he had a sky rocket to fly off, as a signal to the other ships? As to most of these questions the answer was, 'No, I did not;' to some, such as don't you think I would have done this in your presence? the answer was, 'I cannot tell.' The witness was Fitzgerald's watch-mate. Such things might have been said, the witness observed, and he did not hear them. He denied having ever heard Fitzgerald call himself a delegate. On his cross-examination, he said, he saw in the birth where the letter was written, Fitzgerald, Chesterman, Collins, Rowland, and Taylor; the witness did not know the purport of the letter, or hear Fitzgerald say he would not go to the West Indies; did not see him more active in the mutiny than any other man of the ship.

Richard Thomas sworn, and questioned by Fitzgerald.—His evidence was to the same effect as above.

Morris Hanny sworn, and gave a similar evidence, adding, he did not see the prisoner assist in quelling the mutiny.

Thomas Williams did not see Fitzgerald administer an oath, or the men make obedience to his birth, or hear a word of delegates, or his giving orders; he did not observe Fitzgerald active in quelling the mutiny; heard not of the sky rocket; observed nothing of an oath, of drinking, or shaking hands; could not know the thoughts of the people,

people, but never heard Fitzgerald speak of murdering or throwing overboard.

John Burnwell sworn.—Q. Between the 1st and 11th December, did you see me in Mayfield's birth or in any other birth, drinking or shaking hands with a great number of the people? A. No, Sir, I never saw him in his own birth; he might have been drinking without my seeing him. Never heard of an oath being administered in Mayfield's birth, or any where else, between the 1st and 11th of the month. Q. If the ship's company had been coming into my birth constantly for a whole afternoon, could it have escaped your notice? A. No, not if my watch had been below. Q. Was it your watch below on Sunday afternoon? A. Yes. Q. By the President. From the 1st to the 11th, did you see Fitzgerald assist in quelling the mutiny? A. I did not.

James Kelly sworn.—Q. Did you hear me giving any orders about lowering any ports, or calling out, 'Shot, shot?' A. I did not; I did not see him. Q. Did you not often hear me say, that Anfrey never wished me well since Lieutenant M'Leod had put him out of the top? A. Frequently. Q. Did you ever hear me talk in our birth, or in the gangway, about sky-rockets for signals to the ships at Beerhaven? A. No. Q. You know my temper and disposition; did you think that ever I harboured a notion of chucking Hazard overboard? A. I don't think that you ever did.

Q. By the President.—From the 1st to the 11th, did you see him assist the officers? A. No, Sir.

Q. By captain Bertie.—Do you know of any quarrel between Anfrey, Blake, Richards, and Perrot and the prisoner? A. I remember the day after we were paid, we were endeavouring to get a

slopper hamper in the entering port, Blake standing in the port intoxicated, he turned about and struck Fitzgerald, who went aft and complained, but got no redress.

FIFTH DAY.—MONDAY, JAN. 11.

Fitzgerald's Witnesses in continuation.

Mr. Knight sworn.—Q. Did you ever see me between the 1st and 11th passing words through the ship, or gathering crowds of people about me in any part of the ship whatever? A. No. Q. By the Court. From the 1st to the 11th, during the infamous business, did you see him endeavouring to assist his Officers? A. No.

William Lockwood sworn.—Q. You being a top-mast watchman, and a mess-mate of mine, did you observe me going about the deck passing words of any kind? A. No, Sir, never in my sight. Q. On the day the sails were bent, did not I as usual give the necessary orders for getting the gear ready for bending the sails, did I murmur? A. No. Q. Did you ever hear me speaking to Richardson or Chesterman about putting John Hazard in a bread-bag? A. I never did. Q. Did you ever hear mention about sky-rockets being ready for signals? A. No, I did not. Q. Did you ever hear me say that the first man who lay out upon the yards to bring a sail to, deserved to be knocked overboard? A. I never did. Q. Did you ever hear me speaking at any time in the ship about seizing the magazine, rushing aft and disarming the sentinels? A. No. Q. From the 1st to the 11th, did you ever see him endeavour to assist the Officers? A. No. Q. Did you at any time between the 1st and 11th see me in Mayfield's

field's birth, drinking among a crowd of people, shaking of hands and giving a toast? A. I never did. Q. Did you ever see M'Evoy, the marine, or any other marine, discoursing with me in our birth? A. No. Q. Did you ever hear me say, between the 1st and 11th, that I was a Delegate; or did you ever hear the word mentioned of Delegate in the ship? A. I never did. Q. By the Court. Are you sensible, that from the 1st to the 11th, the *Temeraire* was more or less in a state of mutiny? A. I cannot say. Q. Do you mean to swear you never saw Fitzgerald concerned in that disturbance? A. No, I did not.

Everitt sworn.—Q. On the 5th of last month, when the ports were lowered down, did you ever hear me cheering or giving orders to lower ports down, or calling out "shot, shot?" A. No, I did not. Q. Do you not recollect that Anfrey and me very often have quarrelled, and that he struck me very often? A. Yes, during the time I belonged to the top. Q. Did you ever hear me say that I would put Hazard in a bread-bag, and throw him overboard? A. No, I did not.

President.—Since the commencement of the trial, and especially since closing the prosecution, have you received any notes from the prisoners, or any one else, only to answer particular questions? A. No, I have not. Q. You considered the *Temeraire* to be in a state of mutiny from the 5th to the 11th; under whose government was the ship? A. I do not know indeed. Q. Under whose directions were the ports lowered? A. It was a general voice. A. Do not you know the principal part of the *Temeraire's* company had refused to go to the West Indies in that Ship? A. Yes.

Q. Did not you look upon Fitzgerald as one of the principals? A. No, not more than another man.

Q. By Admiral Holloway.—In all clubs, societies, governments, mobs, there must be a leader: now, as you shall answer to God, who did you look upon as a leader? A. I do not know. Q. The whole time those disturbances were going on, did you not consider Fitzgerald as having a hand in it? A. No, Sir; I have seen him along with the rest of the people who were gathered together. Q. The mutineers? A. Yes. Q. How frequently? A. Once.

Christopher White called Paul Rousseau. Q. On Sunday the 6th, when the ports were lowered down, did you see me endeavouring to upset the ladder, or any one lending me a hand? A. No.

Mr. James Stanton, master's mate, sworn. Q. Did I not, when you and Lieutenant Douglas came down, lend a hand, to haul up the ports? A. I ordered him, and he obeyed.

John William Dacre sworn. Q. Did you not, by the conversation the prisoner Collins addressed to you, consider him as one of the active mutineers? A. I did.

John Hinton sworn. Q. When the ship's company lowered the ports, if I had called for shot or cheered, must not you have heard me? A. Yes, I must. Q. And did you? A. No. Q. Did I move out of my birth till the time you met with me, when the people went ast? A. No; he went first, and I followed. Q. Have you not often expressed your desire of going home, and have I not desired you to make yourself easy for six or eight months, that a set of foolish people in the ship could not expect peace would be made in a day or two after a nine years' war? A. He

has frequently told me that. Q. During the mutiny, from the 1st to the 11th, did you see the prisoner assist in quelling it? A. No, I never did. Q. Did you ever hear me say I was a Delegate of the ship? A. No.

Barney Young sworn. Q. Did you hear me say, damn Mr. Stanton, we'll smother him in his cot? A. I never heard it. Q. Did you hear me say, what was one man's life to a thousand? A. I never heard such a word.

Patrick Cannon sworn. Q. When you was under the fore-castle, going to be clobbered, did I say I was a delegate of the ship? A. Not as I heard.

Thomas Gill sworn. Q. Have you ever heard me say, I would sooner serve my King and country seven years longer, than they should make a disturbance? A. I have repeatedly. Q. From the 1st to the 11th, did you see him assist in quelling the mutiny? A. I cannot say I saw him.

James Lockyer being called on for his defence, said, The things sworn against me are not true; I leave myself to the mercy of God and this honourable court.

John Cummins called Edward M'Can. Q. Was not I in the birth on Sunday all the time of the disturbance? A. He was in the birth when the ports were lowered. Q. Did you hear me cry out for shot? A. I did not.

Thomas Betts sworn. Q. From the 1st to the 11th, did you see Cummins assist in quelling the mutiny? A. No.

William Hilliard called John Crawford. Q. From the 1st to the 11th, while the mutiny was going on, did you see him come to assist in quelling it? A. I did not.

Lieutenant Brown sworn.—Q. On Sunday the 6th, was you forward about

a minute after the hands were turned up to bend sails? A. I was in the fore-castle while they were bending sails.—Q. During the mutiny, from the 1st to the 11th, when you was on the lower-deck, did Hilliard come and assist you? A. No.

James Rutherford being sworn, gave a similar testimony to that of the preceding witness; as did also Henry Smith.

John Waters sworn.—Q. At the time the fore-ladder was unshipped, did you see me? A. No. Q. Did you hear him cheer, or say, lower down the ports? A. No.

Daly called William M'Culloch. Q. Do you remember me standing close to you, on the larboard side of the fore-castle, almost as forward as we could get, when Captain Eyles and other officers were taking the man aft? A. Yes. Q. Could it be possible for me to touch Captain Eyles, at the distance I was standing from him? A. No.

Peter Green sworn.—Q. As you mess close to the manger board, could it be possible there could be a lighted match or any such thing there, without you seeing it or smelling it? A. No.

Joseph Summers being sworn, gave a similar testimony.

John William Dacre sworn.—Q. The day the disturbance was in the ship, did I not tell you I was very much frightened, and that I would sooner sail round the world than have any noise in the ship? A. You did.

Admiral Campbell sworn.—Q. When you, on Thursday, asked the people, why don't some man tell how the tumult began, or something to that effect, did I not make answer, that I heard the ship's company were going to clobber Patrick Cannon? A. I was forward

forward on the starboard side of the fore-castle, after I had called out the major part of the prisoners, from the information of captain Eyles and the Officers, and M^cEvoy, the marine, had been punished with three dozen lashes; I asked the men what was the reason of their present disorderly conduct and behaviour, and endeavoured to find out who were the ringleaders, telling the people that it behoved them, as good men, to point out the ringleaders, and those who had brought them to their present situation. I was answered by a man in a very quiet orderly way, with his hat off, as near as I can recollect, it was Daly, that it was a man going to be clobbered. I said, it was wrong in every point to take the law into their own hands.

Lieutenant King sworn.—Did you not hear me specify to Admiral Campbell, on Thursday night, when you ordered me to stand on the booms, that I heard a man was going to be clobbered, and at the same time you gave my character to Admiral Campbell? A. I told Admiral Campbell he bore the character of a good man.

Lieutenant Walsh sworn.—Q. Did I not communicate to you that I found some handspikes and crows when I was cleaning the manger; and that I removed them, saying, there should be no such thing there? A. He told me so on the 12th of December, after the mutiny, when I was questioning him in my cabin. Q. Did I not tell you that I would sooner sail round the world than have any noise in the ship, or hear of any? A. You told me at the same time something to that effect. Q. Did I not tell you it was no difference to me when the ship was paid off, as I intended to stay in the service; as I was a married man, and could sup-

port my family as well with the wages his Majesty gave as with the merchants? A. Something to that effect. Q. From the 1st to the 11th, did you see Daly assist his officers in quelling the mutiny? A. No.

John Feson sworn.—Q. Did you not see me on Thursday night before the disturbance, throw some handspikes and crows out of the manger, and say they should not be there? A. Yes.

Lieutenant Hunter sworn.—You can witness the disturbance in the Windsor Castle? A. You had better not ask me about the Windsor Castle.

Lieut. Walsh called by the Court.—Q. What do you know of Mayfield's general character? A. He has been in the ship two years, always behaved pretty well, and had a good character. Q. What do you know of Ward? A. He has a very good character in the ship, but Chesterman was always looked upon as a very dangerous character. Fitzgerald sometimes very troublesome. Hilliard's character has been very fair; a very active good man till the mutiny. Cummins a very decent good man till the mutiny. Daly a very good character; a man very much respected; no officer ever thought it necessary to look after him.

Lieutenant Brown sworn.—I can say nothing of Mayfield. Ward has behaved himself particularly well; never has been found fault with. Hilliard I never heard a complaint against; he was particularly attentive to his duty; I never saw him drunk. Daly a very good character; he has been noticed by every officer in the ship for his good character.

Ward called Mr. Douglas, the Boat-swain. He said Ward's character was very good before this business. Hilliard the same. Collins the same.

Chesterman

Chesterman appealed to Admiral Holloway for his character whilst in the *Britannia*, who said, I believe your character in the *Britannia* stood very fair.

Hilliard called Admiral Pole. He said, I believe Hilliard a very good man; he was active; I sent him on dangerous services, and he performed them well.

Chesterman exclaimed, "I have been accused innocently."

Fitzgerald called Lieut. Forfar, who said, I don't recollect any complaint of Fitzgerald, he always did his duty; but I cannot say any thing in White's favour.

Rowland called Mr. Hiatt, the carpenter, who said, that Rowland, before the mutiny, always behaved exceedingly well.

Cummins called Lieut. Gore. I have had but very little opportunity of knowing his character, I never heard any complaint of him: and as to Daly, he is one of the best men in the *Temeraire*, for his general good conduct; as to Ward, he always did his duty with the greatest activity: I always considered him a very good man.

White called Mr. Wills, surgeon of the *Centaur*, who said, I remember him in the *Sheerness* three years, I remember him well; he had a very good character; he was one in the middle pass, who behaved well at the time of the mutiny on account of the short allowance of grog; he received his allowance and never murmured.

Daly called Mr. Jones the Master, who said, he is a particular good man; very attentive, not only in his mess, but his watch; a trusty man, and a good moral character. Hilliard has always done his duty remarkably well; Ward the same: of Mayfield I can't say any thing.

Hilliard called Lieut. Garrick, who said, he is a man who, before this business, behaved himself remarkably well.

The court was cleared about four o'clock, and having deliberated half an hour, adjourned.

SENTENCE.—TUESDAY.

This morning the court met at nine o'clock, and deliberated till two, when the prisoners being all called in, the Deputy Judge Advocate proceeded to read their respective sentences as follow:

After reciting the commission, and names of the prisoners, the sentence states, that

"The Court proceeded to try the said prisoners, excepting Taylor and Allen (not arrived at the beginning of the trial) who have arrived at Spithead, for the crime with which they are charged, as above-mentioned, and having heard the evidence for the prosecution, and the defence made by the prisoners, and what they had to allege in support thereof, and having maturely considered the whole of the same, the Court are of opinion that *The charges are proved* against all, except Christopher White, and doth adjudge them to suffer *Death*, by being hanged by the neck on board such ship of his Majesty, at Spithead, or in Portsmouth harbour, and at such time as the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England shall direct, and the said John Mayfield, &c. (all except White) are hereby ordered to suffer *Death*, by being hanged by the neck, as before-mentioned; and the Court is further of opinion, that the charges against Christopher White are in part proved, and

and doth order and adjudge him to receive 200 lashes on his bare back, on board such ships at Spithead, or in Portsmouth harbour, and at such time as the said Lords Commissioners shall direct, and the said Christopher White is ordered to receive said 200 lashes accordingly."

Collins then said, "Permit me to return my sincere thanks to the Court for the patience and indulgence shewn me. I acknowledge the justice of my sentence: I have violated the laws of my country, and the discipline of the navy; but I declare to Almighty God that the intention of murder never entered my head. I solemnly call God to witness this declaration, and trust to the truth of it all my hopes of pardon in the other world.—May God protect the British Isles, and the Government! and may God receive my soul!"

At these words all the other prisoners exclaimed, "Amen."

Chesterman then said, "I hope they will allow a friend of mine to bury my body;" and concluded by praying the Court to allow him a little time to prepare himself for eternity.

The President replied, That does not rest with us, but with other authority.

Fitzgerald said, he offended against the laws, but he solemnly declared, that he never entertained any intention of committing murder.

At eight o'clock on Friday morning the 15th, the yellow flag (the signal for execution) was displayed at Spithead, and boats were ordered from each ship. The mutineers to be executed were Chesterman, Collins, Fitzgerald, Hilliard, Ward, and Mayfield. The orders were for the execution of the first four on board the *Temeraire*, Ward on board the *Majestic*, and May-

field on board the *Formidable*. Previously to their execution, they jointly addressed a letter to a clergyman, requesting to have the benefit of his assistance to prepare them for the awful scene. The clergyman immediately attended, and they received the sacrament. Soon after the signal was made, and they were sent on board the ships in which they were to be executed. Boats, at the same time, attended from all the ships in the harbour. Between 11 and 12, they came out on the platform erected on board the respective ships, the *Temeraire*, *Majestic*, and *Formidable*. They had previously prepared a paper addressed to their shipmates, acknowledging the justice of their sentence, and imploring them to take warning by their fate, to check the first tendency to disobedience, and to be strictly attentive to discipline. They made no speech. Their behaviour was calm, collected, and firm, without being hardened. At noon the signal gun was fired, and they were immediately launched into eternity.—The ceremony was most awful and impressive.

Chesterman, a few minutes before his execution, solicited the favour of a glass of wine, which he drank with great composure.

The following are copies of the letter and address alluded to in the above statement:

"*Gladiator*, Jan. 7, 1802.

"Dear Sir,

"We take the liberty of thus humbly begging you, in the name of the Lord our God, to attend us, and administer unto us, poor miserable sinners, the word of our blessed Redeemer; as the state we are now in is of the most serious nature, our bodies not only being

in danger, but our unprepared souls ; therefore we humbly implore your assistance on this unfortunate occasion. Do, pray not delay, as our time is now exceedingly precious ; we therefore conclude, humbly begging your compliance.

“ Your’s with humility,

“ Unhappy Temeraires.”

“ To the Rev. Mr. Jones.”

“ *His Majesty’s ship Temeraire.*

“ Reverend Sir,

“ We are now ready to hear you open to us those treasures of wisdom, in whose Divine Author we desire to place our supreme confidence, and in whose service we wish to be found.”

When they came upon the platform a paper was presented by one of them, in the name of himself and his unhappy comrades, which was read aloud to the ship’s company. It was as follows :

“ Remember your duty to God, and for his sake to your King and Country. You must be sensible what was the chief cause that brought on the fatal consequences which now end so unhappily for us, and with so much remorse to you, if you rightly consider how much you have contributed by your support and countenance to bring us to this untimely end.

“ We refused to put that trust and confidence in the wisdom of our rulers, which is due to them from all good subjects ; they watch for the welfare of us all : and how dare we then prefer our own selfish pleasures and interests to what they saw necessary for the public good ! How could we find in our hearts to forfeit all the praises and honours which our country had so gratefully bestowed upon her naval

heroes, who have so bravely fought for her !

“ How could we so foolishly suffer our impatience to get the better of us, as for the sake of a few months longer service, to sacrifice all the blessings of peace we had been toiling for these nine long years !

“ Oh ! that we had made these reflections sooner ourselves ! But our lot is cast—our course in this world is finished—Make good use of what remains of yours. It cannot be long before we must all meet again before the judgment seat of that God whom we have offended, but who, we trust, has seen and accepted our unfeigned repentance, and will forgive us, as we truly and freely forgive all those who have anywise offended or injured us. Prepare *yourselves* also, dear countrymen, for this forgiveness, that when we meet in the world to come, we may not meet in everlasting misery.—

“ Pray for us—we heartily pray
“ for you. Amen.”

On Thursday, Jan. 14th, the Court Martial re-assembled, when the following prisoners were put upon their trial, viz.—John Allen, Edward Taylor, George Comayne, George Dixon, James Riley, and Thomas Simmonds.

The first evidence called for the prosecution was James Richardson, whose testimony was to the same effect as that given by him on the trial of the seamen belonging to the same ship, who were found guilty on the 12th instant. He swore, that Taylor was the writer of the letter which was handed to Admiral Campbell, as stated on the former trial, and that the prisoner came down when Fitzgerald and Chesterman were talking of throwing Hazard overboard in a bread-bag : Taylor, however,

ever, said, that he hoped they would be able to carry their point without committing murder. The witness never saw Taylor or Allen assist the officers in quelling the mutiny; nor did he ever hear any of the six prisoners say, that they would not weigh anchor but for England. On the Wednesday, he heard Taylor call himself a Delegate, and speak of Chesterman as another.

John Anfrey deposed, that on Saturday, the 5th of December, he heard Allen say to Stevenson, when they were drinking together, there would be blood shed before the week was at an end. Stevenson observed to the prisoner, that some body might pay for it. The prisoner said, there was no fear; the best of them were men of war's men, and knew which way to go about it; but as to the Johnny Newcomes, they would know what to do with them. On the 1st of January, Taylor and Allen drank, "Success to the British heroes;" and observed, that there was no fear, and advised them all to shake hands, and to stick to each other.—On Sunday Allen began to lower the ports down, and he lowered the bow-port but one, and desired them not to bar the ports. He wanted to know where they were going, observing, that they were not willing to go out of the land—they would fight for their King and country, but now the war was over they would not go abroad. He heard Allen say on Sunday, that if any of the officers drew their arms, there would be blood shed. On Monday he saw him with Collins and Fitzgerald, and heard him ask if any of them were prepared for their defence. Yes, there is plenty of ammunition prepared for them, in case they should be obstreperous. Allen said he was very glad to hear that they had something for

their defence. On Thursday, after the Admiral had had the letter on the quarter-deck, Allen desired M'Eash, the marine, to pick out two men to let the Admiral know they were all of the same mind. He asked M'Evoy the same day if he thought any of the marines would come down and join them. M'Evoy said he would answer for twenty or twenty-four marines.—About five in the evening, when the uproar began, after George Dixon called all hands up, Allen said, now, my boys, don't be afraid. George Dixon, when he went down the fore hatchway ladder, said to every one, all hands on deck, you b——s; bear a hand up; and he came up the main-hatchway with a gang of about fifty hands to go aft and disarm the sentries, to defend themselves on the fore-castle, and destroy those Gentlemen. Among the mob he observed James Riley, George Comayne, James Kelly, Fitzgerald, and Chesterman. When they found the soldiers were under arms, they rushed forward, and called out, deliver the prisoner. Dixon, Taylor, and George Comayne acted in this manner. Riley, said, no prisoner should be kept. Captain Eyles collared James Riley, and said, I suppose you are one of the ringleaders. He answered, d—n my eyes, I have nothing to do with the b——rs. All the prisoners but Allen were present forward. Simmonds was there, more busy than any of the rest; they all cheered. On Saturday, the 5th, he saw Thomas Simmonds, and he said to Fitzgerald, he should join the corps, and 500 more to put the marines to rights, in case they should turn treacherous. On Sunday, when the ports were lowered, he saw Thomas Simmonds try to unship the ladder. Mr. Douglas, the Boatswain, had his foot

on the ladder; Simmonds said to Taylor, I was very nigh breaking the b——'s neck; and Taylor sung out, kill the b——r, break his neck; and sung out for shot and crow-bars.—Simmonds, Taylor, Geo. Dixon, and G. Comayne, cried out for shot and crow-bars. Riley wanted a gun to frighten the officers, but they never touched a gun to his knowledge.

On Sunday night, about eight o'clock, Taylor went fore and aft to see if he could find any crow-bars—he brought a crow-bar forward, and ordered the people, before they went to bed, on the starboard bay, not to bring their hammocks up till they were piped up. On Friday Thomas Simmonds said, he was very sorry he did not kill two or three of the Gentlemen, when he had it in his power on Sunday the 5th, and he said *he would sharpen and grind his knife* to get revenge, that his own comrades were gone off the ship, for they were all guilty of the same crime. Riley, Dixon, and Comayne were there; Simmonds said, he would go and destroy the marines when they were fast asleep in their hammock, and in case they could not get through with it, they would die together, and blow up together. Dixon knocked the witness down at the time, and told him he suspected him to be one of the reporters, and that he should not be able to tell what was going on before the work was at an end; and George Comayne swore by the Holy Ghost and Virgin Mary they would get their revenge. All the prisoners took an active part as ringleaders. Riley spoke of smothering Mr. Stanton in his bed. The whole of the prisoners said, they would not go to the West Indies.

This witness was cross-examined by Allen, Comayne, Dixon, and Taylor;

but what he then said was not at all different from what he stated in his preceding evidence.

Thomas Spencer sworn.—He said Allen was Cockswain of the first cutter at the time that Captain Valleck was talking to the marines. He ordered M'Eash underneath the forecastle, to go and pick out one man in the marines to speak to the serjeant-major, to tell Captain Valleck that all the marines are to be of one mind on the seamen's side, if such a thing happens again; then the Admiral will see plainly the marines will not stand true to their Captain. M'Eash went away, but whether he went to the serjeant-major he did not know. On Tuesday the 8th he saw Taylor in his birth with the other prisoners, having a book on the table, a sheet of paper, and Taylor writing on it. On Sunday, as soon as the officers called out to fire, Taylor cried out, 'Fire and be d—d,' and called out for shot and iron bars, and said, 'Kill them! kill them! kill the b——rs.' When Lieut. Forfar ordered two or three of the midshipmen to heave up the ports, he went and stood on the fore-gratings: Taylor went on the fore-gratings, and ordered the people to lower them again. Lieut. Forfar made a push at him, and he jumped over to the other side. He saw Dixon on the forecastle on Thursday night, at the time the people gave him three cheers. He cheered too. The other prisoners spoke to the same effect.

The cross examination of this witness was like that of the former—unimportant.

Mr. Douglas, the boatswain's evidence, went to prove that Riley and Comayne had both used language of the most outrageous and mutinous kind.

John M'Eash's evidence criminated Allen

Allen, as having repeatedly said, that if the marines were in the same mind as the sailors, they would effect their purpose.

Benjamin Blewit sworn.—Heard Allen say, the night before the hands were turned up, that there were 175 marines, all their names down, ready to come down.

Michael Fielding sworn.—His evidence went merely in corroboration of that of the foregoing witnesses.

The court was now cleared, and deliberated for a considerable time.—When strangers were re-admitted, which was between five and six o'clock, the prisoners were informed the prosecution against them was closed, and that the court, in order to give them an opportunity of preparing for their defence, would adjourn till half past ten to-morrow morning.

Taylor addressed the Court as follows.—“I have nothing to expect but death—I have deserved it by my conduct, and the breach of naval discipline, I have been guilty of, but I am unprepared to die, and I sincerely hope the Court will allow me time to make my peace with God.”

These wretched men were all youths under twenty years of age. The Court then adjourned.

SECOND AND THIRD DAYS.

None of the prisoners delivered in any written defences.

The evidence for Allen was given by Durford Stevenson and Thomas Gladman, whose testimony was chiefly important, in shewing that the prisoner had disclaimed all seditious designs, and that he had said, if the sailors would

take his advice they would let it alone, for it was a very unjust thing.

Taylor called Lieut. Douglas with the view of proving that he never intended to hurt any of the officers.—Lieut. Douglas stated, that when he was below, and when the people were calling out for shot, one of the people said to him, “you had better go upon deck, sir, for they will hurt you,” and he believed this person was Taylor.

Lieutenant Forfar's evidence, though he was called in the defence, strongly made against the prisoner.

In defence of Comayne, William Miles was called, who swore that he had often heard the prisoner persuade people to be quiet, and have nothing to do with the mutiny; and that he had seen him aiding and assisting the officers.

Dixon's evidence was of the same nature as that which Allen produced.

The evidence brought forward in behalf of Simmonds, was chiefly directed to his general good conduct, and what was said of him was highly favourable.

Allen, Taylor, Simmonds, Comayne, and Dixon, afterwards called Lieut. Walsh to speak to their character, and he spoke of them, as before the mutiny, attentive, trusty men, but he added, that Taylor was a suspicious character.

Comayne said, “I know there is no merit in a seaman's doing his duty; but I hope I may be allowed to mention, that I have been eleven years in his Majesty's service, and never during that time got a cat on my back, or an ill word, or was struck by any of my officers.”

The Court was now cleared. After deliberating above three hours, strangers were re-admitted.

THE SENTENCE.

The prisoners were put to the bar, and the Judge Advocate, in the same form as upon the last trial, read the sentence, declaring Allen, Taylor, Dixon, Riley, and Simmonds, guilty of the charges against them, and awarding Judgment of Death; and Comayne in part guilty, and ordered him to receive 200 lashes.

The prisoners all exclaimed—"The Lord's will be done!"

Taylor. I hope we shall be allowed time to make our peace with God.

President. It does not rest with the Court; it depends upon a superior power.

Dixon requested Admiral Campbell would come to him, and hear what he would wish to say. The admiral immediately went towards him. "Look at this paper," said Dixon, while the tears flowed from him. "I have a wife and a child; see if this will have any effect in their favour when I am gone. The Lord have mercy on my soul."—It was a will, bequeathing his property to his wife. He declared his innocence of some of the charges against him, but confessed he was the man who unshipped the main ladder.

Taylor gave the Judge Advocate his will in favour of James Brand, a seaman on board the Temeraire: he was assured it would be delivered safe.

The Court immediately dissolved.

The yellow flag was hoisted at eight o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 19th, on board the Temeraire, at Portsmouth, as a signal for execution, and about nine a gun was fired for the assembling of the boats of the different ships lying at Spithead. At ten o'clock, Allen, Taylor, Riley, and Simmonds, appear-

ed on the quarter-deck of the Temeraire, where they remained a short time, praying in the most fervent manner, and about half past ten they were launched into eternity—Dixon was executed on board the Formidable, nearly at the same time; he behaved in the most penitent manner, and acknowledged the justness of his sentence, but strongly denied ever having the least intention of committing murder.

THE DEFINITIVE TREATY.

It is said, the principal cause of delay in bringing this important business to a conclusion, was the question respecting the paying of the expences incurred by the British government for the maintenance of the French prisoners of war. The claim was obstinately contested by the plenipotentiary of the Republic; but Marquis Cornwallis having received positive instructions to insist upon the discharge of this debt, France was at length obliged to pledge herself for the payment of the expences, which amounted to upwards of two millions sterling.—We shall therefore lay the following official copy before the public.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the other.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the first Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace,

peace, by the Preliminary Articles which were signed in London the 1st of October, 1801.

And as by the 15th article of the Preliminaries it has been agreed on, "that Plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each Government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a Definitive Treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting Powers."

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named the Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, one of his Majesty's Privy Council, General in his Majesty's Army, &c. &c.

The first Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, has named as Plenipotentiary the Citizen Joseph Bounaparte, Counsellor of State.

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Government of the Batavian Republic, have appointed the following Plenipotentiaries, to wit, his Catholic Majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his Counsellor of State, Grand Cross of the Order of Charles III. Ambassador Extraordinary of his Majesty to the French Republic, &c. &c.

And the Government of the Batavian Republic has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninch its Ambassador Extraordinary to the French Republic, &c.

Which said Plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present Treaty, have agreed upon the following Articles.

Article I. There shall be peace, friendship and good understanding between his Majesty the King of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors on the one side, the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part.

The Contracting Parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve a perfect harmony between their respective countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future disturb the happy union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would wish to injure any one of them.

II. All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off or delivered up during the war, and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom in six weeks at the least, to be reckoned from the day when the Ratifications of the present Treaty are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the Contracting Parties shall respectively discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the Contracting Parties for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained.

There shall be appointed, by mutual consent, for the purpose a Commission, specially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensation which may be due to any one of the Contracting Parties. The time and the place shall likewise be fixed by mutual consent for the meeting of the Commissioners who shall be entrusted with the execution of this Article, and who shall

shall take into account, not only the expences incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but likewise on account of the foreign troops, who before being taken were in the pay, and at the disposal of one of the Contracting Parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French Republic and its Allies, viz. his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces during the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad and of the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty the island of Trinidad to his Britannic Majesty.

V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which previous to the war belonged to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India Company.

VI. The Port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty in the same manner as it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other Contracting Parties shall be allowed to enter the said port, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian Republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity, such as they

were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the River Arawari, which empties itself into the Ocean below Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penitentia, about a degree and a third of north latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arawari, from its mouth the most distant from the Cape North to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio-Bauto towards the West.

In consequence, the northern bank of the River Arawari, from its distant mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the north of the line of the boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic.

The southern bank of the said river from the same mouth, and all the territories to the south of the said line, shall belong to her Most Faithful Majesty.

The navigation of the river Arawari, along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe, shall nevertheless be adhered to conformably to the stipulations of the Treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war.

IX. The Republic of the seven Islands is reconized.

X. The Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed

essed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The Knights of the Order, whose language shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the Ratification of the present Treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a General Chapter, and proceed to the election of a Grand Master, chosen from among the natives of the nation which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the Preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The Governments of the French Republic, and of Great Britain, desiring to place the Order and Island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or English language; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of these powers shall be admitted into the Order.

5. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues, and commercial duties of the Island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment, and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of Knights of this language; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the Knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the Go-

vernment, shall be filled by native inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the Order in its present state, provided the Grand Master, or Commissaries fully authorised according to the Statutes of the Order, shall be in the Island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian Majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least shall always be composed of native Maltese: for the remainder the Order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages (*posseder les langues.*) The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The Commander in Chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the Grand Master, and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a Knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the Council of the Order.

6. The independence of the Isles of Malta, of Gozo and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great-Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the Order and of the Island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties: these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese

Maltese language, as specified in the paragraph 3, to that of the Civil and Military Establishments of the Island, as well as that of a general Lazaret, open to all colours.

9. The States of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the Contracting Parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the States of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the Powers possessing the languages, or concurring in the composition of the Order, shall have ceased.

10. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to Spirituals and Temporals, by the Statutes which were in force when the Knights left the Isle, except in as far as the present Treaty shall derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs iii. v. vii. viii. and x. shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner; and the Grand Master, or, if he should not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his States, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said island. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the Knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing Powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall

be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said Powers.

13. The different Powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the Kingdom of Naples and the Roman States; the English forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated by the present Treaty, shall be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and seas of America and Africa in three months; on the continent and seas of Asia in six months; which shall follow the ratification of the present Definitive Treaty, except in case of a special reservation.

XIII. In all cases of restitution, agreed upon by the present Treaty the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were in at the time of signing the Preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation shall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides, that in all the stipulated cases of cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present Treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired, or possessed by them, before, or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years, they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes. The same power is granted in the countries that are

are hereby restored to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishments there during the time that these countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the contracting parties, or on any account whatever, except debts contracted with individuals or for acts subsequent to the present Treaty.

XIV. All the sequestrations laid on either side on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature soever they may be, belonging to any of the Contracting Powers, or to their citizens or subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this Definitive Treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations, for debts, property, effects, or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should, according to received usages, and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, shall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and in the Gulph of St. Laurence, are placed on the same footing as they were before the war.

The French fishermen of Newfoundland and the French inhabitants of the Island of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have liberty to cut such wood as may be necessary for them in the Bays of Fortune and Despair

during the first year, reckoning from the Ratification of the present Treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of captures which may have been made at sea subsequent to the signing of the Preliminaries, it is reciprocally agreed that the ships and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the Preliminary Articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; that the term shall be one month for the space from the Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Islands to the Equator; and, finally, five months in all the other ports of the world without any further exception, or distinction of time or place.

XVII. The Ambassadors, Ministers, and other agents of the Contracting Powers, shall enjoy respectively in the States of the said Powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities which were enjoyed before the war by agents or others of the same class.

XVIII. The branch of the House of Nassau which was established in the *ei-devant* Republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian Republic, having experienced some losses, as well in respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in those countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured for the losses which they shall be proved to have sustained.

XIX. The present Definitive Treaty of Peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the Ally of his

his Britannic Majesty, and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the contracting Parties, upon requisitions made by them respectively, or by their Ministers, or Officers duly authorized for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused person shall be discovered would have authorised the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expences of the arrest and the prosecution shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty.

XXI. The Contracting Parties promise to observe sincerely and faithfully all the Articles contained in the present Treaty, and will not suffer any sort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens, or respective subjects; and the Contracting Parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present Treaty.

XXII. The present Treaty to be ratified by the Contracting Parties within thirty days, or sooner, if possible, and the Ratifications shall be exchanged, in due form, at Paris.

In testimony whereof we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our

respective full Powers, the present Definitive Treaty, causing it to be sealed with our respective seals.

Done at Amiens, March 27, 1802.

(Signed)

*Cornwallis,
Bonaparte,
Azara,
Schimmelpenninck.*

Separate Article to the Definitive Treaty.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles which may have taken place in the present Treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the Powers or the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages made use of in all the copies of the present Treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alledged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the Contracting Powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of Powers who are in the practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other language, shall be conformed with; the present Treaty having, nevertheless, the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done

Done at Amiens, the 27th day of
March, 1802.

(Signed)

Cornwallis.

Joseph Bonaparte.

J. Nicholas De Azara.

R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

Copy of the Convention entered into between the French and Batavian Plenipotentiaries, to illustrate the eighteenth Article of the Definitive Treaty :

“The undersigned, Plenipotentiary of the French Republic declares, conformably to existing stipulations between the French and Batavian Republics, and in virtue of special instructions with which he is furnished to that effect on the part of his government, that it is understood that the indemnity stipulated in favour of the House of Nassau, in the 18th Article of the present Treaty, shall not, upon any account, or in any manner, be at charge of the Batavian Republic ; the French Government being guaranteed to this effect towards the said Republic.

“The undersigned, Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic, in the name of his Government, accepts the above Declaration, as explanatory of the aforesaid 18th Article of the Definitive Treaty, signed this day by the Plenipotentiaries of the Four Contracting Powers.

“The present act shall be presented as the Ratification of the two respective Governments, and the ratifications exchanged in due form.

“Done at Amiens, March 27.

(Signed)

“*J. Bonaparte,*

“*R. J. Schimmelpenninck.*”

Proclamation of Peace.

Peace was solemnly proclaimed on the 29th of April, with the usual ceremonials, and with a degree of pomp perhaps never before witnessed on so joyful an occasion. The auspicious day, we trust, will be long remembered as one of the brightest in the annals of the British history—a day that has at length put an end to the public solicitude, and restored through the goodness of divine providence, those blessings which can be only appreciated by the deprivation of them.

At half past ten o'clock in the morning a party of Horse Guards was drawn up about the gate of St. James's Palace, where the Beadles and Constables, and all the Officers of the city of Westminster attended.

The Officers of Arms, Serjeants at Arms, with their Maces and Collars—The Serjeant Trumpeter with his Mace and Collar—the Trumpets—Drum Major and Drums—and the Knight Marshal and his men—assembled in the Stable Yard, St. James's; and the Officers of Arms, being habited in their respective tabards, and mounted, the procession proceeded from thence to the Palace Gate in the following order :—

Knight Marshal's Men, two and two.

Knight Marshal.

Drums.

Drum Major.

Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Kings of Arms.

Serjeants at Arms.

Being come before the gate, the Senior Officers of Arms present (attended

tended on his left hand by the next in rank,) read the Proclamation aloud, whereupon, about twelve o'clock, the procession moved on to Charing Cross in the following order :

Horse Guards clearing the way.
 Beadles of Westminster, two and two,
 bare headed, with Staves.
 Constables of Westminster, in like
 manner.
 High Constable, with his Staff, on
 horseback.
 Officers of the High Bailiff of West-
 minster, with white wands, on
 horseback.
 Horse Guards to flank the Procession.
 Clerk of the High Bailiff.
 High Bailiff and Deputy Stewards.
 Horse Guards.
 Knight Marshal's Men, two and two.
 Knight Marshal.
 Drums.
 Drum Major.
 Trumpets.
 Serjeant Trumpeter.
 Pursuivants.
 Heralds.
 Kings of Arms.
 Serjeants at Arms.
 Horse Guards.

The officers of Westminster, with Horse Guards before and behind them, were ranged at the entrance of Pall-Mall, at such a distance from the Palace gate as to afford room for that part of the Procession which preceded the Officers of Arms from the Stable Yard, to stand between the said Officers of Westminster and the gate, whilst the Proclamation was reading. By this arrangement, the whole Procession was ranged in its proper form to move on as soon as the Proclamation was read.

At Charing-Cross, the Officer of Arms next in rank read the Proclamation, looking towards Whitehall; after which, the Procession moved on to Temple Bar, the gates of which were shut; and the junior Officer of Arms, coming out of the rank between two Trumpeters, preceded by two Horse Guards to clear the way, rode up to the gate, and after the Trumpets had sounded thrice, knocked with a cane. Being asked by the City Marshal from within, "Who comes there?" he replied, "The Officers of Arms, who demand entrance into the City to publish his Majesty's Proclamation of Peace."—The gates being opened, he was admitted alone, and the gates were shut again. The City Marshal, preceded by his Officers, conducted him to the Lord Mayor, to whom he shewed his Majesty's warrant, which his Lordship having read, returned, and gave directions to the City Marshal to open the gates, who attending the Officer of Arms, on his return to them, said on leaving him, "Sir, the gates are opened." The Trumpets and Guards being in waiting, conducted him to his place in the procession, which then moved on into the City (the Officers of Westminster filing off and retiring as they came to Temple Bar;) and, at Chancery-lane end, the Proclamation was read a third time. Then the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, joining the procession immediately after the Officers of Arms, it moved on to the end of Wood-street, where the Cross formerly stood in Cheap-side: and the Proclamation having been there read, the Procession proceeded to the Royal Exchange, where the Proclamation was read for the last time.

The

The concordatum or convention for establishing the national religion of the French Republic as a consequent of the late war, cannot but prove interesting to the public; we have inserted the following official copy of it, which concludes the present work.

In a sitting extraordinary of the Legislative Body assembled for the purpose of having the Concordatum submitted to them, Portalis ascended the Tribune, and thus introduced the momentous subject.

"France," said he, "evinced her greatness in war, she evinces it too in peace; it is now become her duty to consecrate the salutary institutions which are destined to secure it."

The orator then mentioned, that the Catholic Religion was formerly the religion of the state in France; the Constituent Assembly wished to reform its discipline—they placed its property at the disposal of the nation, and enacted an oath which produced a schism; from that moment the Priests of France were divided into two classes, those who took, and those who refused the oath.—Such was the state of things, when Government resolved to restore peace and concord to the Church.

"Is religion, said he, necessary for man living in a state of society? The idea of an universal Legislator is as requisite to the intellectual, as it is to the physical world, and it would be greatly criminal to divert a nation from what leads it on to happiness.

"Laws without morals cannot exist—the law applies to an action—religion embraces the whole life of man—religion stands in need of ceremony and usages that speak to the eye; these are forms which true philosophy respects as much as pride disdains them—they render religion perceptible to the senses,

and greatly popular; religion also stands in need of discipline, for without rules what could prevent those who profess the same principles to be disunited, and to split into various religious systems?

"It was positive religion that first compelled man to quit his native forest, to mix in society, to become civilized, to perpetuate the duration of empires. Numa, in order to render Rome eternal, first made her a holy city. It is religion that consoles mankind for the inequality of rank and fortune, that solaces us while we are under mental affliction and bodily pain; she cheers the peasant in his labours, and far from creating superstition, puts an end to it. Man must believe, lest he should be credulous. Religion is as necessary for the enlightened man as for the multitude.

"There are some who would wish us to have a religion more congenial to our manners, and to our ideas of liberty.

If the force of law proceeds from the fear with which it inspires, the force of religion is derived from our belief in it.

"Christianity has in its favour the sanction of time and the respect of nations, and though it be divided into *Catholic* and *Protestant*, these are two branches growing from the same root.

"Christianity has civilized Europe, it has established society as far as it has penetrated; it is connected with the progress of arts and of science—to it do we owe our musicians, our most sublime conceptions, our first and greatest orators.

"In order to put an end to the prevailing schism in the Church of France, it became necessary either to declare the Chief of the State the Head of the Religion

Religion, or make a national Patriarch, and in that case it would have been necessary to change the system of religion; moreover, it would have been dangerous to make the first Magistrate of the Republic the Head of the Church—it was necessary to resort to the Head of the Universal Church.”

Concordatum between the French Government and his Holiness Pius VII. Exchanged the 10th Sept. 1801.

The Government of the French Republic acknowledges that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion, is the religion of the majority of French Citizens; his Holiness also acknowledges, that that communion has derived, and still continues to derive, the most solid advantages, and the greatest splendour from the restoration of the Catholic system of worship in France, and from its being individually professed by the Consuls of the Republic themselves; in consequence of which reciprocal acknowledgment, as well for the promotion of religion, as for the maintenance of tranquillity within the jurisdiction of the Republic, they have agreed upon what follows:

Article I. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish religion shall be freely professed in France; its mode of worship shall be public, conforming, however, to such regulations, as the Government shall judge expedient to adopt or enact.

II. A new division of the French dioceses shall be established by the Holy See, jointly with the Government.

III. His Holiness shall declare to the titular Bishops of France that he expects from them, with a steady confidence for peace and unity, every kind of sacrifice, even that of their

resignation; after such exhortation, should they refuse acquiescence in the sacrifice, urged by the welfare of the Church, (his Holiness however, not expecting such non-compliance) these titular Bishops shall be replaced agreeable to the following plan.

IV. The First Consul of the Republic shall appoint, within the space of three months after the publication of the Bull of his Holiness, archbishops, and Bishops for the new divisions—his Holiness conferring the canonical institution according to the forms in use before the change of Government in France.

V. All future vacancies in the Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees shall be filled by order of the First Consul—his Holiness conferring his sanction as above.

VI. Bishops, previously to their entering on their pastoral functions, shall take, in the immediate presence of the First Consul, the following oath, such as it stood under the Regal Government.

“I swear and promise, before God on the holy Evangelists, to be submissive and faithful to the Government, established by the constitution of the French Republic.—I also promise to have no intercourse whatever, to be present at no council, to keep up no confederacy either at home or abroad, which can in any manner tend to disturb public order; and should I, either within my pastoral jurisdiction or elsewhere, learn that any plans are machinating against the state, I pledge myself to make known the same to Government.”

VII. The inferior Clergy shall take the same oath in presence of the civil power appointed by Government.

VIII. The following form of prayer shall

shall be said after divine service in all the Catholic Churches of France :

" Domine, salvom fac Rempublican ;

" Domine, salvos fac Consules."

IX. Bishops shall make a new division of their respective dioceses, to be sanctioned, however, by Government.

X. Bishops shall appoint parish-priests, but such choice must also be approved by Government.

XI. Bishops are at liberty to have a chapter in their cathedral, and a seminary for their respective dioceses, Government not pledging itself to endow such.

XII. All the metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parochial churches, and others (not alienated) necessary for public worship, shall be at the disposal of the Bishops.

XIII. His Holiness in order to promote peace, and in consequence of the happy restoration of the Catholic Religion, declares for himself and his successors, that the purchasers of alienated church lands, shall not be molested in any manner whatever, and that such property shall be, to all intents and purposes, considered to belong to them, to their heirs and executors.

XIV. Government shall ensure a proper salary to the Bishops and parish-priests on the new establishment.

XV. Government shall also adopt measures for allowing French Catholics, who may feel so inclined, to establish foundations in churches.

XVI. His Holiness acknowledges in the First Consul of the French Republic, the same rights and prerogatives as the former Government possessed with respect to him.

XVII. It is agreed upon between the contracting parties, that should any of the successors of the present First Con-

sul not be a Roman Catholic, the above rights and prerogatives, and the appointments of the Bishops shall be regulated, with respect to him, agreeably to a new Convention.

The Ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris within forty days.

ORGANICAL ARTICLES.

On the Catholic system in its general Relation with the Rights and Policy of the State.

Art. I. No bull, brief, rescript, decree, mandate, provision, or signature for such, nor other instrument issued by the court of Rome, even when only individuals are concerned, shall be received, published, printed, nor otherwise executed without the concurrence of Government.

II. No individual, whether called a Nuncio, a Legate, a Vicar, an Apostolical Commissary, or assuming any other appellation, shall, without the authority and licence above specified, perform, in France or elsewhere, any function relating to the affairs of the Gallican Church.

III. Decrees of foreign Synods, even those of the general Councils, shall not be published in France before Government shall have examined the tenor of the same, their conformity with the laws, rights and franchises of the French Republic, as well as every part of such instruments as might tend to alter or to concern public tranquillity.

IV. No national nor metropolitan Council, no diocesan Synod, no deliberate Assembly shall be holden without the express permission of Government.

V. All the clerical functions to be performed gratis, the oblations sanctioned and established by the State excepted.

VI. Appeals to be made to the Council of State in case of abuse of power on the part of either the higher or inferior orders of the Clergy.

Abuse of power is hereby defined: "the usurpation or excess of power, disobedience to the statutes and regulations of the Republic, the infraction of the canonical rules as admitted in France, attempts against the liberty, the franchises, and the usages of the Gallican Church; and whatever, in performing the functions of public worship, can tend to commit the honour of citizens, invade their peace of mind, to oppress, to injure them, or to excite public scandal."

VII. Appeals shall also lay in all cases wherein public worship shall be interrupted, or its ministers ill-treated.

VIII. In case of a complaint not being laid, the Prefect shall take cognisance of the same.

The public Functionary, the Clergyman, or whoever becomes the plaintiff in such case, shall transmit a detailed memorial of the same to the Counsellor of State, whose province it is to receive all instruments relating to public worship: and the latter shall, without delay, make himself acquainted with the circumstances of the fact, and on his report, the merits of the case shall be investigated, and finally settled agreeably to form, or made over, according to the exigency of the object, to the competent authorities.

Ministers of the Altar.

IX. The Catholic mode of worship shall be exercised under the direction of the Archbishops and Bishops in their respective dioceses, and under the direction of the Parish Priests in their respective parishes.

X. All privileges relating to exemp-

tion from, or attribution of Episcopal jurisdiction, are abolished.

XI. The Archbishops and Bishops are at liberty (when authorised thereto by Government) to establish Chapters and Seminaries in their dioceses.—All other Ecclesiastical Establishments are suppressed.

XII. Archbishops and Bishops are at liberty to add the word *Citizen* or *Mr.* to their name.—All other distinctions are forbidden.

Archbishops.

XIII. Archbishops shall consecrate and instal their Suffragans; in case of impediment or refusal on their part, the ceremony shall be performed by the senior Prelate in the diocese.

XIV. They shall attend to the maintenance of religion, and of its discipline within their jurisdiction.

XV. They shall investigate all complaints laid before them, relating to the conduct and the decisions of their suffragans.

Bishops, Vicars-General, and Seminaries.

XVI. To become a Bishop, it is necessary to have attained the thirtieth year, and be Frenchmen born.

XVII. Previously to being appointed to a See, the candidates shall exhibit a testimonial of good morals, signed by the Bishop in whose diocese they may have officiated in the capacity of Parish Priest. And they shall undergo an examination with respect to their doctrine before a Bishop and two Priests, appointed for that purpose by the First Consul, and they shall report accordingly to the Counsellor of State, who superintends whatever concerns public worship.

XVIII. The priest appointed by the First Consul shall also have the Pope's sanction;

sanction; he cannot, however, exercise any function before the bull, to that effect received from the pope, shall have been approved by Government, and until he shall have taken the oath presented and agreed upon between the French Government and the Holy See. Such oath to be taken in presence of the First Consul, and be registered by the Secretary of State.

XIX. Bishops are to name and instal Curates. Such nomination, however, must receive the First Consul's sanction.

XX. They shall reside continually in their Diocese, nor shall they be at liberty to go beyond the limits of their jurisdiction without the leave of the First Consul.

XXI. Each Bishop may appoint two Vicars-General, and each Archbishop three; such are uniformly to be chosen from among the Priests, who possess the necessary qualities to become Bishops.

XXII. They shall visit once a year a part of their diocese; and in the space of five years they are bound to visit the whole of it. In case of any just impediment the Vicar General shall act in their room.

XXIII. Bishops shall form their seminaries, and the rules of such shall be laid before the first Consul for his approbation.

XXIV. Those who shall be appointed Professors in the seminaries, shall subscribe to the declaration made by the Clergy of France in the year 1682, and published in virtue of an edict of the same year. They shall promise to teach the doctrine therein contained, and the Bishops shall transmit a certificate of such promise to the Counsellor of State before mentioned.

XXV. Every year the Bishops shall send to the same Counsellor of State the names of the persons who shall have studied in these seminaries, and who intend taking holy orders.

XXVI. They shall not ordain any Priest, unless he can prove himself possessed of at least 300 franks a year; unless he be five and twenty years old, and have all the qualities required by the Canons of the French Church.—Bishops not to proceed to ordination, before the number to be ordained be made known to, and approved by Government.

Curates or Parish Priests.

XXVII. Curates cannot enter on their clerical duties before they have, in presence of the Prefect, taken the oath prescribed by the Convention, agreed upon by government and the Holy See, such oath shall be registered by the Prefect's chief secretary.

XXVIII. They shall be installed by the Curate or the Priest, whom the Bishop shall appoint.

XXIX. They are bound to perpetual residence in their parish.

XXX. Curates to be under the immediate orders of their bishops in all clerical affairs.

XXXI. Vicars to be under the inspection of the Curates—the Bishops shall sanction their appointment.

XXXII. No foreigner, without leave from Government, can become a Parish Priest.

XXXIII. Clergymen, not belonging to any diocese, though they be Frenchmen, shall not be allowed to officiate.

XXXIV. A Priest cannot, without his Bishop's leave, officiate in another parish.

Chapters—And how Vacant Sees are to be regulated.

XXXV. Archbishops and Bishops who may wish to avail themselves of the opportunity granted to them to establish Chapters, cannot effect it before they shall have obtained the authority of Government for the same, as well for the establishment itself, as for the number and choice of the Clergymen destined to be admitted therein.

XXXVI. While Sees continue vacant, the Archbishop, or in his absence, the senior Suffragan, shall cause the diocese to be attended to—the Vicars-General of those dioceses shall continue their functions even after the death of the Bishop, and until a successor be appointed.

XXXVII. The Archbishop and the Chapters shall, without delay, transmit to Government information relative to the vacancy of the See, and the measures adopted for transacting the business of the same—*vacante Sede*.

XXXVIII. The Vicars General, acting while the See remains vacant, as well as the Archbishops, shall be careful, and not to introduce any innovations in the customs and usages of the diocese.

Public Worship.

XXXIX. There shall be but one form of Liturgy, and one Catechism for all the Catholic Churches in France.

XL. No Parish Priest can order any extraordinary public Prayer in his parish, without the special permission of his Bishop.

XLI. No holiday, Sunday excepted, shall be established without permission of Government.

XLII. The Clergy, while officiating, shall wear the dress and ornaments be-

longing to their order in the Church, but cannot, under any pretext, assume the colours and distinctive marks peculiar to Bishops.

XLIII. All Priests to be dressed in the French manner, and in black.—Bishops may add to the aforesaid costume a *pastoral cross*, and *purple stockings*.

XLIV. Private Chapels cannot be established without the express permission of Government, granted in consequence of the Bishop's solicitation.

XLV. No religious ceremony can take place on the outside of the churches sacred to the Roman Catholic Religion, in cities where there are buildings for different communions.

XLVI. A temple cannot serve for more than one communion.

XLVII. There shall be in the Cathedrals and Parish Churches, a distinguished seat for such Catholic individuals as are in civil and military authority.

XLVIII. The Bishop and the Prefect shall agree on the mode of summoning the faithful to divine service by the ringing of bells. Bells shall not be rung for any other reason without special permission.

XLIX. When Government shall order public prayers, the Bishop, the Prefect, and the Military Chief shall name the day, the hour, and the manner, for putting the mandate in execution.

L. Solemn preaching called Sermons, and such as are called Stations of Advent and Lent, shall be performed only by Priests, specially authorized to that effect by the Bishop.

LI. Parish Priests shall pray for the prosperity of the French Republic, and for the Consuls!

LII. In

LII. In their discourses they are to abstain from all invectives, direct or indirect, either against the persons, or the other modes of worship authorized by the State.

LIII. They are to blend no extraneous matter with their religious discourses, unless ordered so to do by Government.

LIV. They shall not give the nuptial blessing, unless to those who have in due form, proved that they contracted marriage in presence of a civil officer.

LV. The books kept by the Ministers of the Altar not being, (and it being impossible that such could be) relative to the administration of the Sacraments, cannot in any case supply the place of the registers which are enacted by law, to prove the civil state of Frenchmen.

LVI. In all the clerical and religious Acts, the Roman Catholic Ministers shall make use of the Equinoctial Kalendar, established by the laws of the Republic; the days shall be named as they were in the Solstitial Kalendar.

LVII. The day of rest of the Public Functionaries shall be on Sunday.

Number of Archbishoprics, Bishoprics, Parishes, Churches, Chapels, Salary of the Clergy.

Archbishoprics and Bishoprics.

LVIII. There shall be, in France, 10 Archbishoprics, and 50 Bishoprics.

LIX. They are to be divided as follows:

Parishes.

LX. There shall be at least one Parish Church within the jurisdiction of each Justice of the Peace, and as many

Chapels of Ease as shall be judged expedient.

LXI. Each Bishop, together with the Prefect, to regulate the number of such Chapels of Ease.

LXII. No Parish nor Chapel of Ease, can be established within the French territory, without the express licence of Government.

LXIII. The Priests, officiating in the Chapels of Ease, are appointed by the Bishops.

Salary.

LXIV. The Archbishops, 15,000 franks.

LXV. Bishops, 10,000 franks.

LXVI. The Parish Priests shall be divided into two classes: those of the first class shall receive 1500 franks; the Parish Priests of the second order, 1000 franks.

LXVII. The annuities they enjoy in virtue of the laws of the Constituent Assembly, shall be taken into consideration in the payment of their salary.

LXVIII. The Vicars shall be chosen from among the pensioned Clergy.

LXIX. The Bishops are to regulate the MAXIMUM of oblations for administering the Sacraments.—Such regulations to be, however, submitted to the will of Government.

LXX. Every Clergyman receiving a pension from the State, shall, on his refusing functions of which he is thought capable, be deprived of such pension.

LXXI. The General Councils of the Department are authorised to procure proper houses for the Archbishops and Bishops.

LXXII. The parsonage houses with the gardens, not alienated, shall be restored

stored to the Curates. Should such have been disposed of by the State, the General Councils of the Communes are authorised to procure them houses and gardens.

LXXIII. The foundations, the object of which is to support the Ministers of the Altar, and the performing of public worship, can be vested only in the national funds.

LXXIV. The immoveables do not appertain to the Clergy as such.

Buildings destined for Public Worship.

LXXV. The buildings formerly appropriated to the Catholic communion shall be at the disposal of the Bishops, in virtue of an order from the Prefect.

LXXVI. A board shall be established for the purpose of keeping Churches in repair, and for giving away alms.

LXXVII. In the parishes in which there are no public buildings to be disposed of, the Bishop and the Prefect will use their joint endeavours to find a proper place for that purpose.

[Here follow the names of the 10 Archbishoprics, and of the 50 Bishoprics in France.]

The Organical Articles for the Protestant Communion are nearly as follow :

No other but a Frenchman can exercise the functions of a Minister of this communion—The Ministers are to have no intercourse with foreign powers, they are to pray in public for the prosperity of the Republic and for the Consuls. No innovations, no change of discipline to be introduced, without the express concurrence of Government. There will be two academies or seminaries in the eastern part of France, for the instruction of Ministers of the confession of Augsburg, and one at Geneva for the Ministers of the Reformed Church; this Church is to have pastors, local consistories and synods—in fine, the Protestants, as well as the Roman Catholics, are in every point of view absolutely subservient to the civil power, and even in spiritual matters they are left without a will.



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TO SOME OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

Contained in this Work.

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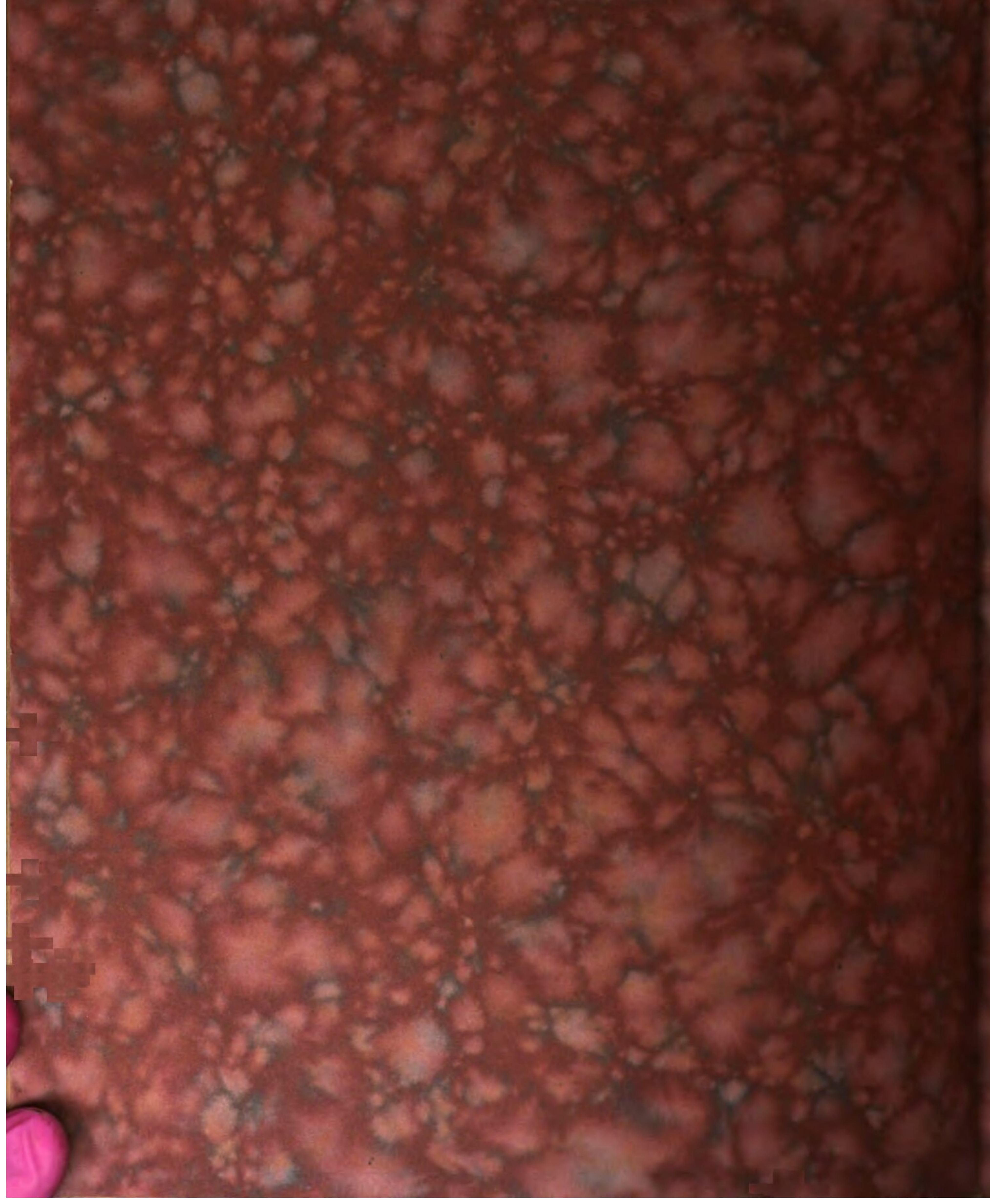
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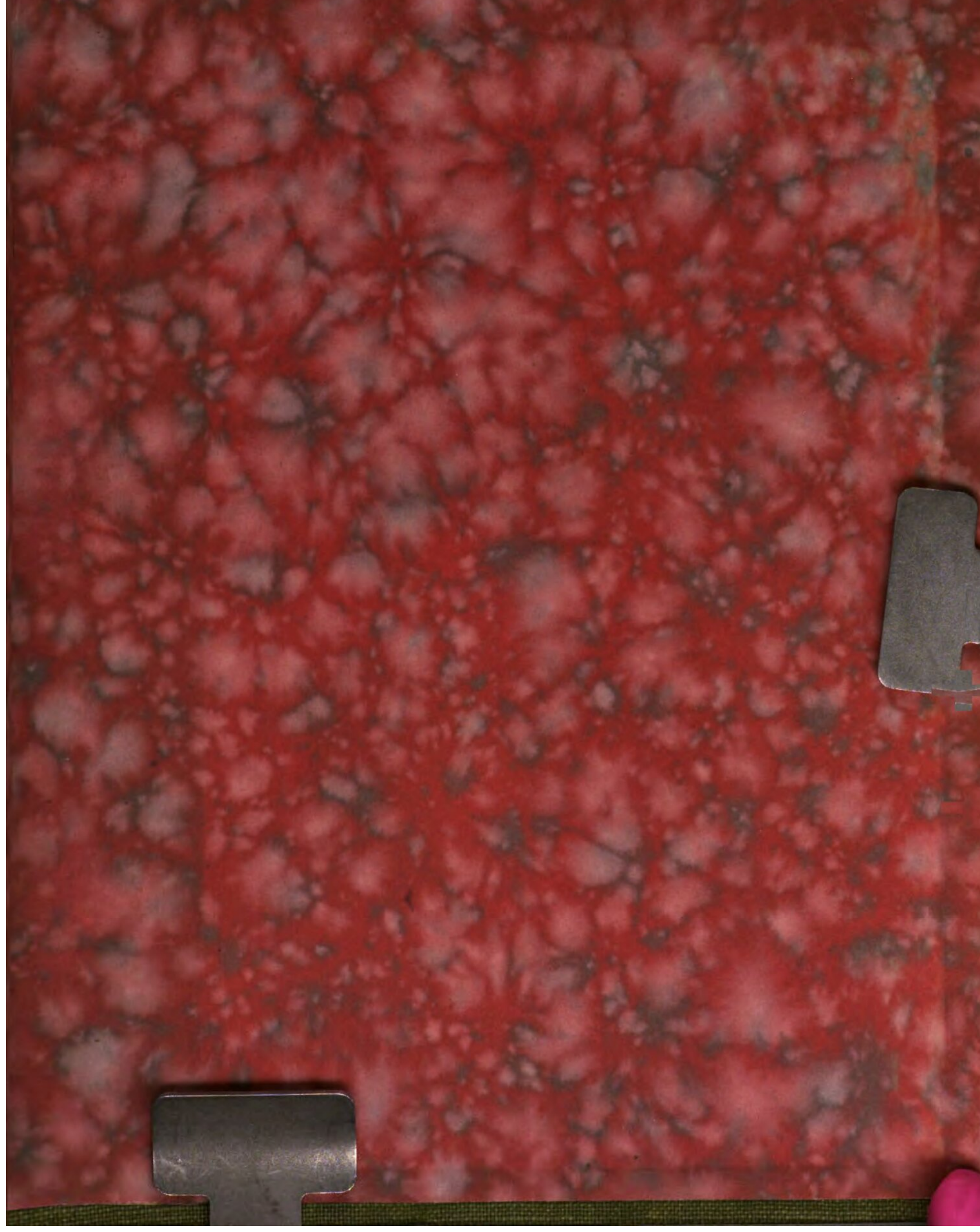
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